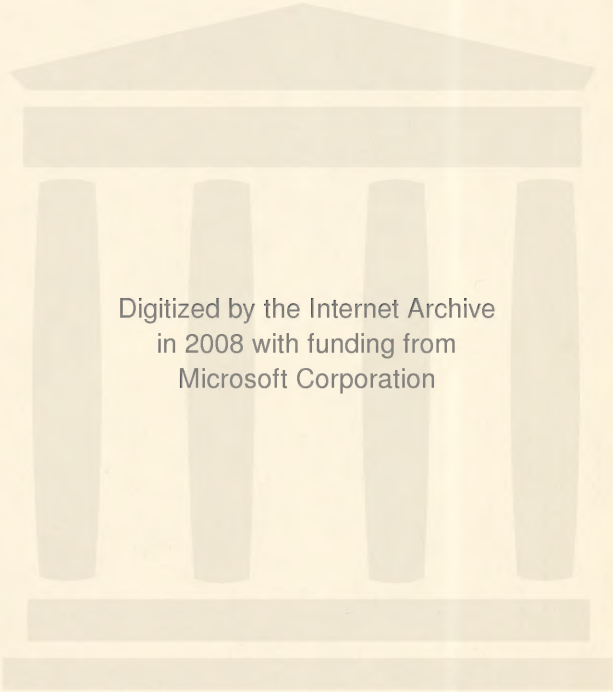

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A RECENT Swiss traveller describes a village in the Grison country, situated on the slope of a great mountain, of which the strata shelve in the direction of the place. Huge crags directly overhanging the village, and massy enough to sweep the whole of it into the torrent below, have become separated from the main body of the mountain in the course of ages by great fissures, and now scarcely adhere to it. When they give way, the village must perish; it is only a question of time, and the catastrophe may happen any day. For years past, engineers have been sent from time to time to measure the width of the fissures, and report them constantly increasing. The villagers for more than one generation have been fully aware of their danger; subscriptions have been once or twice opened in the cantons and in Germany to enable them to remove; yet they live on in their doomed dwellings from year to year, fortified against the ultimate certainty and daily probability of destruction by the common sentiment — things may last their time, and longer.

It is needless to say how much of this popular fatalism is exhibited in the habitual acquiescence of modern society in the political institutions under which it lives. The cracks and

crevices in the mountain which overhangs our old privilege-founded European system, are constantly sounded by explorers, and their reports are never very reassuring; we are more and more convinced of the insecurity of thrones and commonwealths, and political sagacity wholly fails to reveal to us the manner of their reconstruction. Yet we live on in a kind of provisional safety, reconciled to the constant neighbourhood of dangers against which, apparently, we can no better guard ourselves than the villagers can prevent the fall of their rocks. And certainly no existing portion of that system more frequently reminds us of the case of our Grison villagers, than the fabric of the Austrian Empire; an edifice raised by a succession of accidents, on the surface of a mass destitute of all the ordinary political principles of cohesion, and doomed for generations past, by seers of all political sects, to speedy destruction. Yet the fatalist principle seems to prevail there as elsewhere. Its statesmen live on, not as disbelieving in the destiny predicted to them, but as conscious of inability to escape from it. They look on the revolutionary enemies with whom they maintain their everlasting struggle of repression, as the Turks do on the yellow-haired Russians,—as those who are destined, sooner or later, to take away their place and nation. Their rules of conduct, their professed principles, even their favourite maxims,—the *alors comme alors* of Kaunitz, the *après nous le déluge* of Metternich,—all seem to indicate the thorough consciousness that what exists is provisional only, while to attempt to fashion the unknown future out of the present is but the hopeless task of a visionary. Yet the empire subsists meanwhile, and gives every now and then ample proof that its institutions, whatever their real strength may be, possess at least a superficial vigour and tenacity sufficient to repel outward invasion, and to reconsolidate the fabric after temporary shocks from within.

We do not mean to recommend the gossiping volumes before us as throwing any peculiar and direct light on these great questions of the day. But they form a compilation which the political inquirer will find useful no less than the antiquarian, and contain a world of anecdotic talk, industriously collected from all kinds of sources, trustworthy and otherwise, combined in German fashion with a very painstaking register of the official history of the Austrian monarchy: its succession of ministers, diplomatists, and generals, the pedigrees and vicissitudes of its noble families, from the reign of Maximilian down to the present time.

Unlike the fortunes of the other great European monarchies —

those of Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain, showing a constant and continuing increase of power; that of France a steady increase for centuries followed by a stationary period—that of Austria (separating her history as far as possible from that of the Germanic Empire with which she was so long connected) exhibits several remarkable alternations of advance and decline. The first military monarchy of Austria was that founded by Maximilian and Charles the Fifth, which attained its height of power after the battle of Mühlberg in 1547. The lanzknechts of Maximilian, the Austrian heavy cavalry, and the 'hussars' of Hungary (first known by that name in Germany during the campaign of Mühlberg), had triumphed in turn over the French in Italy, the Turks in the East, and the Swabians and Saxons at home. And the monarchy which they upheld was, as it were, the first offspring of the mediæval chaos—brilliant in youthful strength, confident in its destinies, animated at once by the fire of old chivalry and modern improvement.

But all its fair prospects were overcast by the political storms which arose from the Reformation. Charles the Fifth, in an evil hour for the immediate fortunes of himself and his race, had, after much wavering, cast his sword into the balance on the side of the old religion. His hereditary subjects were still under the strong influence of early Protestantism. The reigns of Ferdinand I., Maximilian II. (regarded by many as himself a secret Protestant), Rudolf II., and Matthias (1556—1619), were, regarded from a general point of view, nothing but a continued and unsuccessful struggle against religious and secular innovation. In that struggle the first military monarchy of Austria was broken down; the central authority reduced to the narrowest limits. Throughout her German provinces (not to mention the endless complication of Hungarian affairs), confederacies of Lutheran nobles, burghers, and peasants encroached with increasing boldness on the shrunken prerogatives of the Crown.

Many of our readers will remember how much light the German historian Ranke has recently thrown on that comparatively obscure and unnoticed field of history, the Protestant conversion and Catholic reconversion of Austria. Dr. Vehse's third and fourth volumes add ample anecdotic matter to the more general statements of that philosophical writer. He shows in detail the rapidity and heartiness with which the Austrian nobility and townsfolk, in the several German provinces, embraced the Reformation. Even among the peasantry the old religion found it difficult to hold its own against the ardent incursions of the reformed preachers. It is common enough to

speak of unchangeable traits in national and local character. But the fact is, that great revolutions will in some rare cases as completely transform the character of a people in two or three generations, as if it had been exterminated, and a new one substituted for it. Those who best know what the population of Vienna now is, will find it the most difficult to realise the fact, that the ancestors of her burghers of the present day were those who went out, by tens of thousands, an armed civic militia, to listen to the sermons of the Calvinist Opitz, and who plunged into the Flacian controversy on 'irreversible decrees' with all the zeal of a Scottish hill congregation. The change from what the fathers were to what the children have since become, was wrought in a few years by the determined, uncompromising, root-and-branch industry of the Jesuits. About the merits of that change men will never be agreed, until it is settled whether Thought, with its concomitant controversial turbulence, be or be not better than thoughtlessness, dividing its leisure hours between superstition and dissipation.

At the end of the sixteenth century it was said, that in all Austria Proper only five noble landed families, in Carinthia seven, in Styria one, remained Catholic, or, according to Hormayr, in all the hereditary States only thirty. When Ferdinand II. then Duke of Styria, kept Easter, 1596, at Gratz, he was almost the only individual there who followed the Catholic rite; the whole town had become Protestant. A little more, and the triumph of the Reformation would have been complete from the Baltic to the Adriatic. Theological divisions, and the rapacity of Protestant nobles, began its defeat; but few secondary causes more contributed than the inflexible character of Ferdinand himself, who never stinted until he had trampled it out in blood in all the German provinces of Austria. Its ebb was as rapid as its flow had been. Easter 1626, just thirty years after the time above mentioned, was appointed by Ferdinand as the latest term at which Protestant worship could be tolerated in Upper Austria, its last stronghold. Eighty thousand peasants took up arms in their despair. Pappenheim, who suppressed their revolt, declared that even he, the ferocious soldier of the Thirty Years' War, 'had never in his life seen 'such wild fury as that with which the Boors, singing psalms, 'or with the frightful war-cry

> "Weil's gilt die Seel' und auch das Blut,
> So geb' uns Gott den Heldenmuth,"

'rushed on his cavalry, pulled them from their horses, and set 'on them with pikes, clubs, and morgensterns.' The slaugh-

tered peasants sleep under a green hillock on the shore of the Traun See; a few scattered mountain communes in the neighbourhood still retain their faith: but, substantially, the 'evangelical' cause perished with them in the Danubian provinces of Austria. Its fate in Bohemia is better known, being more connected with the leading events of European history. On that occasion, as on subsequent ones, the monarchy of the Hapsburgs was rescued from internal dissolution by the effort which it made to resist outward violence; by the encroachments of the Elector Palatine, the Catholic reaction which followed, and the Thirty Years' War. The reigns of Ferdinand II. and III. (1619–1657) comprise this period of flow in the fortunes of their house, and the establishment of what the historical student may regard as the second military monarchy of Austria, under the banners of Tilly, Wallenstein, and Piccolomini.

It was an era of almost unequalled misery to a large portion of Christendom. It seemed as if the ordinary restraints of civilised warfare had become obsolete, and the combatants were bent on destroying all that neither could finally wrest from the other. The populous North became a desert; we can scarcely believe, what some writers seriously allege, that the whole population of Germany, East of the Rhine, sank during the Thirty Years' War from sixteen to four millions; but never had any Christian kingdom presented such an aspect of desolation, since the age of the Huns. We read of cultivated provinces relapsing into forest; cities which had shrunken until the houses of whole deserted quarters were burnt for fire-wood by the scanty inhabitants of the remainder. Men began, in their despair, to cease from those common labours on which the maintenance of society depends. To the starving remnant of mankind which listened to the trumpeters proclaiming the peace of Westphalia, the name of peace was almost unknown except in their prayers, but it conveyed the idea of blessings for which they were only too ready to sacrifice, not only the independence for which their fathers had striven, but the customary rights of earlier generations. Accordingly, resistance to the implacable reaction conducted by the Jesuits, was impossible alike in Church and State. Not only was the spirit of opposition extinguished, but all that was powerful and distinguished among the recalcitrants was extirpated. The princes of the House of Hapsburg, after the peace of Westphalia, reigned over a new country, a new aristocracy, church, and army.

Against the nobility, in particular, the watchword of the counter-reformation was indeed 'Thorough.' The old families of Austria, Styria, Bohemia, and Moravia became almost extinct.

The great majority, as we have seen, were Lutherans; and, apparently, were either not to be won back to the Church, or conversion was not enough to save them. The really old Austrian names—those of the indigenous chivalry of the Danubian valley—Kühnring, Eytring, Thonradtel, Hoffmann, Hofkirchen, Bucheim, Stein von Schwartzenau—appear no more from that time in history. The neighbouring countries soon became full of exiles, who had made their way out of political or religious persecution with such property as they could save from the wreck. Friedrich von Roggendorf, one of the family of the hereditary High Stewards of Austria, was promised 'mercy' by Ferdinand, if he would return home. 'Which mercy?' he asked.—'Bohemian mercy?—Head off. Moravian?—Impri-'sonment for life. Austrian?—Confiscation.'

Hence a greater change took place in the proprietary body of the German-Austrian provinces in the seventeenth century, than has been the case in any other modern state except Ireland. Their present land-nobility may be regarded, like that of Ireland, as in great measure a body established in its estates by conquest, and enriched by confiscation. Few comparatively are descended from the small minority which remained Catholic throughout,—that of the Princes Lobkowitz, we believe, is among the number. The ancestors of some were re-converted from Protestantism; Lichtenstein and Esterhazy are among the names which underwent this fiery re-baptism, the heads of both having once been Lutheran. But the greater portion are sprung from new men,—men who rose, in the troublesome times, from the ranks of the lower gentry by acquiring confiscated property,—strangers from various parts of Europe, followers of the Austrian court and camp. Thus, in Bohemia alone we find the houses of Colloredo, Piccolomini, Gallas, Isolani, derived from Italy; Maradas and Verdugo, from Spain; Bucquoy, from the Netherlands; many from different German states. The history of the greater family of Schwarzenberg presents a singular instance of *postliminium*. They are originally Bohemian; their Sclavish name is Czernahora. Driven out by the Hussites in the fifteenth century, they settled in Franconia, and after various migrations returned to their own country in the Thirty Years' War, to obtain an enormous share of the rebel confiscations. So at least says Dr. Vehse. We believe the family genealogists make out a Franconian origin, and discourse of certain kings of the Allemanni. But family trees, says the cynical antiquary Baron Hormayr, grow in Austria like poplars.

To complete this brief sketch of Austrian *noblesse*, we may add that, according to our author, their titles of nobility are

very modern. The first Austrian prince was a Lichtenstein (1608); and few, if any, existing titles of Count, seem to have an earlier origin.

We have entered at some length into this chapter of pedigrees, because, in truth, the anti-national character of much of the Austrian nobility, its modern and superficial connexion with the soil, seem to have been among the causes which have prevented its combination for national purposes, and placed it, wealthy and numerous as it is, and great as its privileges once were, in close dependence on the court, ever since the peace of Westphalia. Thus the new monarchy of the later Hapsburgs much more nearly approached the character of despotism (except in Hungary, the history of which is throughout to be viewed apart) than that of Charles V. It was moderated rather by the inherent weakness of the central authority, the inert strength of local usages and local corporations, than by any spirit of independence existing either among nobles or people. Such as it was, its culminating period was short; its decay, like that of the Imperial race itself, slow but unchecked.

The reigns of Leopold I., Joseph I., and Charles VI. (1657—1740) comprise this latter period,—the last age of the male line of the Hapsburgs,—which may, on the whole, be regarded as one of progressive decline. The Jesuits remained all powerful through most of it: but their rule had lost its energy for lack of serious opposition: the spiritual managers of Austria degenerated into a feeble council of ancients, devoted to those endless and trifling intrigues of which inferior minds conceive State-craft to consist. Nowhere did the Perrücken-Zeit, the age of periwigs, exhibit so much of its characteristic formality, deadness, and absurdity as in Austria. A tendency towards Oriental state and prostration, unknown to the freer sixteenth century, overspread everything. The monotonous seclusion of the monarch, the passive obedience of the people, the ubiquitous bastinado by which that obedience was enforced, all partook of the Asiatic character. Between its etiquette and its devotions, Vienna was utterly intolerable to foreigners bred in a kindlier atmosphere. 'J'avoue,' says the Duc de Richelieu in 1726 'que 'si j'avois connu la vie que mène ici un Ambassadeur, rien 'dans la nature ne m'aurait déterminé à accepter cette ambassade. 'Il faudrait la santé d'un Capucin robuste pour en supporter 'les fatigues.' And no wonder: for the libertine duke complains of having spent exactly one hundred hours in church, by the side of the emperor, between Palm Sunday and Easter Thursday. If such was the purgatory endured by ambassadors, the sufferings of the sovereign himself may be im-

agined. He must often have felt, what the late simple-hearted Emperor Ferdinand expressed after his abdication, 'We know 'that we made our subjects happy; but it was the life of a dog!' Life at court was reduced to one long tedious ceremonial; life at Vienna, and in the provinces, was coarse and insipid. The reader will recollect Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's brief but effective sketches of this society; and he will derive similar impressions from the Memoirs of the Saxon Baron Pöllnitz, cited, with many other authorities, in Dr. Vehse's amusing chapters on 'the Condition of the Court of Vienna under the last Haps-'burgs.

The army degenerated no less than the civil government. The blood-cemented fabric of the second military monarchy of Austria gave way by internal decline. The victories of Eugene scarcely form a brief exception; indeed, the Austrian troops formed only a contingent in the Imperial or allied armies which he commanded. At the death of Charles VI. in 1740, the army had dwindled down to less than 50,000 effective men, scattered over Europe from Ostend to Belgrade, and from Breslau to Milan.

The male line of the Hapsburgs died out in its degeneracy, in Austria as in Spain. But in the former country its power passed to a young and brilliant princess, Maria Theresa (we prefer the popular spelling to the German form, Theresia), whose mother, the beautiful Elizabeth of Brunswick—*die weisse Liesel*, as her husband used to call her,—born of a house distinguished for ability, had infused, by her marriage with Charles VI., a new element into the stagnant ichor of his ancient race. Austria was saved in 1740, as in 1620 and as in 1848, by the very rapacity of her neighbours, eager to anticipate the moment of her expected dissolution. The sudden enthusiasm which greeted the accession of the persecuted queen of Hungary, her own unconquerable spirit, the Hungarian 'insurrection,' the great feats of the war of succession, are matters of too notorious history to need more than an allusion. But those who recount them have passed over almost in silence the great blot on the early part of the empress-queen's reign—her recurrence to the precedents of the worst and bloodiest period of her country's history, in the merciless revenge which she took on subjects whose crime, at the worst, was a negative one. In fact, the Austrian Government has obtained gentler treatment from history than it deserved, in this instance as in that of the religious cruelties of the former century, from the comparative obscurity of its internal annals; while the memory of far inferior excesses, committed by powers whose actions were more open

to the light of day, has been branded with much more severity. Thus history and romance have vied in preserving the recollection of the punishment of the Scottish Jacobites in 1746. Few have ever heard of the 'bloody assizes' of Prague in 1743, held on subjects who had never taken up arms against their sovereign, and whose only crime was a passive submission to the Bavarian claim of succession, grounded on the will of one of her predecessors. Not to speak of banishments and confiscations, some of the higher classes 'were condemned to cruel deaths, 'some to torture and degradation, some to sweep the streets *in* 'opere publico, some to daily hard labour in the bridewell with 'ordinary flagellation, others to imprisonment for life.' Twenty-one persons — their names unknown to history — are said to have perished by secret execution. One ancient family, that of Wrtby, is supposed to have been exterminated on this occasion; for the registers of the Hof-Commission never gave up their dark secrets. It is only known that the Wrtbys did not reappear from imprisonment, and that their hereditary office of treasurer, and their estates, passed to the family of Lobkowitz. At Maria Theresa's coronation, a priest brought before her 'more than 'fifty little children and pregnant wives of those who had been 'imprisoned by the Hof-Commission, who with shrieks and 'tears implored pardon for them in the name of God's mercy, 'and of the native clemency and moderation of their gracious 'sovereign.' (Vehse, vii. 165.) Their petition was refused.

To recount such things of a masculine ruler would be to pronounce him a tyrant of the worst description. It would be unjust so to decide of Maria Theresa, even in the first flush of her blood-bought triumph. She was in all things very woman; and in this intensity of the qualities of her sex, much of the secret of her greatness lay. Her vindictiveness, also, was feminine, passionate, not implacable. Vehse has done her in this respect no more than justice, if his portrait does on the whole betray some symptoms of the popular idolatry of her name.

'Maria Theresa's voice was clear, her speech rapid, accompanied with much and lively gesture: the fieriest expression in every movement, mitigated only by that lofty dignity which never deserted her, even in her fits of involuntary ill-humour or easily-roused anger. Of pure sanguine temperament, she was very excitable, easily provoked, but pacified at once, especially when mere mistakes had been committed; and ready to recompense with overflowing munificence wherever she felt that she had gone beyond the right limits in her anger; for she was just, and even painfully conscientious. It was only necessary to persuade her of the injustice of a project, however advantageous to herself, and she let it drop immediately, and disliked even to hear it mentioned afterwards.' (Vol. vi. p. 329.)

It seems strange to award the last praise to the divider of Poland; yet it is not undeserved. It is known that she consented to that measure when her energy was enfeebled by disease, under the pressing influence of Kaunitz, and as it should seem under the fear of a northern league against her. But she wrote under Kaunitz's minute the memorable words, —

'"*Placet*, since so many great and learned men will have it so: "but when I have long been dead, men will learn the consequences "of this violation of all that has hitherto been regarded as just and "holy." . . . "I observe well," she added, in another scrap of paper, still preserved, "that I am left alone, and no longer *en vigueur*; "therefore, I let things take their course, though to my deep sorrow."

'Like all great spirits,' Vehse proceeds, 'she was enthusiastic in love and friendship. Whoever was loved by her became the entire possessor of her affection. The feeling of gratitude was in her unusually strong; she never forgot the slightest service, or most trivial mark of attachment. The Hungarians, who had rescued her at the outset of her reign, were among the last thoughts which occupied her deathbed; nor did she ever forget that the Turks had abstained from turning her extremity on that occasion to their advantage. . . . . She was, whenever there was occasion for it, heroic in demeanour, clear in judgment, consistent in conduct. Of humour, and the genial jovial temperament of her ancestor Rudolf, she possessed nothing whatever. Yet she was always cheerful, and, in her youth, a lover of amusement and festivity. The most threatening vicissitudes of fortune disturbed her outward composure but little. Impatient apprehensiveness was an ingredient altogether foreign from her thoroughly princely blood.'

The household virtues of correct life and family affection in great princes have become, fortunately, matter of rather commonplace encomium at the present day; it was not so in Maria Theresa's; and her conduct in these respects contrasted nobly with that of the crowned profligates of her sex who succeeded each other on the neighbouring throne of Russia. Young and beautiful, amidst all the vice of a corrupt age, and all the temptation to uncontrolled indulgence which the world's ready acquiescence or approval could have afforded, she was preserved at once by strong religious principle, and by that passionate, imaginative attachment which women of her temperament can often bring themselves to feel for a handsome, good-natured, rakish, pococurante husband, with not one tittle of their own heart or intellect, and who loves them but

'A little better than his horse, a little dearer than his hound.'

The married life of Maria Theresa and Francis of Lorraine should be portrayed by the hand — a great deal too cunning in such disagreeable delineation — which has described for us the

ménage of Lady Castlewood and her profligate of a Viscount. We should, however, do the Emperor Francis injustice by too close a comparison. Though so ill educated that he could hardly read or write, his unaffected good sense and amiable character made him one of the most attractive persons of his age; and irresistible, it seems, by many besides his empress. She was ready to sacrifice all and everything for him, save power, the darling of her life, which even conjugal endearment could not win from her. She could bear no partner on the throne, and Francis had not the force of character to gain from her the cherished possession. Reduced to unwilling insignificance, yet disagreeably conscious of his own unfitness, even if allowed, to take any real share in the government of his realm, he became, as his son Joseph II. described him, 'an idler, surrounded by 'flatterers.' 'Be warned by me,' said the Empress, in a fit of confidence to her reader Madame Greiner, 'and never marry a 'man who has nothing to do.'

It was a natural consequence that she plagued his life out with jealousy. She tried to get rid of all the pretty aristocratic faces which might tempt the eyes of her sauntering consort. Like her great English prototype Elizabeth, though from a very different development of character, she got, by degrees, to detest gallantry and flirtation, and all that could recall to her mind the frailty of marital nature. 'Elle voudrait,' says the Prussian envoy, Count Podewils, in 1747, 'par le méme principe bannir 'toute galanterie de la cour. Elle voudrait faire un ménage 'bourgeois.' The effect even survived the cause, and Maria Theresa's close and conventual watchfulness over the morals of her court and metropolis, after her husband's death, became by no means the most dignified feature in her administration. 'The thought' says Vehse, 'incessantly accompanied her, that it 'was her duty, as the first of her sex, to protect its morals and 'dignity.' Some of the consequences of this notion, the secret drawing-room inquisition or 'Sitten-gericht,' the 'Keuschheits-Commission,' and the like, might furnish a ludicrous commentary on the results of such imperial fancies.

But if Maria Theresa did little but mischief by this meddling, there can be no doubt of the immense effect for good of her imperial example. Every one conversant with the history of our country, has done justice to the influence of the domestic life of George III. on its moral progress; even higher merit of the same order was due to Maria Theresa, in less auspicious times. It is not too much to say, that by the proof which she gave, that beauty, and grace, and enthusiasm, the love of admiration and the love of power, and every other quality of the queenly

lady, were compatible, not only with high religious views, but with a strict and religious life, she greatly raised, in Germany, the dignity of her own sex, and its appreciation by the other, and counteracted successfully the evil influences which radiated from that seat of cold and cynical profligacy, the court of her victorious neighbour Frederick. Perhaps the greater directness of the influence of that example on the female half of her court, produced the result so frequently observed on by Sir R. Keith in his correspondence, — that the ladies of Vienna were far superior, in point of cultivation and intellect, to the men.

It must be added to this part of her portrait, that even injuries on the tenderest point neither affected her constitutional magnanimity, nor her constant attachment. When the remains of her husband were at Hall on the Inn, waiting for conveyance to Vienna after his sudden death at Innspruck, she appeared in public for the first time. Alone in a corner of the room, in deep mourning, and avoided by all, stood the last object of his too notorious admiration, the beautiful princess Heinrich von Auersperg. The empress stepped at once from the circle and took her by the hand: 'We have indeed both lost much, *meine 'Liebe.*' And from that day she took the princess under her protection.* Maria Theresa survived her husband fifteen years, living amid the emblems of perpetual mourning. She shut herself up on the eighteenth of every month, and the whole of every August, the day and month of his death. As her life drew near its end, she spent many days at times in the funeral chapel, before the picture of her husband, taken as he lay in his coffin; and her last words, well understood by those around her, were, 'I come to thee.'

But perhaps the empress's maternal virtues constituted a higher claim on the affections of the good-humoured Viennese than even her conjugal. Who can estimate the value, for the promotion of loyalty, of those sympathies of the nursery and the school-room which so irresistibly attach the most influential half of mankind? The happy mother of sixteen little archdukes and archduchesses, absorbed in the endless details of their teething, weaning, and education, possessed a source of innocent popularity which her good-natured and somewhat gossiping disposition rendered still more efficacious. She lived, so to speak, in public, and made all Vienna and all Austria as far as she

* Some ingenious German speculator has conjectured that the personage called 'the German princess,' whose mysterious discovery under a haystack near Bristol occupied the lovers of the marvellous in 1780, was a daughter of Francis I. by this lady.

could, the confidantes of her maternal pleasures and anxieties. There was no loss of dignity or refinement to be hazarded by such condescension as this: least of all in a country where the romance of life, and its commonest domestic details, have always been linked together more closely than elsewhere; where heroines are still said to effect their conquests while cutting slices of bread and butter, and sentiment to find its favourite lodging in the store-room. When the news arrived of the birth of her grandson (afterwards Francis the Second) in 1768, she hurried off to the opera, where she had not been for a long time, in most domestic dishabille, leant over the ledge of the box, and called to her neighbours loud enough for the information of the whole house, 'Poldel' (Leopold) 'has got a boy, and on my wedding-'day too; is not that gallant?' Pit and boxes were electrified.

Yet though Maria Theresa was the homeliest and most natural of mothers, so long as she could keep her children under her wing, her affection was ever subordinate to the fatal 'Ragion 'di Stato,' to that political game which was the great object of her life. She never understood the noble character of her son Joseph, her 'Starrkopf,' as she called him. The bigotry of his education made him reserved and suspicious, while its pedantry rendered him ill informed*; and by her obstinate refusal to part with one atom of her power to him, though nominally associated with her and already advanced in middle age when she died, she made his love of reform, which would have found a thousand useful vents, ferment within him to a dangerous revolutionary passion. Her beloved daughters were sacrificed one by one to state convenience. Three of them in turn were destined for the royal wretchedness of union with Ferdinand of Naples; two were rescued from the honour by death. 'Je regarde la pauvre Josèphe' (she said of the favourite among them) 'comme un sacrifice de politique; pourvu

* It is distressing to think of the sufferings the young philosopher must have undergone at the hand of his well-meaning instructors. The history of the Austrian empire was written on purpose for him, in fifteen folio volumes. Some judgment of its character may be formed from what Mailàth says of the Hungarian division, written by a patriotic canon, in which twice as much space was allotted to the Huns and Avars as to events after the succession of the House of Hapsburg. One result on Joseph's mind, among others, was a great distaste for the acquisition of positive knowledge, usually the branch in which sovereigns of any education have shone the most; insomuch that there was some truth in Frederick's remark, that though always learning, he knew nothing. His fancy was full of ideas, his memory barren of facts.

'qu'elle fasse son devoir envers Dieu et son époux, et qu'elle 'fasse son salut, dût-elle même être malheureuse, je serai con-'tente.' In an evil day for the Neapolitan people and for humanity, Josepha was replaced by Caroline in the contract with the Lazzarone king, who received his Austrian princesses fresh and fresh, as they were served up, with perfect indifference. A courtier asked him how he liked the bride? 'Dorme come 'un' ammazzata, e suda come un porco' was the polite reply. But Maria Theresa's darling wish was fulfilled, when her youngest daughter was summoned to the proudest and apparently the happiest of unions which affection or policy could have desired, — the brightest and most cloudless morning which ever belied its promise.

As was in natural accordance with a domestic character of this description, affability and ease, the favourite *Gutmüthigkeit* of her country, — something compounded of good nature and good humour—were among the chief charms of Maria Theresa's disposition, and the chief secrets of her influence. It seemed strange, that one who appeared to the world wrapt in the stateliest etiquette, and who was, moreover, everywhere regarded as a punctilious assertor of her rights and dignity, should be at the same time so accessible to those about her, and so little excited by trifling neglect or even affront; but so it was. Even the weakness which Wraxall remarks in her, of believing too readily the stories which found their way to her private ear, and taking partial views in consequence, arose out of the same disposition. The liberties which were sometimes taken with so mighty an Empress, and in public too, seem surprising. The young Prince Christian von Lowenstein was banished on one occasion from Court for some excess. He appeared there the next day notwithstanding. The Empress had him brought before her to give account of his audacity. 'At Berlin,' was his answer, 'an 'order is given only once, but at Vienna you must speak three 'times before a thing is done.' The Empress smiled, and the order was withdrawn. In her zeal for correcting the morals of her people, she one day commenced an address to her great minister Kaunitz, as he attended in her cabinet, on the subject of his extravagances. 'Je ferai observer à S.M.,' was his reply, 'que je suis venu ici pour lui parler de ses affaires, et non des 'miennes.' The imperial lecturer was silenced at once.

This kind of yielding disposition in trifles, coupled with stubbornness in essentials, was far from unsuccessful, as in countries requiring stronger management it might have been. It suited the character of the German-Austrians, the courtiers and court aristocracy, the townsfolk of Vienna, the public under whose

immediate observation Maria Theresa had chiefly to act her forty years' part. Like Elizabeth's courtier Lord Hunsdon, 'nati 'sunt ex salice, non ex quercu.' Good temper, yieldingness, a habit of bowing to adverse fortune and taking defeat and oppression with a kind of simple resignation, have always characterised them among the nations of Europe. During the endless reverses of the Silesian and Seven Years' Wars, Empress, army, and citizens seemed to vie with each other in this half-comic submission to destiny, and mutual forgiveness of faults and weaknesses, as Sganarelle and Pantaloon take their thrashings on the theatre. Witness the trait which tickled Horace Walpole's fancy so much that he perpetually quotes it, in Count Neipperg's despatch on the defeat at Mollwitz: Je suis faché de 'dire à S.M. que son armée a été battue, et tout par la faute de 'son serviteur, Neipperg.' Charles of Lorraine, — the loser of battles, *der Schlachtverlierer*, as he is styled, was never punished for his many sins in this line, except by the occasional pasquinades of the very gentle wits of Vienna. These fell also to the lot of Daun, the Austrian Fabius, who now and then won a battle, but invariably went to sleep in his quarters for some months afterwards. When his wife drove to court after one of these feats, she was saluted in the street with an universal shower of nightcaps. As for the Prussians, they mocked at their Southern rivals, even in occasional defeat, as the Athenians did at the Bœotians. When General Haddick took Berlin, he despatched to his gracious sovereign two dozen pair of Berlin gloves, stamped with the city arms, by way of *spolia opima*, but he forgot to send a file of his grenadiers to superintend the packing: when the parcel was opened at Vienna, the gloves proved all left-handed!

Maria Theresa was doubtless proud, as became a descendant of so many Cæsars; but it can hardly be said that pride formed a substantial element in her character; what passed for such in public estimation of her, was rather love of power and extreme jealousy of her authority. Such pride as she possessed easily yielded to any suggestion of policy. In her anxiety to found the French alliance, she demeaned herself so far as to address Madame de Pompadour under her own hand as 'Madame, ma 'chère sœur et cousine.' The favourite addressed her playfully in answer as 'chère reine.' When her husband, the jovial Franz, read the letter, he threw himself on two chairs and laughed till they cracked under his weight. 'What is there to 'laugh at?' she quietly asked. 'I have written to Farinelli 'before now.'

Not only Maria Theresa's pride, but her devotion — a far

stronger principle of action — was singularly subordinate to her engrossing political zeal and her masculine understanding. Devout she was even to excess; her piety degenerating into a world of scrupulous observance and idle questions of conscientious casuistry. Her bigotry made her commit many foolish actions, and not a few unjust ones; but it scarcely exercised any perceptible influence on the general destinies of the empire under her sway. Dearly as she loved her spiritual teachers, she kept the priestly Æolus in general pretty closely confined to his natural province of court and chamber influence — *illâ se jactet in aulâ* — excluding him from the wider region of politics. And therefore the latest political champion of Ultramontanism, Count Montalembert, regards her reign as a period of persecution to the Church. She, the most pious sovereign in Europe, was the chief leader in the overthrow of the Jesuits. Dr. Vehse says that she yielded this point to Kaunitz only after long resistance and many tears, and finally, on his giving her proof that a general confession made by her to Father Hambacher had been taken down in writing, and sent to the general of the order. Others affirm that she gave way to the direct spiritual injunction of the Pope. But the secret history of the fall of the Jesuits, after all that has been written on it, seems to remain secret still.

Baron Gleichen says of her, that when at the point of death, 'as soon as she had ascertained from her physician the* number 'of hours she had to live, she hastened to receive the sacra-'ments; and this done, she dismissed altogether the material 'objects of her habitual devotions, did not even look at the 'crucifix, despatched several affairs of business, and ended her 'life seated on a sofa in the middle of her family.' The Baron, himself believing in nothing but ghosts, magnetism, and alchemy, merely cites the story as evidence of the general unreality of religious professions. If there be any truth in it, we imagine him to be wholly wrong. Such resolute return to her ordinary duties was the act of devotion, *in extremis*, of a noble and most conscientious spirit, persuaded that the execution even to the last of the great earthly task allotted to it was due not to the world only, but to its own eternal welfare.

No picture of Maria Theresa's reign, however slight, would be complete without a sketch of the great minister Von Kaunitz, who managed her foreign affairs without interruption for twenty years, and, nominally, those of her son during his whole reign:

* According to one story, she authorised him to give her notice of her approaching end by a preconcerted question. When he asked 'whether she wanted lemonade?' she knew that sentence was passed.

and whose influence was strongly perceptible in much of her internal policy also. The figure of Kaunitz is one of those which come out in more definite importance as we recede from their times, and are better able in some respects to judge of them than their contemporaries, since we see as great and consistent political schemes what the latter only observed in fragments. The author of three great political events, the long French alliance of Austria, the fall of the Jesuits, and (jointly with his northern coadjutors) of the partition of Poland, cannot pass into the oblivion which awaits ordinary premiers after their day of influence; although none of these three strokes of policy have been, strictly speaking, permanent; for the French alliance died with the French Revolution, and Austria fell back on her more natural affinities; the Jesuits have returned; and the partition of Poland, though a subsisting fact, has turned almost wholly to the profit of Russia.

Kaunitz was a Moravian of a converted Protestant family; an exception to the general rule, that the greatest Austrian statesmen, as well as soldiers, have been foreigners. There was, however, no national feeling or character about him. As a public man, he was the servant of a crown, not a country; and in private his affectation of French manners and predilections were carried to an absurd excess. He remained through life a coxcomb and *petit maitre*,—a German *petit maitre*, too, who never could, by the most laborious exertions, attain the graces of the native article. The French laughed at him, while he aped their manners and language to the extent of purposely speaking their bad German. Many strange things are told of him by our countrymen Wraxall and Swinburne; and Dr. Vehse has gleaned his anecdotes from their pages as well as from other quarters; but we will ourselves borrow the pen of a personal observer, the Baron Von Gleichen, whose curious 'Denkwürdigkeiten' were published in 1847 under a German title, though composed by himself in French.

'Kaunitz was tall and well made, particular in his dress, notwithstanding the somewhat ludicrous appearance presented by his five tailed wig; he was dignified in his bearing, and his address was rather stiff and ceremonious. His formality of manner, however, sat more easily upon him than upon most of the Austrian nobles; for it seemed of right to belong to him, and to bear the stamp of a superior mind.

His usual salutation was merely a nod, but it was accompanied by a benevolent smile to his friends, and a patronising air towards others. He was kindhearted, upright, loyal, and disinterested, although by no means disinclined to receive presents from different courts of wine, horses, pictures, and other articles which gratified his

taste. He expressed himself in carefully chosen language, and in a slow, deliberate manner. Few men had such an extensive acquaintance with technical language as he had, and he highly appreciated a command of it in others. An unusual word of this description would win his good opinion as easily as a *bon-mot* would that of the Duke of Choiseul. He was well informed and fond of art, especially of painting, and patronised artists of every class. He had a great esteem for accomplished craftsmen, even in the subordinate branches of handiwork, and had a real passion for well executed productions of every kind. Prudent and dispassionate, his excellent judgment and long experience well entitled him to the name they won for him, of the political Nestor of his age. He was happy in possessing a variety of elegant tastes, without being under the influence of any one ruling passion. His friends complained of the coolness of his partiality to them, but his enemies, on the other hand, could accuse him of no harsh or vindictive conduct. He would listen with patience and attention to the most prolix details, and was very full and precise in his replies, but he would rarely permit a rejoinder. He was singularly sparing of his labour, and seemed often to be throwing away his time on dreams and trifling occupations, but his real object was to save time for thought, and to keep his head clear and collected. One of the maxims that he was constantly quoting, and which the Emperor Joseph might have studied with advantage, was, never to do one's self what another can do for one. "I would rather tear up "paper," he used to say, "than write a line which another person "could write as well as myself." He was indeed so sparing of his writing, that his less important letters were only signed with a K. On the other hand, he made it a rule never to leave his office till all the business on hand was despatched. He carried his care of his health to the length of egotism. Anxious to keep himself free from every species of annoyance, he sacrificed every consideration to his personal comfort and convenience. Even in his youth, he used to make the Empress Maria Theresa allow him to close the window of her apartment if he felt it cold, and to wear his cap in her presence. In order to keep himself in an equal temperature, he carried a great coat and a cloak in the winter. It was his habit to retire every evening at eleven o'clock, and neither the presence of an archduke, nor even of the Emperor, could induce him to put any constraint upon himself; and if he happened to be playing billiards with the latter, when eleven o'clock struck, he would make his obeisance, and leave His Majesty standing. He had a great aversion to scents, and if approached by a lady who had any about her, even though she might be a stranger to him, he would accost her bluntly with the words, "Allez madame, vous puez." He tried to keep death and old age out of his thoughts, and would allow no notice to be taken of his birthday. In the instructions which he wrote with his own hand for his reader, he earnestly requested him never to name the words death or smallpox in his presence.

'To such a length did he carry his self-esteem, that he was accustomed to speak of himself as of a third person. The Emperor

Joseph had caused busts of Marshal Lascy and Prince Kaunitz to be made. Under that of the latter had been placed a Latin inscription, full of magnificent eulogies on the minister. Some one praised the excellent style of this inscription in his presence, and the prince replied, "I wrote it." (It is said of him by Vehse that, if he wanted to praise anything very highly, he used to say, "Mein Gott, I could "not have done that better myself.") He was a good judge of horses, and was greatly pleased when any one admired his performances in his riding school, where he was always to be met with before dinner. The English ambassador, Keith, sent one of his countrymen there on one occasion, charging him to pay the prince the highest compliments he could, and to season them as strongly as was required for a man already sated with praises. The Englishman, who was no adept in the art of flattery, hesitating and blushing, brought out the words, "Oh! *mon prince*, you are the best rider I ever saw in my life." "I "believe I am," was the only answer he received.'

The death of this singular being was in keeping with the rest of his career. He lived to the age of eighty-four, outlasting two generations of his masters, and witnessing the French Revolution and reign of Francis II. Deaf and doting, he clung to power with tenacious jealousy, and they were obliged at last to withdraw important papers from his cognisance by stratagem. When, like Achitophel of old, he saw that his counsel was no more followed, he is said to have refused sustenance and died of exhaustion.

With the really greater though less imposing operations of Maria Theresa's reign—those of reform in the internal administration of her states—Kaunitz had only indirectly to do. Her ablest counsellor in this department was Count Haugwitz, a Silesian, born a Protestant subject of Austria, but who abandoned his religion and came to Vienna when his native province was conquered by Frederick. The task of administrative reform imposed on her at her accession was indeed enormous; yet there were circumstances which rendered it less difficult than might have been supposed from its apparent magnitude. We must conceive the Austrian empire, in 1740, as not so much a State as a bundle of states under one sovereign,—a monarchy of the middle ages in the middle of the eighteenth century. Each separate state had its viceroy or stattholder, its diet, its administration, and a separate branch of the Council in Vienna in communication with it. There was great pressure of taxation on the people, with scarcely any return to the treasury; an army neither regularly equipped nor recruited; a crown singularly poor in domain lands and private revenues, the resources of most German sovereigns. There was every obstacle which ignorance or apathy could oppose to reform; but there was

no active hostility to it; scarcely any section of the people in the hereditary states were inclined or able to make a stand for privilege. The inhabitants of the old Austrian provinces were docile and manageable. In Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, there was, as we have seen, a kind of condottiere-descended nobility very slightly rooted in the soil, and leaning on the crown for support; and a populace tamed into submission by ages of tyranny. Where any popular spirit existed, it was but the jealousy of rival rights and nationalities, holding each other in perpetual check, and looking to the crown as the only umpire. Accordingly, great as the changes effected by her government were, yet, being temperately though firmly introduced, we hear little or nothing of any difficulty experienced in their execution. In a few years, the old stattholderships and separate governments were totally abolished, and exchanged for a centralised system of government from Vienna; a large revenue was raised from regular taxation; the largest standing army in Europe recruited by regular conscription; a great absolute monarchy compacted out of a multitude of limited principalities.

With the detached portions of the empire enjoying distinct constitutional rights—the Tyrol, the Netherlands, Hungary—those which really possessed a national spirit—the prospect of success was widely different in the eyes of a prudent sovereign, however despotically inclined. Accordingly, we do not find that Maria Theresa meddled with the rights of the two former at all. Her dealings with her ancient and eccentric kingdom of Hungary, too near and powerful a neighbour to Vienna to be simply disregarded, were throughout very characteristic. In that region there was fiery spirit enough, and jealous opposition to all increase of the central power; but, on the other hand, there were those deep-rooted internal divisions which have caused the masses ever to play the Austrian game,—differences of religion, differences of race (the latter not less felt in those times than our own, although their effect was less appreciated), and the constant suppressed warfare between the *populus* and the *misera contribuens plebs*, the half a million of nobles and the millions of trampled peasants. Above all, there was that organised anarchy which the Hungarians then called a constitution; which, by maintaining a perpetual conflict of rights, claims, and protests, kept all internal government at a dead lock, and rendered recourse to the central power, however distasteful, matter of sheer necessity, when there was anything really to be done: even as the contending parties in the play must have stood for ever with their points at each others' throats, had not some one

entered to bid them, 'in the Queen's name, drop all their swords 'and daggers.' It was clear that, although Hungary could not, without encountering violent resistance, be so governed as to add much to the regular financial or military strength of the monarchy, it might at least be so governed as to furnish no cause of weakness in ordinary times, and a great reserve of strength in emergencies, by an administration content neither to anticipate nor oppose the course of events, and to leave 'progress' to take care of itself. The flowers of constitutional privilege, the attempt to pluck which by force from the national tree would draw blood, would fall of themselves, like ripe figs into the mouth of the eater, if left alone. Such was the general and most successful policy of her Hungarian government. She did 'nil contrà legem, 'multa præter legem.' She convoked three diets, and quarrelled with all of them about internal reforms; she then resolved to convoke no more, and none met during the last sixteen years of her reign. Nor did she appoint a Palatine, the ancient mediator between the crown and nation in Hungary, after the death of Louis Bathyany in 1765. But what the nobles had refused to the Plebs, she took advantage of an apprehended Jacquerie to confer of her own authority. The famous 'Urbarium,'—the bill of rights, such as it is, of the Hungarian peasantry — was simply published by the crown, and not confirmed by the Diet until many years after her death. The privileged classes submitted — under perpetual protest of course — to the gentle violence which did for them what the *esprit de corps* of the inferior nobility would never have allowed them to do for themselves; and they submitted, with similar apathy, to the gradual and indirect substitution of the ready, active, and helpful subordinates of the executive for their own clumsy municipal authorities. 'The Constitution would have fairly gone to sleep,' says Mailàth, 'if Maria Theresa had lived much longer.'

But the great Empress-queen loved the Magyars; and that chivalrous race were proud of the gracious and accomplished sovereign, whom they had rescued in her utmost necessity; and this tie between them contributed even more than policy to the maintenance of her authority. She made her favourite friends and gossips of the ladies of their aristocracy; she drew their magnates to Vienna by all the attractions of her personal influence; she carried on the Germanising of the nobility, of which stern patriots at times complained, by the most quiet and gradual means. Only an occasional outbreak of feeling would betray the intense jealousy with which she watched any revival of the old independent spirit. An Austrian Count, Aspermont, enjoyed large Hungarian estates through a female descent from the great

Prince of Transylvania, Ragoczy. The Count's carriage once stuck fast on a journey in the depths of a Hungarian cross road. Numbers of peasants were passing in their market carts, but they remained deaf to all the solicitations of his servants for help, and only enjoyed the sight of the Germans in a 'fix.' At last the Count got on the roof of his carriage and shouted, 'Will 'you let the grandson of Ragoczy be smothered in the mud?' They rushed to his assistance at once, and drew him out in triumph. When next he appeared at Court, the Empress called him before her.—'Listen to me, Aspermont: I do not wish you 'to be smothered in the mud; but leave alone this nonsense 'about Ragoczy, or I shall assuredly send you to prison.'—(Vol. vii. p. 169.)

Great, however, as were the administrative reforms effected under Maria Theresa, it can hardly be said that they extended so far as to produce any substantial change in the social condition of her people. In this respect, undiscriminating eulogy has done her rather more than justice. Little impression was made, during her time, on the vast mass of barbarism and serfdom which overspread the bulk of her empire. Her good dispositions towards the inferior classes of her subjects, whatever they may have been, found but little practical scope. She was probably very willing to make mankind happy under a beneficent despotism; her tendencies, as an Austrian writer describes them, with some affectation but some truth, were 'idyllisch-autocratisch;' her fancy may have aspired to a pastoral reign among neatly powdered Arcadians after the fashion of Watteau. But the loving mother of the empire knew little, face to face, of the sufferings and oppressions of her poorer children. Her legislation, in these respects, followed with a lagging pace the spirit of the age. She reformed the criminal law indeed, but hers was still 'ein 'grausames Gesetzbuch,' a savage code; torture was only abolished, even at Vienna, in 1776, the law of witchcraft 'mo-'dified' about the same time, justifying the saying attributed to Pitt, that Austria 'is always an idea behind the rest of the 'world.' What she did for the peasants of Hungary has already been noticed; in the German States, she went no farther than to ameliorate, in some respects, the condition of 'leibeigenschaft' or personal servitude.

It was, above all things, the sense of this great duty unaccomplished, fermenting in a character of strong will and positive judgment, during twenty years of nominal power and real impotence under his mother's rule, which made of Joseph II. what he was, the royal comet, travelling with brilliant but questionable impetus without the regular orbit in which crowned lumi-

naries usually revolve. The world has judged this sovereign, the despotic precursor of the French Revolution, as it usually judges, by success. Because he failed, he has become a by-word; had he carried through the great scheme of policy which he had conceived, he would have been regarded as the greatest, and with all his absolutism the most beneficent, sovereign who ever swayed the destinies of the human race. And had not his early death intervened, it is difficult to say that a large portion of that scheme might not have been realised. We cannot safely pronounce on what might have been, nor decide whether, as the popular notion is, his death rescued him from general rebellion, or whether it cut short the career of one who was beginning to learn, by experience, the right means towards his magnificent ends, and who would in a few years more have changed much more than the surface of European politics and society.

But however this may be, we utterly disclaim the test of mere success in the judgment of characters such as his. That one bred up in an atmosphere of bigotry, court flattery, and aristocratic pride, should for years have been framing to himself a distinct perception and thorough appreciation of the iniquities and oppressions wrought under the sun; that he should have realised the depth of popular ignorance, the crying injustice of noble privileges, the canker of idle monachism, the countless sufferings of the enslaved multitude; that he should have formed within his mind the deliberate resolution, These things shall not be; they are simply evil, and they shall perish, if my power is torn up by the roots along with them; if my own ease and popularity, and life itself, are shattered to pieces in the encounter with them;—that he should have issued at once to attack these gigantic abuses, like Thalaba among the enchanters, without parley or preparation, relying on his own good right alone, and resolutely cutting away his own chance of retreat;—all this amounts, in point of *à priori* moral probability, to little less than a miracle. It were a likelier task for nature to produce another Napoleon than another Joseph II. Yet he is generally passed by with the cursory sentence, that he was one who formed vast projects, but lacked judgment, tact, and moderation to put them into useful execution. That his composition did lack these wholesome diluents is certain, but it is equally certain that a man possessed of them to any large amount would never have formed such projects at all. As well complain of want of judgment, tact, and moderation in Shaw the lifeguardsman at Waterloo.

How many inferior qualities go to make up a mind like his —

how much there may have been of vanity, and desire to astonish, and love of power, in his character—a biographical analyst may think it his duty to inquire: for our purpose, the purity and loftiness of its chief elements dispenses with the duty of examining how much of the grosser clay was mixed with it. The main springs of his policy were a fervent love of mankind, and an intensely acute sense of justice: and his chief errors were caused by the excess of these, not by any intrusion of baser motives. That philanthropy is a somewhat revolutionary virtue we now well know: excessive love of justice, in a sovereign, is hardly less so. "L'art de bouleverser les états' (says Pascal) 'est d'ébranler les coûtumes établies, en sondant jusque dans 'leur source, pour marquer leur défaut de justice: il faut, dit-'on, recourir aux lois fondamentales et primitives de l'état, 'qu'une coûtume injuste a abolies. C'est un jeu sûr pour tout 'perdre; rien ne sera juste à cette balance.' This strong conscientiousness Joseph inherited from his mother: but the passion for ideal political justice was his own. He carried it to a point at which it became not only a weakness in the eyes of statesmen, but in those of the multitude a positive vice. To take an instance which strongly exemplifies our meaning: the popular notion that a sovereign should only interfere with the sentences of criminal courts to remit them, that a 'King's face should 'give grace'—is inseparable in feudal Europe from the very idea of monarchy. But this one-sided interference was revolting to his sense of absolute equity. He was the only Christian monarch out of Russia, so far as we know, who ever assumed, as a regular course, the function of increasing as well as diminishing the punishments awarded by the ordinary tribunals: and this innovation, founded as it was on the strictest view of right, was the very first which he was compelled by public feeling to withdraw.

Never, assuredly, was so complete a sweep made of old institutions and usages, as far as mere change of the law could do it, as in the five first years of Joseph's reign. That of the French Revolution itself will hardly bear the comparison, especially when regard is had to the different genius, and state of preparation, of the two communities. It was like the sudden change in the locomotion of the same country, from the old Eilwagen crawl of four miles an hour, without intervening improvements, to the speed of the railway. It takes away the breath of those accustomed to the bit-by-bit proceedings of constitutional countries, to recite the mere catalogue of Joseph's reforms. In the short space of time we have mentioned, all exclusive rights and privileges were clean abolished: serfdom, and compulsory feudal

dues* and services, ceased legally to exist: all men became equal before the law under the sovereign. All old local constitutions, including that of Hungary, with which his mother had dealt so warily, were abolished or violently invaded, old provinces obliterated from the map, and a division of the whole empire into thirteen great departments, with a civil administrator (Kreishauptmann) at the head of each, substituted. All ecclesiastical dependence on the see of Rome was removed; all convents not connected with useful institutions, such as schools and hospitals, suppressed; universal religious toleration, or rather equality, established, except for some unlucky deistical sectaries, who instead of toleration incurred the Austrian classical number of fifty-five 'Stockprügel,' or blows with a stick; for Joseph, with all his radicalism, was a religious man, and no friend to deists. 'I am no divine,' he said to the professor of theology at Bologna, 'but a soldier: but this much I know, that there is only one 'road to Heaven, and only one doctrine, that of Jesus Christ.' Education was made national, the press rendered free, the old and inveterate 'unwesen' (to use a German word for which we want an equivalent) of guilds and corporations in the towns, and other restrictions on internal commerce, utterly abolished; the superstructure of ages rased down to the very foundation.

It need not be said, that a great number of these changes remained in the form of decrees only, and never attained a practical existence. Yet he actually performed much; energetically, but intemperately, and without the slightest trace of that politic respect which might have been shown for interests injured, or feelings wounded, in the process. *Regis ad exemplar*, the subordinates who were entrusted with the execution of the Emperor's innovating decrees, set to work with a revolutionary violence which seems scarcely credible in a civilised and regular State. In fact, much of what we read of the Austrian reforms of 1780—1785, resembles the sometimes grotesque and sometimes terrible scenes which took place ten years later in France. Convents were ransacked with merciless violence, their goods plundered, the precious contents of their libraries destroyed or scattered; the bones of the dead disturbed by official riflers of the graves. At the Chartreuse, at Vienna, the mummied corpse of Albert the Wise was ejected from its leaden

* It was in reference to some change of this kind that the Bohemian Count Chotek remonstrated, and declared that the peasants ought to pay, and must be forced to pay. 'I fancy, dear Chotek,' Joseph wrote in reply, 'that physical force is after all on the side of 'the peasants; and if it ever should happen that they *will* not pay, 'what is to become of us all?'

coffin, for the sake of the metal, and lay for months exposed to the curiosity and insults of the populace. An order was at one time issued by Joseph for the conversion of that venerable pile, the ancient palace of the Hradschin, at Prague, into barracks: to be executed by a given day. Instantly a band of Vandals was let loose, to strip it of the accumulated relics of centuries. The mysterious treasure chamber of the star-gazing Emperor Rudolf was utterly despoiled of its renowned antiquarian collections. 'The statues were sold off; a torso 'found no purchaser; it was thrown at last out of the window 'into the garden: an oculist of Vienna, Barth, bought it for 'six "siebzehner." It was sold at the congress of Vienna to 'the Crown Prince, Louis of Bavaria, for 6000 ducats—it is 'the Ilioneus of the Glyptothek at Munich. The antique coins 'were sold by weight. An inventory of the contents of the 'treasury was made, which was preserved in the Schonfeld 'Museum, at Vienna: a Leda of Titian figures in it as "a '"woman bitten by an enraged goose."' (Vol. iii. p. 8.) Yet after all this mischief was done, Joseph was induced by the murmurs of the Bohemians to revoke his order; a strong proof of the truth of Frederick's sarcasm, that 'he always took the 'second step before the first.'

The truth is, that Joseph had learnt, during his long apprenticeship in his mother's court, a kind of cynical contempt for men. He connected this, in his own mind, with the equalising precepts of his philosophy: he admired the constant exhibition of it by his great model, Frederick, of whose peculiar *aquafortis* wit he possessed nothing. He did himself probably more injury by his laboured smartnesses against religious fraternities and monks—those ulemas and fakirs, as he affected to call them—than by suppressing their convents. His nobility could more easily have forgiven his attacks on their privileges, and his endeavour to diminish their importance by 'pitchforking' into their class a herd of insignificant people, civil functionaries, municipal authorities, and the like, the notorious 'Bagatelladel' of Austria, than his parade of maxims about the equality of mankind, and the grim satisfaction with which he gave the Viennese, by way of corollary to these maxims, the spectacle of a count who had forged banknotes sweeping the streets in chains, and another, a grey-haired colonel of the guards who had plundered his military chest, exposed in the pillory.

Closely allied with these peculiarities, were a roughness of manner carried to affectation, a harsh and dictatorial air; an assumed outside, which covered singular delicacy as well as strength of sentiments: feelings tremblingly alive to every

variation in those of the persons whom he loved; a lively sympathy for suffering, a special fondness for elegant and particularly female society; his only relaxation in later years, and in which he appeared to great advantage, as what Kaunitz described him, in his barbarous Frenchified dialect, 'ein ganz 'aimabler perfecter Cavalier.' Baron Reizenstein, in his 'Journey to Vienna' (1789), describes not amiss this double aspect of Joseph's outward demeanour. 'When I entered the room,' he says, 'the Emperor was still speaking with a gentleman to 'whom he gave some orders. His tone was so rough, so harsh, 'his pronunciation so Austrian, that the impression made on me 'was unpleasing in the highest degree. Immediately after-'wards, two French ladies were introduced to him. How 'polite, refined, and soft his manner at once became! The 'imperious monarch disappeared: the most prepossessing, at-'tractive man of the world stood before me instead.' His death is said to have been accelerated by his passionate grief at the loss of his favourite niece, Elizabeth of Wirtemberg, the first wife of Francis the Second. One of the most touching of the many pieces of his writing which remain, is the billet of adieu to the Princess Francis Lichtenstein, written just before his decease, and addressed 'Aux cinq dames réunies de la société, 'qui m'y toléraient.' The reader will find it at vol. viii. p. 307. of the work before us.

It was in his ecclesiastical reforms, in reality the most beneficial part of his operations, that Joseph encountered the first and most violent, if not most determined resistance. The leader of the Ultramontane opposition was the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, Migazzi, no saint, but more resembling Thomas à Becket before he began to exhale the odour of sanctity; a 'handsome, gallant man of the world,' says Vehse, and a great intriguer in the former reign. It was under the influence of the representations of Migazzi and his party, that Pius VI. determined on his memorable journey to Vienna, in 1782.

It was in truth a memorable journey; and we of the third generation after it, are now for the first time able to perceive its true significance. It is scarcely an exaggeration to call it one of the turning points in the history of the world. Rome on that occasion renewed her youth by touching her mother earth; the successor of the Apostles became, for a moment, the brother and companion of that mass of mankind from which his first predecessors sprang. In earlier days, during the life and death struggles of the Reformation, the importance, in religious quarrels, not only of exciting the general sympathies of the multitude, but of downright popular agitation with all its vulgar

incidents, had been thoroughly understood on both sides of the question. To know how and when to let loose with success the passions of the populace, *lâcher la grande levrière*, as the leaders of the French League were wont to call it, was then an important point in the politician's art. But the age of popular enthusiasm had now long passed; and in Germany especially, where the Thirty Years' War degenerated from a great religious quarrel into a struggle of rival condottieri, the importance of the plebeian element in Church politics was practically forgotten. Of the intriguing and diplomatic statesmen-popes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not one would have thought of descending from his pedestal to invoke the aid of the masses in an emergency, any more than he would have thought of preaching a crusade.

Nor do we believe that Pius VI. for a moment entertained the notion. He was a good and zealous churchman, but neither wiser nor more original in his views than cardinals in general. His idea seems only to have been that of making a personal impression on Joseph, partly by his own persuasive powers,—for there entered no small amount of vanity into his composition,—partly through that traditional aid from above, which had made Attila quail before Leo. In this sense only his project was judged, when his advisers strenuously urged him against it, and the wise men of the world taxed him with consummate folly. 'I was almost beginning to believe in your master's in-'fallibility,' said Frederick to Pius's envoy at Berlin, 'but this 'journey to Vienna!' Nor did the adoration of the multitudes which threw themselves at his feet in sudden enthusiasm during that long Alpine journey, or of those who flocked from far and near to Vienna to idolise him, insomuch that a famine was apprehended during his stay, however it might affect the feelings of observers, alter the general estimate of his undertaking. Even now some liberal historians, like Schlosser, affect to doubt the reality of its effects, and assert that the great South-German 'revival' of 1782 evaporated in smoke. They do not perceive the new impulse which was then given to the minds of men, if not to the immediate march of events. The progress of religious democracy in Catholic countries since that day is but too marked a feature in modern history. There was but too much significance in the emblematic medal which the legate at Munich struck on the occasion, representing Religion as Cybele, drawn in her car by lions among the prostrate bodies of men.

The Pope, indeed, gained no present advantage by his journey, as is well known. Joseph received him with a polite affectation of keeping all serious conversation at a distance. Kaunitz, ac-

cording to the anecdotes repeated by Vehse, thought it politic to treat the unwished-for stranger with peculiar rudeness, as if in contempt of his supposed power, shook lustily the hand which Pius offered him to kiss—received him at his villa in morning dishabille, talked of nothing but his statues and pictures, and pushed his visitor into all kinds of places and postures in order to give him a better sight of them, insomuch that the high-bred Italian, at once pontiff and patrician, remained 'tutto stupefatto.' Joseph even gave his supposed victory over his Holiness something of a comic turn, by paying him a return visit at Rome, where the populace, always anti-papal whatever the sentiment may be elsewhere, received him with shouts of 'Long live the 'Emperor-king, *siete a casa vostra, siete il padrone.*' But the work of resistance to his reforms was not the less effectively commenced. The cause of reaction had received a moral aid, worth more than myriads of bayonets. Joseph was taught how thoroughly he had miscalculated, in his heedlessness, the influence of the ulemas and fakirs—the objects of his scorn—over the masses which he deemed made but to obey a beneficent despot. He knew that there was a power within his states greater than that of the Emperor; that half the allegiance, and more than half the reverence, of the millions, belonged to another than him. His pride was no less wounded than his purpose thwarted. And the blow was a fatal one.

We have no space to dwell on the details of that reaction which completes, as it were, the dramatic unity of Joseph's ten years of reign. Perpetual opposition in Church and State made him in no degree alter his purpose, but it rendered him impatient and violent, and apt to exercise his power the more stubbornly in trifles, because he felt himself bound fast by a thousand invisible chains, when he attempted any greater movement. He became suspicious; and Vienna swarmed with government agents, noble and plebeian spies, instruments of the secret police, who poisoned his ear with suggestions of imaginary plots, and led him into the commission of acts of injustice towards some of his most faithful subjects. Then commenced in reality or in popular belief, that fearful system of the employment of *agens provocateurs* to stir up the opposition of classes and races, with which Austrian policy under several reigns has been reproached, how far justly it is impossible to say. When the Hungarian nobles were in organised passive resistance to the attack on their Constitution (1784) a Wallach boor, Horya, became the leader of a peasant insurrection against them. His supposed complicity with government agents was never proved; but he had tokens to show which worked strongly on the ima-

gination of his followers; a golden chain with a picture of the Emperor, a writing in gold letters which he called an imperial patent. The revolt was accompanied with great atrocities, and was repressed with equal cruelty. Horya was executed by the wheel, a hundred and fifty of his people 'after their country-'fashion,' that is, impaled alive. These horrors worked powerfully on the sensitive mind of Joseph, which was by this time lapsing into fixed disgust and weariness of life.

It was mainly to shake off the pressure of disappointment at home that he rushed into the Turkish war, only to see thousands of his soldiery perish of fever in the marshes of the Lower Danube, and an Austrian army, for the first time since the rescue of Vienna, retreat in disorderly dispersion before the unbelievers. Then came the successful progress of the Belgian revolt, a revolt of which the cause was as undeniably rightful, as the conduct and agents were contemptible; begun by the drunken students of Louvain shouting for 'better beer, bread, 'and tobacco, and orthodox doctrine and discipline,' continued by a coalition of priest-led zealots and empty democrats. Conquered at last, he had to withdraw reforms and restore privileges, even with greater precipitation than he had evinced in the first part of his career. In a few months, all his greater innovations were cancelled, except the abolition of serfdom and the toleration edict. He could not survive his broken hopes and outraged authority. By whatever name his last disease might pass in the physician's catalogue, over-exertion, dropsy of the chest, malaria fever brought back from the Turkish frontier—the true cause, a broken heart, was plain enough to all. Yet he retained to the last, both the fundamental heroism of his character, and his clear conviction of the righteousness of his cause. 'I know my own heart;' he wrote, 'I am convinced 'in my innermost soul of the purity of my intentions; and I 'hope, that when I am no more, posterity will examine, aye and 'judge, more considerately, more justly, and more impartially 'than the present age, what I have done for my people.'

'Here lies Joseph II.,' is his well-known self-composed epitaph, 'who failed in everything he undertook.' They were the words of disappointment, not of truth. The greatness of what he achieved has been under-estimated, only because measured by the gigantic scale of what he projected. The two great measures which we have just noticed alone suffice to immortalise him: the liberation of the Leibeigeners, which has remained an accomplished fact; and the Edict of Toleration, which, however it may have appeared at times to be menaced, has never as yet been seriously encroached upon. But these

form only a part of what his empire has to thank him for. As his latest biographer (Röse) observes, much of what he retracted was lost in form only, but preserved in substance. Independently of mere political theory, the importance of his administrative changes is fully recognised by Austrian statesmen, who know the practical necessity of unity of action on the part of the central power. The obstinate and compact strength opposed by Austria to the invasions of Napoleon, is mainly attributed by some to the solidity which his reforms communicated to her executive; and Count Ficquelmont, in his recent writings, appeals to the occurrences of 1848, as bearing the most decisive evidence to the correctness of his judgment of her prospects and requirements. The national system of education, often admired even by those least in love with Austrian institutions, is mainly the result of his regulations. The good which he did by the removal of feudal and municipal obstructions to industry, it is scarcely possible to over-estimate. Without believing what some affirm,—that the population of Austria increased by one-fourth in the ten years of his reign, while its revenue undoubtedly doubled—we have no doubt that a great and simultaneous increase of population and wealth bore incontestable evidence to the soundness of his economical measures.

Has posterity yet attained that impartiality respecting him for which he prayed? Placed beyond the sympathies of both the great leagues of modern thinkers, he has been condemned and satirised by liberals as an absolutist—by the partisans of reaction as a demagogue. With courtiers and statesmen it was the fashion, particularly during the revolutionary era, to sneer at him as a mistaken though sincere visionary. There was, at all events, one class among whom his memory was long and fondly cherished: and it was that to the sympathies of which he would best have loved to make his appeal. The Austrian peasantry of German blood are at once an eminently loyal race, and one on which affection and kindness are rarely thrown away. They were never misled in their judgment of him. Even when they were kneeling before the carriage of the Pope, they had no idea that they were assuming an attitude of opposition to their friend and Emperor. No royal name lives among them at this day, in reverential tradition, so truly as that of Kaiser Joseph. Their estimate of him cannot be better expressed than in the simple apologue which is still popular in Austria. The peasantry of a Styrian village are assembled to discuss the news of the Emperor's death. They will not believe it,—it is a lie of the court nobles, the lawyers, the lazy friars. While they are debating, information is brought of the revival, bit by bit, of the

old order of things: the Carthusians have returned to the neighbouring abbey, the Capuchins have resumed their rounds, the Forstmeister and the gamekeeper have reoccupied their lodges, and the steward is sitting at the receipt of feudal dues. The oldest peasant rises and takes off his hat,—'Then Joseph is 'dead indeed,—may Heaven have mercy on his soul.'

Sixty years have since elapsed, and the prolific house of Hapsburg-Lorraine has furnished two numerous generations of princes, several distinguished for civic virtues, and one at least of high military renown; but no spirit like that of Joseph, or his mother, has animated the race since his remains descended to the vaults of the Capuchins, nor has anything occurred to refute the saying of Kaunitz, that it takes 'a hundred years to 'make an Austrian great man.' We should have wished, had space permitted, to follow Dr. Vehse through his last volume, bringing the internal history of the monarchy to our own times, and showing the connexion of the present with the past. We should then have seen, how the long struggle with France purified away, as it were, whatever there was of encroaching and arbitrary in the foreign policy of Austria, and substituted for it a strong principle of self-sufficing forbearance. We should have seen how the same events raised into life, for the third time, the military monarchy, and created that heroic army, itself almost a nation, of which the endurance and constant fidelity are among the most remarkable features of political history in our age; whose soldierly spirit is the one living principle of unity in that miscellaneous empire. We should recognise, in the long administration of Metternich, one painful endeavour to maintain the *status quo*, by a temperate and self-denying policy without, but by unsparing and unsleeping repression within: a repression the less endurable because enforced by statesmen who had no faith in its effects, like religious persecution by unbelievers. For all the while, as we have said above, these have seemed to labour under the consciousness that the elements of that stability, to which they sacrificed all other considerations, were temporary only. And so matters remain to this day, notwithstanding the unquestionable strength which the cause of order, as understood in Austria, has derived from the mad outbreak of 1848 and its first consequences. There are indeed many who imagine, though recent events have made the trade of prophesying more hazardous than ever, that those events may have brought the catastrophe nearer. Many of the manifestations of local feeling then elicited may now appear irrational enough. We may smile as we please on the recollection of Austro-Germans raving about the Frankfort Parliament and the National Fleet; haughty

Magyars preaching French democracy, with one foot trampling on the Wallach and the other on the Croat; fierce military borderers brandishing their sabres not as of old for plunder and provant, but for Federalism, and Panslavism, and all the inconceivable dreams of the German Professorate. But the practical question for our day is, whether the events to which we refer have increased that mutual repulsion between the several races through which the strength of the central government is now mainly preserved, or whether they have been taught something of the necessity of union, and of forming mutual and balanced leagues for their support. If the latter be really the case, the map of Europe can hardly long remain as it is. And those politicians, both within and without Austria, who wish to avert such an end, and at the same time look beyond the probable duration of a throne supported by bayonets and a bundle of States tied together by red tape, have to consider the double alternative which now deeply occupies many minds, whether Austria must revert to the centralising policy of Joseph, substituting by degrees liberty for repression, as becomes the age, and creating an Austrian nation through and beneath Austrian institutions, or must have recourse, in due measure, to that federal principle which has had such triumphant results elsewhere. Either project is full of difficulties, but neither, perhaps, beyond the reach of practical accomplishment, if the energy which Austria has shown in self-assertion and defence were turned towards internal reform, and courageous concessions made to that spread of political will and intelligence which is inevitably transforming the community, there as elsewhere, from an inert mass to a living body.

ART. II.—1. *Cases illustrative of Oriental Life and the Application of English Law to India, decided in the Supreme Court at Bombay.* By Sir ERSKINE PERRY, late Chief Justice. London: 1853.

2. *On the Geographical Distribution of the principal Languages of India, and the Feasibility of introducing English as a Lingua Franca.* By the Hon. Sir ERSKINE PERRY, President. (From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1853.)

OUR readers need not be alarmed by the titles of the works prefixed to this Article, for we have not the least intention of writing an essay on Jurisprudence or a dissertation on Philology. The object we have in view is only to cull such in-

formation as they contain respecting the condition of the diverse, and the many millions for whom the British Parliament is now called upon to form an administration; one of the most important and difficult questions, and certainly the very largest, that ever any Government had to deal with.

We may begin with a rapid sketch of the country for which we are called on to frame a government. Between our own dominions and those of dependent or tributary princes, it is roughly computed to contain an area of a million and a quarter of square miles, of which probably one half, and by far the most fertile part, is our own, including nearly the entire sea coast. Our Indian territory contains every climate, from the torrid zone, eight degrees from the equator, to the temperate, reaching to nearly the thirty-fifth of north latitude; and this, to say nothing of varieties arising from the elevation of the land above the sea—from table lands, two thousand feet high, to mountain valleys of the height of eight thousand. Politically and economically considered, the most important feature of the whole land of India is the long and wide valley watered by the Ganges, its affluents, and branches. In this fertile and extensive valley have sprung up the most advanced civilisations; and the ruling religion of India, with its castes and its strange manners and institutions. It is the possession of more or less of it that has enabled, both native powers and foreign intruders, to make conquests over other parts of India. We have ourselves been in possession of the whole of it for half a century, and of the part of it most remarkable for fertility, for nearly a whole century; and it may be safely asserted that it is through the resources which this valley has yielded,—contributed, too, as they have been, by a population of wonderful and unexampled docility,—that we have been enabled at length, to achieve the entire conquest of India.

The population of all India has been estimated at 150,000,000, of which two-thirds are British subjects, the majority of them having been so for very nearly a century. This is the vast multitude for whom we are about to frame a constitution. The density of the population in our territory is exceedingly various, depending, except at the principal seats of commerce, on the quality of the land; some portions of the valley of the Ganges being as thickly peopled as any part of China, or of the plains of Belgium or Lombardy, while others have hardly a density equal to that of an island of the Pacific. Populousness, and civilisation too, it may be added, are, for the most part, concomitant.

The great population which we have alluded to is composed

of ten nations, speaking as many distinct languages, besides dialects; and for useful and comprehensive knowledge on this subject, so indispensable to the legislator and administrator, we are indebted to the able and indefatigable author of the works at the head of this Article. We take from Sir Erskine Perry's essay on the geographical distribution of the Indian languages the following ethnological sketch, premising that the main object of the author is the rational and indeed, inevitable one in our position, of selecting the language of the civilised conquerors as the common medium of intercourse.

The Pundits, or Braminical doctors of law and religion, have reckoned all the languages spoken from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, and from the Indus to the Ganges,—some of them at fifty-seven and others as high as eighty-four. The lowest of these numbers, however, is a gross exaggeration, unless we include dialects and varieties of dialects with the tongues of many rude and remote tribes, whose condition is not much more advanced (cannibalism excepted) than that of the New Zealanders when Cook first saw them. Our author divides the languages of India into two great classes—those of the north and those of the south—a distinction not wholly arbitrary, but founded on essential differences, although it may be somewhat difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between them.

In all the native languages, whether of the north or south, there is found a considerable, and in some of them, a large intermixture of foreign tongues. The most important of these are Sanskrit, now commonly considered to be a language of Central Asia,—Arabic, and Persian. The foreign intermixture, of whatever description, is always largest to the north, and gradually diminishes as we proceed southward, until at last it is proportionally not greater than the element of Latin in the Celtic tongues or of Arabic in the Spanish. This fact is to be accounted for by the conquering strangers having in all ages entered India by the only easily accessible avenue to it, the north-west angle, and having first established their power in the nearest fertile part of the country, the upper portion of the valley of the Ganges. It was from this quarter that Alexander entered India; and had his impatient European army allowed him to conquer and settle, Indian history, and Indian society, might have worn a different aspect from their present. Then, the polytheism of the Greeks might have been intermixed with that of the Brahmins, Grecian art might have taken the place of Arabian empiricism, and the Greek language that of Arabic and Persian.

The Persian language, with its mixture of Arabic, was introduced by the Mahomedan conquerors about 800 years ago, at a time nearly coeval with the introduction of French by the Normans into our own Anglo-Saxon. This was about three centuries after the conversion of the conquerors themselves to the singular and wide-spread religion which sprang up in Arabia in the beginning of the seventh century of our era — virtually founded on the doctrines of the Old and New Testament. But it should be observed, that the northern invaders of India were not, for the most part, Persians, any more than the Normans were Celtic Gauls. The warlike mobs — for they were little better — that invaded and conquered India, and finally settled in it, much resembled in their composition the Christian Crusaders, for they consisted of many nations, with distinct languages, such as Eastern Turks, Arabs, Persians, Uzbecks, and Afghans. And as the Crusaders adopted French for convenience, so the Mahomedan invaders adopted Persian as their common tongue. In time this language became that of the court, and eventually of the law, of the fisc, and of diplomacy, which it continued to be down to our own appearance on the Indian field.

By far the most important of the vernacular languages is the Hindi, divided into eight dialects, often differing as much from each other as Irish from Gaelic, Armorican from Welsh, or Spanish from Portuguese. The Hindi was the speech of the Hindu nation, first encountered and subdued by the northern invaders, after entering the fertile valleys of the Jumna and Ganges; and it is, consequently, the Indian tongue which has received the largest infusion of Persian with its Arabic element. The dialect of it spoken at the old Mahomedan capitals of Delhi and Agra, still populous and flourishing cities, is the most cultivated and widely spoken of the living native tongues; and the introduction of Persian into the indigenous speech, itself already well charged with Sanskrit, is a case exactly similar to the introduction of Norman French into Anglo-Saxon. Indeed Sir James Mackintosh, in his epitome of the History of England, uses it as an apt illustration of the mode in which the English language was formed. The proportion of Persian in the Indian languages diminishes as we go southward, just as in the case of Sanskrit, for the Mahomedan conquests of the southern nations were comparatively recent, imperfect, and of short duration;—in many cases, indeed, never completed, and in a few hardly attempted. The Hindi, with its eight dialects, is the most widely spoken language of India, being the vernacular tongue of all the people that dwell between the Vindhya Mountains and the

southern slope of the Himalayas, and from the Indus to the Rajmahal hills, a population of some 50,000,000, or equal to that of France, Spain, and Portugal put together. Besides this, from the long supremacy of the Mahomedan powers, of whom it was the popular speech, it has come to be used all over India, as the common medium of lingual communication, in about the same manner and same degree as French is in Western Europe, Italian along the shores of the Mediterranean, and Malay throughout the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. It must, however, be recollected, that to the great masses speaking the other indigenous tongues, it is as unknown as French is to the majorities of the European nations to whose educated classes that language is familiar.

The next most important language to the Hindi is the Bengali, the vernacular tongue of the peculiar nation inhabiting Bengal, which consists chiefly of the tract annually flooded and fertilised by the inundation of the Ganges and Berhampooter with their tributaries and branches. The population speaking this language is computed at not less than 30,000,000, or about 3,000,000 more than that of the islands of Great Britain and Ireland. This is an unwarlike people, never found in the ranks of any Indian army, but ingenious, industrious, and astute: skilled in accounts, excellent merchants, and ready tax-payers to all masters, whether Hindu, Mahomedan, or Christian. It was the merchants of this nation that lately petitioned Parliament, in modest—even in strictly constitutional language, for which audacity they have been denounced in Parliament as dangerous agitators, although it is notorious that they had submitted with miraculous docility for twelve long centuries to extorting, or persecuting, or exacting conquerors, whether of native or foreign lineage.

The most southern of the northern class of languages is that of the Mahrattas, a rude but warlike people, unnoticed in the annals of India until about the middle of the seventeenth century, when a leader of talent, spirit, and enterprise, Sevajee, a kind of Hindu Gengis Khan or Tamerlane, arose among them, and led them to conquest, although himself by caste but a cowherd, albeit claiming to be a Rajpoot. The Mahrattas first subdued the neighbouring Hindu princes; and pushing their arms to the north, encountered, within fifty miles of Delhi, all the Mahomedan chiefs of Northern India, under the leadership of the renowned Afghan invader, Ahmed Shah Abdalli, the ancestor of that king whose attempted restoration cost us the loss of an army, while it proved the stability of our power. They were totally defeated, and their power seemed

annihilated by this blow; but the invader retiring to his own country, they speedily rallied, — renewed their conquests in Upper India; and, while Clive and Hastings were busy lopping off and appropriating the lands of the Great Moghul to the east and south, they possessed themselves of those to the north, up to the mountain barrier of India, occupying the very palace and capital of the Great Moghul himself, as his masters. In fact, this rude native people had possessed themselves of the widest dominion that had ever been known to be possessed by Hindus; and had we not been in the way, they would most probably have continued, not only to rule, but to extend their rule, down to the present time. Half a century ago, the Duke of Wellington encountered and defeated the Mahrattas in the first battle in which he had commanded an army; and it was then that this man of true military genius gained his first knowledge of that art in war which enabled him afterwards to overcome the most skilful and experienced of the Marshals of France, the companions and pupils of Napoleon; and finally, to overthrow the master of the pupils himself.

South of the Bengali we have the Orissa or Urya language, not one of wide extension, yet spoken probably by a population as numerous as that of Belgium. This nation never acquired a prominent distinction in Indian history; but is, notwithstanding, industrious and civilised, up to the usual level of Hindu civilisation. On the opposite side of India we have the language of Guzerat, the original tongue of the peninsula of that name; and this is the last of the northern class of languages. To this language belong two subordinate dialects, the Kutch and the Scinde. The Konkani, a language of the western coast, is said to be fundamentally Mahratta, with a considerable admixture of a southern language — that of Kanara, being the result of conquest and subjugation, by the people speaking the latter language.

We come now to the southern class of tongues; and the first which occurs on the shore of the Bay of Bengal, proceeding southward from Orissa, is the Telugu. This is the language of the country which has been called Telingana and Kalinga; and the people are the same whom we have been in the habit of calling Gentoos, which some persons have supposed to be a corruption of the word Hindu, given by the Persians to the followers of the Braminical religion, who themselves, as is well known, have no common designation. It is, however, in reality, an Indian corruption of the Portuguese word *gentiles* (gentiles), although introduced into our statutes as if it were a synonyme for Hindu. The Telugu, or Telinga, is a rough tongue

in pronunciation. A traveller of the nation speaking it, having, it is said, visited the court of Bokhara, the king asking to know what his native tongue was like, he replied, that its sound exactly resembled the noise of a quantity of pebbles tossed in a bushel. Neither in sound, or structure does it bear any resemblance to the northern languages, nor in its words, except in so far as regards its Sanskrit ingredient. The people whose tongue it is are, however, the most enterprising of all the Hindus, and the only one that is known to have carried on foreign commerce, or to have emigrated. It was through them that the Hindu religion was propagated in the islands of the Indian Archipelago; and it was they, also, who brought the fine spices of the most remote of these islands to India, from whence they found their way to Rome, before Arabians or Europeans had visited the country which produces them. Their commercial enterprises still go on with the same countries, although, of late years, in diminished extent, from European competition. Extending along the coast from the 18° to the 13° of north latitude, this nation numbers, probably, not less than 7,000,000. South of these, and extending to the extreme promontory of India, and embracing both the western and eastern coast, we find the Tamil language. This is one of the most polished and copious of the Indian tongues, and of simple structure. The people speaking it are considered the most advanced of the southern nations of India. The results of their industry are seen in the reservoirs for irrigation, and stupendous dams, which have given fertility to the sands of the Carnatic, and converted those of Tanjore into what Mr. Burke calls 'the 'choicest spot on the globe.' We do not find the Tamil nation, like the Telinga, engaging in foreign enterprises; but they had furnished sovereigns to Ceylon, increased the population of that island by emigration, and furnished it with divers for its pearls, which its own indolent inhabitants could not supply. Along the western coast of India, where the Tamil ceases, and the Konkani dialect of the Mahratta begins, we have the Malayalam language and nation, a tongue which is a good deal intermixed with the Tamil. The name of this language and people is the word which Europeans have corrupted into the well-known one, Malabar.

The next great language of Southern India is the Kanara, an essentially plateau tongue lying between the mountainous ranges popularly called the Ghauts, a term which we apply to the mountains themselves, whereas it, in reality, means only the passes through them. The Kanara, Tamil, and Malayalam languages are, between them, spoken by not fewer than

15,000,000 of people.—All the great languages of India, whether northern or southern, have their own peculiar alphabets, agreeing with that in which Sanskrit is usually written only in phonetic classification.

Besides the written languages of the proper country of the Hindus, we have the language of Ceylon spoken by a million of people; the languages of Assam, Arracan, the Tenasserim coast, and now of Pegu, all the people speaking which cannot be reckoned at fewer than two millions. All these are written languages; and the Ceylon or Cingalese, and the Mon Talain, or Pegu, have each their own peculiar alphabet. Again, we have probably not fewer Chinese subjects in our insular settlements than 80,000, speaking at least four distinct languages, although written in one character, and at least 150,000 Malays, with a written language in a borrowed alphabet, the Arabian. Within the British territories in India, there cannot be fewer in all than thirty written indigenous languages and dialects. But besides these, there are an unknown number of rude unwritten tongues. Thus, in the very centre of India, we have the extensive country of Gondwana, probably containing an area of not less than 60,000 square miles, among the highlands and jungles of which many rude languages are spoken. It is the same on the hilly north-eastern frontier, and among the tribes which wander over the forests of Pegu. Among these, we see people as remote from the ancient civilisation of the Hindus, as the tribes of the Amazon or Orinoco.

When European scholars first began to study the languages of India, finding the element of Sanskrit to exist more or less in all of them, they came at once to the conclusion, that that tongue was the basis of them all, and consequently, that at some remote and unknown time, it was the universal language of all India. This error was in accordance with another, that all India was once a single undivided empire; a thing incompatible with the state of society, and which unquestionably never existed, under native or foreign rule, until our own times.

There cannot, indeed, be a doubt but that a rude time must have been, when the languages of India were even as numerous as those of America on its discovery, or as are, in proportion to extent, those of Borneo at the present day. The real wonder is to find the Indian languages so few as they are, and many of them spoken by such numerous populations. When we advert to this fact,—to the physical geography of the country, to the clear line of demarcation which exists between the different nations and languages, and to the peculiarity of the written characters in each tongue,—we shall be disposed to come to the

conclusion, that an independent and original civilisation sprang up at as many different and distinct points as there are civilised people and cultivated languages.

A few preliminary remarks may be made on the diversity of religions which prevails over India, and which is, perhaps, equal to that of languages. The religion of the great majority is that of the Bramins, divided into many sects, and still more by castes. The four primitive castes consist of priests, soldiers, merchants, and labourers, but this division is, in reality, more a matter of theory than practice, for the actual castes are countless, varying in every province. The four original castes are to be detected only in the upper valleys of the Ganges and Jumna, most probably the Indian seat of the people who spoke the Sanskrit language, and with whom originated the Hindu religion. In some parts of the south of India the soldier under his genuine Indian name has disappeared, and his place is taken by a local aristocracy, and there, the original servile caste takes a high local rank, instead of the lowest, as in the original seat of the institution of the castes. The Brahmin alone is found every where.

The followers of most of the foreign religions who have settled in India have adopted more or less of the peculiar manners and institutions of the Hindus, and are, in popular language, said to be 'Hinduised.' The most numerous of those are the Mahomedans, being the descendants of eastern Turks, Persians, Afghans, Arabs, converted Hindus, or crosses between the Hindus and strangers, divided among themselves into at least half a dozen religious sects. Then we have Hindus, half converted to Mahomedanism; that is, adopting Islam, but retaining not only the manners but the laws of the Hindus.

A bare enumeration of the other foreign or native religions, embracing comparatively few followers, will suffice. They consist of Jews, Christians,—being Nestorian, Syrian, Catholic, and Protestant,—Parsees, or Fireworshippers; Sikhs, or followers of Nanuk, Jains, Buddhists, and followers of Confucius. The Parsees, the Catholic and Protestant Christians, and the Chinese, are the only parties among these that have not been materially 'Hinduised.'

Amidst the crowd of tongues which we have enumerated the question is, which in our case, ought to be adopted as the language of intercourse and education. Sir E. Perry comes readily to the rational, and one would think inevitable conclusion, that it ought to be the language of the conquerors,—that language which is the vehicle of every kind of useful knowledge, and which, in every essential attribute, is so incomparably

superior to the most cultivated of the Indian or other Oriental languages. In this he only agrees with the high authorities of Lord William Bentinck, Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Macaulay. Some Englishmen, however, enamoured of their own Oriental proficiency, give the preference to the eastern tongues, one party adjudging it to the Hindi, because it was the popular speech of our Mahomedan predecessors, and the most widespread of the vernacular tongues; another to the Persian, because it was with these same Moslem predecessors the language of the Court, of law, and of the fisc; a third to Arabic, a foreign tongue, of complex structure and difficult attainment, strange to conquerors and conquered,—because it stands in the same relation to all Mahomedans that Latin does to Roman Catholic Christians, and Hebrew to Jews; and a fourth to Sanskrit, a dead language, for no better reason than that some unknown and unknowable thousands of years ago it was the speech of an unknown Hindu nation, and is now the vehicle of a monstrous cosmogony and of incredible superstitions.

Our predecessors, the Mahomedans, had used the Hindi for colloquial purposes; but in ordinary epistolary correspondence, in diplomacy, in the revenue, and in judicial proceedings, they employed Persian, the language which the invaders brought with them to the conquered country. This was exactly a parallel case to the use of French by the first generations of the Norman conquerors of our own country. Our well-known passion for precedent seduced us to follow their example, wholly forgetful of the different position of the parties. To our predecessors the Hindi was their mother-tongue, and in the Persian they were instructed from childhood as a necessary branch of education. We have no such advantages. We know nothing of either language before the age of eighteen or twenty. We never learn to write, either the one or the other, nor often even to read them. Our predecessors pronounced them with propriety, and spoke them grammatically, which, except in rare cases, we make no approach to.

All civilised conquerors have, when in sufficient numbers, used their own language, and never, when they could help it, had recourse to the rude dialects of the conquered. Thus Rome spread her own language over Gaul, Italy, and the Iberian peninsula, and even in Greece and in Asia Minor the Latin was sometimes substituted for the more polished Greek. We ourselves certainly do not adopt Irish in Ireland, or Welsh in Wales, in preference to English, nor do the French prefer Armorican in Brittany to their own polished language.

Mr. Macaulay has argued this question with an eloquence

and completeness, to which the only objection that can possibly be alleged is, that the engine is too powerful for the matter it has to crush. He is treating of the question of native education in a Minute in the Supreme Council of India, and says,—'It is argued, or rather taken for granted, that the Parliament 'can have meant only Arabic and Sanskrit literature, that they 'never would have given the honourable appellation of a '"learned native" to a native who was familiar with the poetry 'of Milton, the metaphysics of Locke, and the physics of 'Newton; but they meant to designate by that name only such 'persons as might have studied in the sacred books of the 'Hindus all the uses of Cusa-grass, and all the mysteries of 'absorption into the Deity. This does not appear to be a very 'satisfactory interpretation. To take a parallel case: suppose 'that the Pasha of Egypt, a country once superior in knowledge 'to the nations of Europe, but now sunk far below them, were 'to appropriate a sum for the purpose of reviving and pro-'moting literature, and encouraging learned natives of Egypt, 'would any body infer that he meant the youth of his pachalic 'to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all 'the doctrines disguised under the fable of Osiris, and to 'ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats 'and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly 'charged with inconsistency, if, instead of employing his young 'subjects in deciphering obelisks, he was to order them to be 'instructed in the English and French languages, and in all 'the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys?'*

On the rudeness and poverty of the Indian languages, as well as on the absence from them of all useful knowledge, Mr. Macaulay thus expresses himself:—'All parties seem to be agreed 'on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the 'natives of this part of India' (of Bengal, which are equal, if not superior, to those of the south) 'contain neither literary 'nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and 'rude, that until they are enriched from some other quarter it 'will not be easy to translate any valuable work in them. It 'seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improve-'ment of those classes of the people who have the means of pur-'suing higher studies can at present be effected only by means 'of some language not vernacular among them.' . . . 'I have

* This and the subsequent extracts are taken from the able and enlightened work of Mr. Charles Hay Cameron, the successor of Mr. Macaulay as a member of the Supreme Council, on the Education of the Natives. London: 1853.

'no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic, but I have done 'what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I 'have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and 'Sanskrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with 'men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. 'I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the value of 'the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among 'them who would deny that a single shelf of a good European 'library was worth the whole native literature of India and 'Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, 'indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee 'who support the Oriental plan of education.' . . . 'The ques- 'tion now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power 'to teach this language,' (English) 'we shall teach languages in 'which, by universal confession, there are no books on any 'subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, 'when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems 'which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from 'those of Europe differ for the worse; and whether, when we 'can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall 'countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which 'would disgrace an English farrier,—astronomy which would 'move laughter in girls at an English boarding-school,—his- 'tory abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty 'thousand years long,—and geography made up of seas of 'treacle and seas of butter.'

Of the capacity of the Indians to learn our language, and acquire a knowledge of our literature, Mr. Macaulay speaks in a manner the most satisfactory and encouraging:—'We are,' he says, 'withholding from them the learning for which they 'are craving, and forcing on them the mock-learning which 'they nauseate.' . . . 'There are,' he adds, 'in this very town,' (Calcutta) 'natives who are quite competent to discuss political 'or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the 'English language. I have heard the very question on which 'I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a libe- 'rality and intelligence which would do credit to any member 'of the Committee of public instruction. Indeed, it is unusual 'to find in the literary circles of the Continent any foreigner 'who can express himself in English with so much facility and 'correctness as we find in many Hindoos.'

A short extract from the Essay of Sir Erskine Perry will show the rapid progress which the English language is already making among the Indians, despite the obstructions in the

shape of dead and foreign complex tongues thrown in its way:—

'The spontaneous movement in favour of English may even now be seen in operation in various parts of India. It will be familiar to most of those who hear me, that the natives of Bombay who are acquainted with English, rarely communicate with one another in writing, except in that language. The defective nature of the native cursive character, the *Mod* or *Mor* of the Mahrattas,—indeed, of most native writing, in which the tendency to leave out several points is so general,—leads, no doubt from the dictates of convenience, to the employment of the more distinct and uniform European character. But for speaking also, if an educated native, at the present day, arrive from Upper India, from Bengal, or from Madras, there is no language in which he can make himself so readily intelligible to an educated native of Bombay, as English; and it is the only language which a native would think of employing, if he were writing to a Bengalic friend in Calcutta, or a Tamil one at Madras. In addition to this use of English, which mutual convenience dictates, something of the same principle which led the Anglo-Saxons to affect the French language, as a mark of education and refinement, may be seen largely at work among our educated native youth, both in Bombay and Bengal.'

Although Mr. Macaulay's unanswerable Minute has been on record for eighteen years, we still find so intelligent and well instructed a writer as Mr. Campbell, in his last work, arguing in favour of the Hindustani, the most polished dialect of the Hindi, because it is already an established Lingua Franca, and that even the Mahomedan conquerors adopted it for colloquial purposes, although far more numerous than ourselves. But Mr. Campbell forgets that it was these very conquerors themselves that created this language, just as much as the Normans were the cause of the existence of English; that they never used it in business or in literature; and that it is one of the tongues which Mr. Macaulay most justly describes as 'poor 'and rude,' and containing 'neither literary nor scientific in-'formation.' An imperfect acquaintance, even with this imperfect tongue, is the utmost that the mediocrity of capacity and industry in the generality of English students can, under their unfavourable circumstances, be expected to reach. Our functionaries have, however, got hold of an exclusive possession, and speak in it as modern Brahmins pray in dead Sanskrit, Rabbis in Hebrew, and Indian Molvees in Arabic, languages which they can never pronounce, and not always understand.*

* An interesting paper by Mr. T. Watts on the probable Extension of the English Language may be seen in the 'Proceedings of the 'Philological Society,' vol. iv. p. 207.

But while the Indian Government, and its functionaries, have been wasting time, money, and public patience, in attempts to resuscitate a language that has been dead for 3,000 years,—to introduce a foreign one, the special receptacle of religious bigotry, — or to patronise a living one that is barbarous, imperfect, and unwritten,—thus converting law and statesmanship into a craft, — the common sense and obvious interests of the Indians themselves have led them into the right path; and the question may be considered as finally settled,—that the English language is henceforth, to be the common medium of intercourse, among the educated of the many nations over whom we rule,—the language of correspondence, of art, of science, of literature, and of law. The Indian fund devoted to public education is piteously small, and must not be wasted in the propagation of errors and superstitions.

After this view of the languages of India, we have to give such an account of the manners of the people who speak them as can be gleaned from our accomplished judge's 'Cases Illustrative 'of Oriental Life.' As the author justly says: —

'In courts of justice, the veil which shrouds the privacy of Oriental life is necessarily drawn aside; the strong ties which, at other times, bind together caste and family in pursuit of a common object, are loosened under the pressure of stronger individual interests; and there, amidst masses of conflicting testimony, and with subtler intellects to deal with than usually appear before European tribunals, the motives, reasonings, and actions of the native population of India are displayed in broad light, and may be traced with inestimable advantage.'

It is only in such cases, indeed, that the European rulers of India get a clear insight into native character. 'The chief 'administrators in our vast Indian Empire,' says the author, 'are so completely severed from the bulk of the population, by 'colour, race, language, religion, and material interests, that 'they are often, if not habitually, in complete ignorance of the 'most patent facts occurring around them.'

We are grateful, therefore, to Sir Erskine Perry for the light which he has thrown on the interior of a community which we ought to know intimately, and do know very superficially, — a community which we govern with absolute authority, with little acquaintance with their wishes, their prejudices, and even their interests, except so far as those interests may be inferred from the general principles of human nature. We regret, indeed, that Sir Erskine Perry's book wants the most instructive portion of a report, the evidence. If he had given to us the actual examinations of the witnesses, we should have had the natives

actually before us, revealing their real feelings and their real opinions by their assertions, their denials, their evasions, and their falsehoods. This he has not done, perhaps was unable to do it. We have merely the result, the impression that it produced on the mind of the judge. That mind, however, appears to be clear and comprehensive. We do not of course profess our acquiescence in Sir E. Perry's decision in every case which he has reported, but there are few in which we differ from him materially, and even in those we feel that his reasonings deserve great respect, though they may not produce conviction.

Bombay, the site of the court of justice where our author presided as chief justice, may, for illustration, be briefly described. The island of Bombay is held by a tenure totally different from that by which we hold any other part of our Indian dominions. It was part of the dowry of Queen Catherine, the neglected Portuguese consort of Charles II. His Majesty got it in the year 1661, and after eight years' possession, finding that he gained nothing by a poor place, which at the time had nothing to recommend it but its having the best harbour in India, he granted it to the East India Company, to be holden 'of us and our heirs, as of the manor of East Greenwich, in 'free and common socage, at a rent of ten pounds in gold, 'payable yearly.' This spot, rented at 10*l.* a year, in perpetuity, 214 years ago, now contains a town with a population of 400,000 souls, has a trade valued in exports and imports, at 14,000,000*l.*, and is the seat of a subordinate government extending over 10,000,000 of people. The town population is governed by the law of England modified by the laws and customs of the Indians. These laws, from 1798 to 1823 inclusive, were administered by a Recorder's Court, and among its judges was the distinguished name of Sir James Mackintosh. From 1824 to the present time, justice has been administered by a Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief and Puisne, and having all the powers, civil, criminal, ecclesiastic, and admiralty, which belong to our English Courts of Record.

The first case narrated in the 'Cases' is that of a fraudulent executor, one Aga Mahomed Rahim. From the earliest times known to Europeans, there have been, as settlers, or more frequently as sojourners, at the principal seaports of India a class of merchants known to Europeans under the erroneous name of Moghuls, but who are in reality genuine Persians of the shores of the Persian Gulf. These are the same Moorish merchants whom Vasco di Gama, with his Portuguese, encountered on their first arrival in India, and on whom, as enemies of the Cross, and of the monopoly of the Indian trade, which they

were themselves resolved to establish, they waged a piratical war from the moment of their arrival. Aga Rahim carried on a great trade chiefly with the capital of his late partner and benefactor, who, by his will, had constituted him his executor, and the guardian of his widow and children. He was the owner of dockyards, the builder and owner of ships, and the agent of the Imam of Muscat and of the Pasha of Egypt,—lived on terms of intimacy with the principal European officers of the Government, was a frequent guest at the Government House, and on one occasion entertained the governor and his family, with all the principal English of Bombay, at a splendid banquet to view the singular and imposing spectacle of the launch of a frigate by torch-light. The man-of-war, the object of the launch, was built for his Highness the Imam of Muscat, and the courtly Mahomedan merchant named her 'The Queen 'Victoria.'

Mahomed Rahim, the public favourite, however turned out in the sequel a dishonest man. By the practice of a hundred wiles and chicaneries, this prosperous merchant evaded the discharge of his trust, and for nineteen years baffled the law, aided by the dilatory practice of the Equity Court with its technical machinery. At length a decree was given against him for the sum of 110,000*l.*, but he had contrived, in the meanwhile, to send the greater part of his fortune to Persia, and his person was imprisoned. The end of his Indian life was melancholy. 'After lying in gaol for some years, obstinately 'refusing to give up any property to the son of his benefactor, 'and failing in all his schemes to convey his property to other 'parties, he was at length allowed by his creditor to leave gaol, 'and he slunk out of Bombay to join his family in exile. Since 'then, not to the credit of the public morality of Persia, the 'king has named him to the rank and office of the governor of a 'province!' He had bought his place with hard cash, but when he presented himself to the provincials, they refused to accept him, and thus the fraudulent merchant has lost his money, his credit, and his expected government.

The next case in illustration of the state of Indian society which we produce, we shall give in the author's own words, observing only, that, in this instance, the parties seem all to have been Hindoos, and of the lower castes.

'The successful perpetration of offences against property, carried on for a series of years and to a very large extent, as displayed in the following case, gives a remarkable picture of Indian crime, of the power of confederacy amongst natives, of the corruption of subordinate officials, and although last, not least, of the ignorance of Europeans of

what is going on around them; from the unwillingness or apathy, or at all events, the failure of the natives to give information to government authorities of offences by which many of themselves must have been injured.

'From the evidence given at the trial, in this and subsequent cases, it appeared that a partnership, consisting of more than forty persons, had existed for many years in Bombay, for the purpose of receiving goods stolen from merchant ships in the harbour. There being no loading-docks in Bombay the ships receive all their cargoes from different quays, which are carried off to them in small boats, and therefore, if the custom-house officers and subordinates employed at the quays could be bribed, a considerable facility existed for committing depredations. A system had, accordingly, been organised by the gang in question, of considerable refinement; by which, for many years, they had been able to drive a most successful trade, represented by one of the accomplices to yield a profit of 60,000*l.* or 70,000*l.* a year, though this is probably an exaggerated statement. One of the most remarkable features in the case was, that although it was clearly proved that the gang had existed for years — although its existence and means of livelihood were notorious in the basar, not a single complaint had ever been lodged at the police office.

'The gang possessed warehouses, cargo boats, canoes, &c. &c., and each day, systematically, distributed members of their body at the different quays from which boats were sent off to the ships loading in the harbour. The plunder obtained in the course of the day was sent to the partnership warehouses, and every morning a regular auction was held at which the goods were sold at the ordinary market rates. Division of profits was made with scrupulous honesty amongst the different partners, forty-three in number, and two shares were reserved for charity. The leading members of the gang also carried on separate trades of their own, and by their punctuality in dealing were, of course, able to adduce strong evidence as to their respectability at the trial.'

These facts were, at length, brought to the notice of the authorities, by the information of one of the accomplices, who having been accused, apparently with truth, by his partners of robbing them, had been fined by them 60*l.*, and thus he was provoked to betray them. On this information, the magistrates issued their warrant, and succeeded in securing the partnership books, nineteen in number, and they took possession of nine warehouses full of merchandise, but to which no one made any claim. The books were kept as regularly as those of any other partnership, such as day books, journals, ledgers, &c. &c., and the only differences from ordinary books were, — 1st. that the daily profit was each day posted up in the ledger, and thence distributed to each partner's account; and, 2d. that no entries of disbursements for purchases appeared, each parcel of goods received being entered

with the letters M. V. C., which another book showed to denote the different quays at which the goods were landed.

At the trial, in the particular case, which was an indictment for receiving a bale of goods belonging to some person unknown, knowing the same to have been stolen, the evidence of the accomplice, after describing the general operations of the gang, stated as to the particular bale of goods in question, that about four months before, he, the accomplice, 'had been sent to the 'quay as usual with orders, and that he had gone out in his 'canoe into the harbour, where he was accosted by another 'party connected with the gang, who was coming towards 'them in a cargo-boat from a vessel in the harbour. This 'party placed a bale of long-cloth in the canoe, and the 'accomplice returned with it to the quay. The bale contained 'fifty pieces of cloth, and the witness stated that, usually, they 'tore off the wrapper whilst in the canoe and threw it into the 'sea, and thus they were enabled to take the pieces on shore 'with less fear of detection. On arriving at the quay, he sent 'the bale to the warehouse by porters belonging to the gang; 'but these porters were not called, and there was no direct 'proof of the bale having been sold, or of what partners were 'at the warehouse when it was delivered; an entry, however, 'appeared in the defendants' books of a sale of a bale containing 'fifty pieces having been received at that period.'

The jury found the prisoners guilty, and the Court sentenced them, nine in number, to be transported for ten and fifteen years. The places of Indian transportation, it may here be noticed, are the British commercial emporia within the country of the Malays. The Hindoos call this being sent across the 'black water,' and consider it as fatal as a Greek or Roman might do to be ferried over the Styx. The first English judges who went to India eighty years ago, having commuted a sentence of death for gang robbery to transportation for life, were horror-struck to hear the prisoners, when it was explained to them, earnestly entreating to be hanged instead. These emporia are also the places of transportation of state-prisoners, and there we have had Polygar and Cingalese chiefs, and recently, Moolraj, the chief of Moultan, was sentenced to transportation.

Among Sir Erskine Perry's cases, there are but two which relate to the Parsees, fire-worshippers, or followers of the doctrines of Zoroaster, the most wealthy, influential, and respectable portion of the native community of Bombay, and as they are not of importance as illustrating Indian manners we pass them over, but take the occasion of furnishing the reader with a few notices of the history of this singular people. On

the conquest of Persia and the conversion of the majority of its inhabitants to the Mahomedan religion by the Caliph Omar and his armed and fanatic followers, in 651 of our time, and within thirty years of 'the flight' of the Prophet, the unconverted natives took refuge in the province of Khorasan, where a few of them still exist. The forefathers of the Indian settlers quitted this retreat, and their first settlement in India, about the year 766, was in the island of Diu or Dew, off the southern coast of the peninsula of Gujerat, and close to the spot which contained the celebrated temple of Sumnat, of which the sandal-wood gates, carried off to Ghizni by the first Mahomedan invader, 827 years ago, are supposed to have been brought back to India in our own times! Their first appearance in India, therefore, dates 1,087 years ago. Their residence within the confined limits of Diu was of no more than nineteen years' duration, when they migrated to Damaun on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Cambray towards its entrance. From this they sent colonies to Surat at the embouchment of the Tapti and to Baroach at that of the Nerbudda, and these two great maritime towns became their principal seats, until the capital, enterprise, and military protection of the English attracted them to Bombay. The last census of this town made their numbers here 120,000, and in other parts of the British dominions in Western India there are estimated to be 130,000, making the whole number a quarter of a million. A few, also, have of late years sojourned in Calcutta, and even in Hong Kong, — always under the British flag and no other.

Of all Asiatics, the Parsees come the nearest in industry, in enterprise, in habits of business, — indeed, even in personal appearance, to Europeans. After above a thousand years' residence in India, they have preserved their colour, blood, and religion, and in these respects, probably, do not essentially differ from the countrymen and subjects of Cyrus, or Darius. This they owe to their refusal to intermarry with the native inhabitants, — unlike the Jews and Nestorian Christians, who have, in consequence of intermixture, become as swarthy as southern Hindoos.

The Parsees engage chiefly in trade and handicrafts, seldom in the cultivation of the land, and never as soldiers or sailors; alleging as insuperable objection to the first, the use of fire-arms, which infers not only kindling but extinguishing fire, in their religion an act of sacrilege. But, probably, the more solid ground is the superior temporal advantages of the pursuits of commercial and mechanic industry.

The Parsees are the most numerous and the most wealthy merchants of Bombay, Surat, and Baroach. They are also

great ship-builders and ship-owners. It is remarkable enough, indeed, that it was they who first introduced the art of ship-building into India, and who long exclusively carried it on, building both frigates and ships of the line for the British navy, of the fine timber of the forests of Malabar, as strong as British oak, and far more enduring. One of the cases narrated by Sir Erskine Perry related to this very subject, being that of a grant of land to the first Parsee ship-builder, as a reward for his public services seventy years ago, on the recommendation of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, who was fighting drawn battles with the skilful Suffrein in the East, while Rodney was cutting the line of De Grasse in the West Indies, and carrying him off as a prisoner to England.

One of the best illustrations of the state of Indian society, and, indeed, of the character, in one aspect, of our own administration, is afforded by what are called the 'Opium cases,'—of which five are given in Sir Erskine Perry's work. Most of our readers are aware that a large portion of our Indian Revenue is derived from a monopoly of the production and sale of opium, in one part of India—the Bengal provinces, and from excise licenses in another—Bombay. This source of the Indian income may be safely estimated at not under 3,000,000*l.*, which, as the entire nett revenue is no more than 21,000,000*l.*, amounts to one-seventh of the whole of it. This great source of income has the peculiarity of being paid, not by our own subjects, but by strangers, consisting of Malays, Javanese, and others; but, far above all, by the Chinese. A revenue paid by foreigners, and not by natives, is, at least, a great temporary benefit to the State that receives it; but, in its nature, it is, obviously, a precarious and uncertain source. The poppy, to yield opium, can only be produced in a country with a hot and long summer; and the manufacture, consisting of mere manipulation, only be conducted where the wages of labour are very low. The summers of Australia, for example, seem peculiarly well adapted for the growth of the poppy; but the high price of wages makes it impossible to manufacture opium in competition with the produce of countries with low wages. Many parts of India are well adapted to the production of opium, both in climate and rate of wages, and hence it produces by far the greatest quantity in the world, not less for exportation than 50,000 chests of 140 pounds each, or seven millions of pounds. This great quantity is used by the strangers we have enumerated—always much diluted and always in the form of fume, and it stands to them exactly in the same relation that foreign wines and ardent spirits do to the nations of

Europe. But it so happens, that the country of the principal consumers of opium, China, is just as well adapted as India itself to the production of opium, by the heat of its summers and the lowness of its wages. The production of opium in China itself is prohibited, under the Imperial laws, in the same manner as its importation; but, to a large extent, through the connivance of corrupt public functionaries, it is known to have been introduced to a considerable extent; and even fifteen years ago, we have seen estimates of the annual native produce equal to 10,000 chests, or, at the time, about one-third part of the import of the foreign drug. If, then, the Chinese Government, pressed for funds to suppress a formidable rebellion, the reason of its legalising the importation, should also legalise the home production, which is not improbable, it is quite certain that our great Indian revenue of 3,000,000*l.* would be in imminent jeopardy—a contingency which ought not to be lost sight of in our deliberations concerning India.

The opium subject to the monopoly, and not that paying an excise duty in the form of a license to export, gave rise to the litigation which, for several years, has occupied the time of the Queen's Courts in Calcutta and Bombay, and been carried by appeal before the Privy Council in England. To show the amount of the property involved in these transactions, it will be sufficient to state, that the value depending on the decisions of the appellate tribunal alone, was computed at from one million to two millions sterling! The nature of the subject in litigation will be best described in the words of the preliminary notice of Chief Justice Perry: —

'It has been a practice for many years past with the wealthy native merchants of India to speculate on the price which the opium (monopoly) to be sold by Government at their periodical sales of the season would produce. These speculations, as will be seen hereafter, were in substance exactly similar, and in form frequently identical, with time bargains on the English Stock Exchange; and they appear to have been carried on to an immense extent, and as an ordinary branch of business, by most of the great banking houses in India.*

'The plaintiff Ramlal was the representative at Bombay of a very wealthy banking-house at Muttra on the Jumna,' (about 1100 miles from Bombay, and 850 from Calcutta), 'which had ramifications at most of the commercial cities in India. This firm, it seems, had sustained great losses in previous years, the speculators throughout India forming themselves into large parties, equivalent

* They have even a closer resemblance to betting on the amount of the hop duty, although the opium gambling was on a much larger scale.

to the "Bulls" and "Bears" of London, and the powers of combination between Hindus being sufficiently developed to carry out pecuniary operations requiring capital and numbers to an extent unknown in Europe. For the purpose of making up previous losses Ramlal's party entered into time-bargain operations in the year 1846, for the first periodical opium sale for 1846-47, to take place in the November following. For some weeks previous to this sale, Ramlal and his agents throughout India, continued to make their wagers, offering the opposite party a very high price as the sum at which the opium would sell, and as these prices were much above the market price of opium, and much larger than opium had ever been sold at before, his wagers were accepted greedily.

'When the period for the auction sale approached, Ramlal gave out that he intended to purchase the whole of the opium that should be offered at 180*l.* a chest, which was above 50*l.* above its market value at the time. The consternation which this news excited among all the commercial cities will be well remembered by the inhabitants of India at that period, and of Bombay particularly. When the news of the auction sale from Calcutta was expected nearly all the population of the town was on the *qui vive* for the arrival of the expresses with the intelligence, and the excitement pervaded all circles.

'At the auction sale at Calcutta, the opposite party, having learned the intentions of Ramlal to bid so highly, contrived to defeat his plan by an ingenious manœuvre. On the first chest of opium being put up by the auctioneer, the "Bears," in order to prevent any sale from taking place, bid against one another till twelve o'clock at night, when the price for the first lot amounted to above 15,000*l.*' (above 115 times the market value), 'and the auctioneer, finding himself gulled, postponed the sale.

'Ramlal thereupon, through the medium of some respectable firms at Calcutta, offered to buy the whole of the opium at 180*l.* a chest; but the Government declined the offer, and gave notice of a public auction on a future day, with new conditions, so as to defeat any such trick as had been practised at the last. At the adjourned auction Ramlal, by himself and agents, bought nearly the whole of the opium at prices averaging 190*l.* 6*s.* a chest. Having won his wagers, the parties throughout India who had bet with him refused to pay.'

Numerous actions were, on this, brought before the Courts both of Calcutta and Bombay to recover payment, when the question of the legality or illegality of this kind of wagering was tried. In one of the cases, judgment was given in favour of the defendants, and in another in that of the plaintiffs, in consequence of the two judges of the Court of Bombay differing in opinion, and the casting vote in such case being with the Chief Justice,—in the respective cases different parties. Both cases were appealed to the Privy Council, which affirmed the opinion of Chief Justice Perry, that neither by the English or

Hindu law were time bargains illegal. A hundred other cases were brought into the Bombay Court, but in these, execution was stayed, on paying the amount into Court, pending the decision of the Privy Council.

In consequence of these pernicious gambling transactions, the Indian Legislature, as it is empowered to do by statute, passed an Act, making void all 'agreements, whether in speak-'ing, writing, or otherwise, by way of gaming,' which, however, in all likelihood, will not put an end to the gaming so long as the evil of monopoly is permitted to live. We need only add, that all the prominent parties concerned in this gigantic system of gambling were Hindus, and that the great copartnership of bankers that directed the whole movement were, one of them a Brahmin, and the others of the religion of Jain, a form of Hinduism so strict that its followers, in rigorous observance of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, may be seen with a cloth over the mouth, to prevent the accidental ingress and consequent death of an insect.

The principal banking house of these pious speculators, it may be added, is situated at a spot made especially sacred in their religion by the incarnation of a favourite deity — a spot where the slaying of a monkey or a cat is considered a more mortal sin than the murder of man.

Some cases are given by our author, relating to conversions to Christianity, which are curious and instructive. The first of these respects a Brahmin boy of twelve years of age, converted, along with his elder brother, by a clergyman of the Church of Scotland. The body of Shripat Shreshadie, the boy in question, was brought into Court by writ of *habeas corpus*, on the oath of his father Govinda that he was forcibly detained: —

'Mr. Nesbitt,' the clergyman referred to, says our author, 'made return to the writ that Narayan, the elder brother of Shripat, had been educated at the missionary school of the Church of Scotland, of which the defendant was the head since 1838, and that in 1841 Shripat had also been placed at the same school, with consent of his father. By the affidavits of Narayan and others, it appeared that Narayan had embraced the Christian religion in September of this year, and that his brother Shripat had not, for fifteen months past, joined in the worship of Hindu deities, or attended the ceremonies of the Hindu religion, except by putting the usual Hindu mark on his forehead; that since they had been living at Mr. Nesbitt's Shripat had eaten with Narayan and others of the family, and had taken food not lawful to Hindus to eat, and thereby made himself an outcast, and that if he returned to his father's house he would suffer much hardship and persecution.'

The counsel for Mr. Nesbitt argued that the Court must

exercise a discretion in every case of this description, when the youth is capable of exercising a choice; and that, for this purpose, the Court should examine the child, who had studied English, and been instructed in the elements of the Christian religion. Both judges agreed that such a course was wholly inadmissible; and Sir Henry Roper, at the time Chief Justice, gave the following sensible judgment: —

'Now,' said he, 'it is obvious that the boy is of very tender age, but it is contended that it is the duty of the court to examine him and so be enabled to decide on his competency to form a judgment. I am quite prepared to believe all that has been urged in reference to his intelligence; but even were he much further advanced than he is, I would not interfere with his father's rights. The proposal that we should undertake an examination is entirely out of the question. Very probably such an examination would end in a theological examination between us and the boy — a thing that would be quite preposterous. The question of religion must be entirely set aside; it is one with which we have nothing to do.

'Were I to allow those considerations to come in, and permit my own views and feelings on these matters to influence me in the least, I would say that it were much better for the happiness and interests of the boy that he remained where he is, under the care of the gentleman whose protection he has sought. But we must not forget that it is not competent to this court now to enter into the consideration of religious questions and interests. But as the greater part of the argument was founded on the religious basis, directly that is removed there is scarcely anything more to be noticed. The poverty of the father has been insisted on, but that, surely, is no reason for depriving him of his paternal rights; he has done nothing whatever to forfeit them; and whatever our feelings or predilections might be, his child must be restored to him.'

The last case we shall cite is that of a Hindu wife who refuses to live with her husband, because he has become a convert to Christianity, and consequently, according to Hindu notions, an outcast. One Balaram Ganpat, a Hindu of the Shenwi caste, having become a Christian, his wife, in consequence, left his house in March last (1852), and took up her abode with her mother. The husband applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* to bring up the body of his wife, that she might be restored to him. He made oath that, in or about the Christian year 1843, being then himself thirteen years of age, and professing the Hindu religion, he was married to Pootlabee, then of the age of seven years or thereabouts — that, in the year 1850, the said Pootlabee having arrived at womanhood (fourteen years of age), came to live with him, and did live with him, as his wife, for a period of about eighteen months, when, on his refusing to conform to, and

join in, the various ceremonies of the Hindu religion, she, at the instigation of her relations, left his house, and went to live with her mother, a widow, at the house of her grandfather, where she remained.

The Judge (our author), on reading the affidavit, saw that the wife had arrived at the age of sixteen,—that she was not detained by any one in custody, but that she was living with her own family, apart from her husband, and refused to return to him, because he had become a convert to Christianity, determined, at once, that no ground for a writ of *habeas corpus* existed. Recollecting, however, the keen excitement which prevailed on the subject, and the liability to misconception, he delivered his opinion in open court, informing the husband that he must assert, whatever rights he might think belonged to him, in a regular suit.

The Chief Justice, in elucidation of the law which, in his opinion, in such a case, ought to guide the opinion of the Court, put the following cogent case: —

'I ask myself,' said he, 'what the sound decision would appear to me to be, if my own case had to be presented to a Hindu or Musulman judge. There are millions of Christians in Europe living under Musulman sway, and in the vicissitudes characterising the present age it would not be at all an improbable occurrence that an Englishman and his wife should become domiciled in Turkey, and thereupon Turkish subjects. If then the Christian husband apostatised from his faith and then availed himself of the privileges of the law belonging to Mahomedan husbands, I would ask what the legal condition of the Christian wife would become. If she fled from the *harem* and the companions there imposed upon her and sought refuge under her father's roof, would the decree of any court, in which the immutable dictates of justice prevailed, compel her forcibly to return to the house and arms of the man whom she loathed as a renegade? If no Christian tribunal would pronounce such a decree in the case of a Christian wife, it is obvious that a court of justice set down in the midst of a Hindu community must pronounce a decision founded on the same broad principle in behalf of the equally conscientious scruples and repugnance of a Hindu female. But it is not incumbent on me to carry out this case further.'

In 1843, the rights of a Parsee father, who had embraced Christianity, to the guardianship of his child, were enforced by the Bombay Court, on the same equal and just principle on which it had enforced those of a Hindu father to the custody of his child that had been converted to Christianity. In this case, the family had refused to give up to the father an infant child of the age of five years, on the ground of his having forfeited all right to it by his conversion.

'An application was made to the court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was immediately granted. There was immense excitement amongst the Parsee community. Various schemes were adopted to avoid obedience to the writ; and a settlement was even made on the child, so as to avert the jurisdiction of the common law, and to raise a complicated question of guardianship in a court of equity. But the court firmly maintained the rights of the father, and laid down broadly, in answer to very vigorous arguments at the bar, that whatever the religious faith of the father might be, he was entitled to the custody of his own child.'

The Queen's Court of Madras, in the case of a wife who had quitted a husband in consequence of his conversion to Christianity, decided in direct opposition to the view of the law taken by the Bombay Court, and the result was an exhibition which never ought to have been witnessed in a British Court of justice.

'A court in England,' said the judge, 'very recently determined, in the case of a woman who had left her husband by a sort of stratagem, that she should return to him, and enforced the right of the husband. The court even acknowledged the husband's right to lay a restriction on the personal liberty of his wife. A wife's virtue is safe only in her husband's keeping; there is her proper place. No one need apprehend ill usage for this young woman. I order and direct her to return to her husband. What may be the influence he may exercise over her the court has nothing to do with. No doubt she must have been much influenced by her relatives, with whom she had lived the last two months. I will not ask what may be her own wishes in the matter; even should she tell me she has no desire to go, I should be obliged to say that she must return to her husband. The law will protect her in her husband's house, and directs that she should be restored to him.

'"Listen to me," said the judge, addressing the girl, "listen to me as a father. Open your eyes to your own good. You are a married woman, and your husband is bound to protect you as long as you live. The law has decided that he should do so, and that you should return to him and again enjoy his society. You have been long deprived of this society and of the happiness of your married state, but you shall be deprived no longer. You are quite safe from ill usage: every one will save you from that. You are simply restored to your husband, from whom you have been separated."'

The judgment of the Court was, then, that the wife be restored to her husband.

'His lordship,' says the reporter, 'ordered the wife, a mere girl of fifteen years of age, and not particularly prepossessing in appearance, to walk over to Streenenassa, the husband, who was seated on the opposite side of the court. She refused to do so, twitching herself in the way no doubt many of our readers have seen young girls do when

offended, but she positively refused to stir an inch. Streenanassa was told to take her hand, and lead her into his lordship's room; but no, the hand was not to be obtained. The judge spoke to and entreated her to hear him as she would a father; he advised her, in the most soothing language he could use, to return to the man to whom she had been married for nine months. To all appearance this tender regard for her welfare had not the slightest effect; and it was at last found necessary to have her carried by one of the European constables to his lordship's room. The aunt and father of the girl now commenced proceedings; the old woman screeching and yelling, tearing her hair and making ineffectual attempts to reach her child; it took all the force of two or three men to hold her back. The aunt would not be pacified. She rushed down the stairs of the court, threw herself on the pavement, beating her head, pulling her tongue, and going through all the demonstrations of the most frantic grief.'

The Madras functionary appears to us to have been a stouter Englishman and a more orthodox Christian than a fitting judge to administer justice *in partibus infidelium*. He seems, in the case brought before him, not to have adverted to the fact, that the charter, under which he was administering justice expressly directs, that matters of contract between Hindus—and surely marriage is a contract—shall be decided 'by the laws and 'usages of Hindus.' A Hindu marriage can exist only between Hindus, and a Hindu judge, in the instance in question, would have pronounced the original contract as, *ipso facto*, dissolved by the apostasy of one of the parties to the engagement.

The cases now mentioned will show the great difficulty of making conversions in India. Among Hindus, apostasy to another faith amounts, not only to abandonment of ancestral faith, but to religious pollution, and a virtual civil outlawry. The Fireworshippers seem hardly less tenacious of their religion. For near twelve centuries they have preserved it against Mahomedan violence and Hindu contamination; and, as yet, have evinced no disposition to yield to Christian persuasion, Protestant or Catholic. In their case, indeed, conversion would be followed by no religious pollution; but the virtual outlawry would be as complete as in the case of Hindus themselves.

After a century's British dominion in India, Christianity cannot be said to have made any material progress. Many educated Hindus, indeed, and what is singular enough, the majority of them Bramins, or others of high caste, have abjured their own gods, but have not in doing so become proselytes to Christianity. Bishop Heber, with far less charity than usually characterised that able and amiable prelate, called these men 'atheistical Bramins;' but this is an untrue description of them, for they are sincere believers in the unity of the Deity,

without being either Christians or Mahomedans. The British Government is, at present, what it ought always to have been, strictly neutral on the subject of converting the natives of India. This, however, was by no means the case in former times, for until the last forty years it was actively hostile. The first Protestant missionaries that went to India may be said to have been even persecuted, for their expulsion from the British territories was expressly commanded by the home authorities, and these men, afterwards distinguished as among the greatest Oriental scholars that England has ever produced, escaped banishment only by seeking the shelter of a foreign settlement. And it must not be forgotten that the parties who commanded the expulsion of those Christian pastors were (at the same moment) authorising and receiving a handsome revenue from fees levied at the temple of Jugernat,—from permission to shave at a Tanil temple, and from licenses to bathe at certain sacred spots of the holy Ganges!

As a court of justice is certainly not the place which, among any people, presents human nature in the most favourable aspect, we shall briefly advert to a few traits of native character, which will, we think, more than counteract any bad impression which Sir Erskine Perry's Cases may have a tendency to convey. Within the family circle, the conduct of the Indians is exemplary; although their sympathies do not, perhaps, extend much beyond it. Parents are affectionate, and children invariably dutiful; nor is the conduct of the stronger towards the weaker sex wanting in delicacy or consideration. Their presence of mind is perfect, and hence their manners are easy and unembarrassed, and with the higher, and often with the middle classes, graceful, and even elegant.

As men of business, the Indians are acute, intelligent, and expert, and among merchants engaged in large transactions, the same punctuality and good faith are to be found as in the same class of men among European nations. Those who have had experience of the great native merchants and bankers of Calcutta and Bombay, whether Hindu, Mahomedan, or Parsee, will readily testify to this part of the Indian character. Both Hindus and Parsees have often proved themselves beneficent and liberal contributors to charities and public undertakings; the latter, of late, often taking the form of works of public utility. One Parsee merchant of Bombay, in whose person the honour of knighthood has, for the first time, been conferred on an Indian, has expended on works of utility—a larger sum than any other British subject of our times,—150,000*l.* Among the works which Bombay owes to the munificence of this gentleman is a

great causeway uniting that island with the neighbouring one of Salsette, — a dam across the river Moola, which secures a perennial supply of good water to the town of Poonah, with its 100,000 inhabitants, — and an hospital, to which he principally contributed, the Government which finished it having had the good taste to give his name to this work of useful charity.

Ramlal, a Muttra Bramin, the same who took the lead in the opium time bargains, is hardly less distinguished for his liberality than his Parsee contemporary. Although but lately settled in Bombay, he has already laid out many thousand pounds in the construction of wells, reservoirs, and aqueducts for the gratuitous distribution of water. Native generosity is not always so judiciously directed. Hatty Sing, a Jain merchant of Ahmedabad, who has accumulated a princely fortune under our rule, has built a palace in honour of the English, which, when furnished, will cost 20,000*l.* The liberality of a Jain banker of Muttra, one of the great opium gamblers, has taken a religious direction, and he is constructing a temple of hewn stone of gigantic proportions, which, when completed, it is estimated will cost the enormous sum of 700,000*l.*, or something like the first estimate of our own Houses of Parliament. His brother, of a more philosophical turn, asked him when he ever heard of a god inhabiting a house!

The liberality and public spirit of the Indians has been more than once evinced towards such of our countrymen as they considered deserved well of India. On the departure from India of the able and now the venerable Mountstuart Elphinstone, the enlightened and popular, but too brief historian of India, the Indians from all parts of his government liberally contributed towards the sum of 30,000*l.* for the erection and endowment of an educational institution to perpetuate his name, the English and Indian directors of which, we observe, have lately elected a Parsee to its professorship of Mechanical Philosophy. We may add, that when the enlightened author of the works of which we have now been rendering some account quitted India, the native inhabitants of the town of Bombay subscribed the sum of 5000*l.* for the endowment of a Professorship of Jurisprudence in compliment to him. Let it not be forgotten, for the credit of the Indians, that these honours have been rendered to men whom they are sure never to see again, and from whom they can look for no future advantage.

ART. III. — *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration.* By Earl GREY. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1853.

IN the preface to this work, Lord Grey announces that its object is to give some account of the colonial policy of the administration in which he held the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. That administration, as is well known, was extinguished by an unexpected vote, and at a moment when an important question of colonial policy was pending in the House of Commons. Hence the advent of a new Ministry to office, and the sudden change of party tactics, probably deprived Lord Grey, and his Under Secretary, Mr. Frederick Peel, of opportunities for parliamentary explanation, which would otherwise have occurred. During six years of official existence, moreover, many parts of Lord Grey's administration had been attacked, and many had been misrepresented — many thick Bluebooks on colonial affairs had likewise been presented to Parliament, and had met the usual fate of such collections — they had remained unread by all but a select few who take an interest in colonial government. We may, therefore, presume that Lord Grey's principal object in becoming the historian of the Colonial Administration of Lord J. Russell's Cabinet, was to vindicate his own policy, and to justify his own measures. In this object he has, in our judgment, been on the whole decidedly successful. No man, indeed, of ordinary candour and intelligence — still less a person (like Lord Grey) of remarkable acuteness and practised habits of deliberation — could review his own share in the complicated transactions of six years, either in public or private life, either in civil or in military management, and come to the conclusion that he had never made a mistake.* Every man of action must find, when he examines his conduct by the light of subsequent experience, and of knowledge obtained since the moment of decision, that he has committed errors. In order to justify his past conduct, the only conditions which he can be fairly required to fulfil, are, first, that the general course of his policy was sound; and, secondly, that in each particular step he made the best decision which the information within his reach *at the time* permitted. Without entering into an examination of specific points, or implying a doubt that his measures have been successful, we must express our opinion that

* Lord Grey makes more than once a candid acknowledgment of error in his practical measures. See vol. ii. pp. 49. 154., and more fully, and in general terms, Ib. p. 301, 302.

Lord Grey, in re-travelling over the ground of his past administration, has satisfied these two conditions; and we believe that such is the general opinion of persons competent to form a judgment on the subject. There is, besides, something graceful in the attitude of a retired Secretary of State submitting the fasces of his former authority to public opinion, and pleading his own cause before the great *judicium populare* of his countrymen. The directness of the English character always ensures to every public man whose conduct is impugned, and who asks to be heard in his own defence, a fair, if not a favourable hearing; and we feel assured that Lord Grey will, in reference to his own political character and reputation, have every reason to rejoice that he went through the labour necessary for the composition of this work. He has arranged his materials in the form of letters addressed to Lord John Russell; and he gives, under the head of each colony, a succinct and perspicuous narrative of the events which occurred in it during his administration, accompanied by a frank exposition of the policy by which his measures were guided. In composing these narratives, Lord Grey has contented himself with perfect simplicity of style; but he has complied with the literary canons which Horace has included in the following verses: —

> 'Arguet ambigue dictum; ambitiosa recidet
> Ornamenta; parum claris lucem dare coget.'

His language is free both from ambiguity and from rhetorical ornament, and his meaning is always clear. His narrative flows on in a direct, transparent, and unbroken stream; he justifies his own acts, without controverting opponents; and he removes objections rather by setting forth the positive grounds of his own measures than by disputing the arguments of others.

But Lord Grey's work is not to be regarded merely in the light of an explanation and justification of his own acts. It must be also considered as occupying a different and perhaps a more important position. His book is the first attempt which has been made to treat in a connected series the maxims of government applicable to all the dependencies of the British Crown, which are subject to the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.* There have been nume-

* The only exception he makes is that of the Ionian Isles, which he omits, as being a territory under British protection, and not a colony properly so called (vol. ii. p. 312.). The Ionian Isles are, however, under the control of the Colonial Office; and although our relation to them is, more or less, determined by the treaty of Vienna, we should have been glad to have known Lord Grey's opinion as to

rous volumes devoted to single colonies, or even to certain groups of colonies; there have been many publications on Canadian, Australian, Cape of Good Hope, Ceylonese, and West Indian affairs; nor have Malta and the Ionian Islands been forgotten; but a combined treatment of all the Colonies from a single point of view, so as to form a practical manual of colonial politics, has never hitherto been executed, even if it has ever been planned. Lord Grey, a practical statesman, but at the same time well versed in the principles of colonial government, has been the first to choose this ground. Before we begin our account of the detailed contents of his book, we will state briefly our reasons for thinking that this novel idea is not less important than it is well-timed.

At the accession of George III., the foreign empire of England was almost exclusively American. Australia and New Zealand had not at that time been colonised; Ceylon, Hong Kong, Labuan, Mauritius, the Cape, the settlements on the western coast of Africa, Malta, and the Ionian Isles, had not been acquired. The possessions of England on the main land of America consisted at this epoch of the thirteen American colonies, which soon afterwards emancipated themselves, and whose independence was recognised by the Treaty of Paris in 1783; and of the following West India islands; viz., Jamaica, Tobago, Barbadoes, Montserrat, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla. Nearly all these were colonies of England in the strict and proper sense of the word. They had been settled by bodies of English colonists; and the land was owned and occupied by them, though, to a certain extent, cultivated by slaves. At the same period, Canada had been recently conquered from France by General Wolfe, though it was not formally ceded to England till 1763: it included all the habitable land lying to the north of the English American colonies. Newfoundland, likewise, was an English possession, though at this time merely a fishing station. Other West India islands, as Trinidad, Grenada, the Bahamas, St. Vincent, St. Lucie, and Dominica, were subsequent acquisitions; some of which, indeed, were secured to England by the Treaty of 1763. The large territory now called British Guiana, was taken from the Dutch in 1796, and finally annexed in 1803. These latter possessions were not colonised by Englishmen; and therefore, though they became English dependencies, and a part of the British empire, were not in strictness English colonies. Gibraltar had belonged to Eng-

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the policy of England towards some of these islands which submit reluctantly, and from which we derive no apparent advantage.

land since 1704; but although the East India Company had long possessed some factories, the battle of Plassy, which laid the foundation of British dominion in Hindostan, had only been gained by Clive in 1757; and the grant of the Dewannee, by the Great Mogul, to the East India Company—the first outward cession of sovereignty—took place in 1765. After that time, the East India Company gradually expanded from its original character of a trading association occupying a few factories, to a dominant and imperial power; but this change was not completely effected until the time of Lord Wellesley, whose government began in the year 1798.

When, therefore, England recognised the independence of her American Colonies, her foreign empire was much reduced in importance. She retained, indeed, Jamaica, and several other West Indian islands: no loss had been sustained in that quarter; and some new islands had been annexed by the Treaty of 1763. But the Canadian provinces, though large in extent, were as yet thinly peopled, and their produce and trade were limited.* Colonies were at this time regarded almost exclusively in a mercantile point of view. Their trade was subjected to strict regulations, but their internal government was little interfered with. In the last century, such correspondence as was carried on with the British Colonies was conducted by the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, with the assistance of the Board of Trade and the Plantations. There had, indeed, been a third Secretary of State from the year 1768, entitled the Secretary for the American Department; but his office was abolished by Mr. Burke's Act in 1782, as

* When Mr. Oswald was sent over by Lord Shelburne to negotiate with Franklin at Paris in 1782, Franklin placed in his hands a paper containing a suggestion that England should cede Canada to the United States, in order that Congress might sell the unappropriated lands, and thus make a fund for compensating the damages done by the English army, including those sustained by the Loyalists. Mr. Oswald approved of this plan, and he delivered the paper to Lord Shelburne, who appears to have listened to the proposition, though it was not made the subject of serious negotiation. See Franklin's Works by Sparks, vol. ix. p. 250., the Duke of Buckingham's 'Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.' vol. i. p. 37., and Lord J. Russell's 'Memoirs of Mr. Fox,' vol. i. pp. 344. 347. 363. 384. 477. This incident proves the small value which was then attached by England to the Canadian provinces. It seems likewise that Lord North had offered to restore Canada to France. (Franklin, vol. ix. p. 210.)

soon as the American War was brought to a close.* Accordingly, when the great party struggle respecting the East India Company took place in 1784, Mr. Pitt found no department of the Government in existence similar to the present Colonial Office, under whose control the affairs of India could with propriety be placed; and he therefore created a new department for that purpose.

In 1782 the present division of the Secretariat of State into Home and Foreign was made†; and the correspondence with the Colonies was at first conducted by the Home Secretary: with whom it remained for almost twenty years. A third Secretary of State, for the War Department, had, however, been appointed in 1794; and the Colonial business was transferred in 1801 to his office; so that he then became, as he has remained ever since, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.‡ His

* The history of the American Secretary of State, and of the Parliamentary Board of Trade and Plantations, is given in Burke's speech on Economical Reform (Feb. 1780). With reference to the Southern Secretary of State, Burke says:—'He must be poorly acquainted 'with the history of office who does not know how very lightly the 'American functions have always leaned on the shoulders of the 'ministerial Atlas who has upheld that side of the sphere. Un-'doubtedly great temper and judgment was requisite in the manage-'ment of the colony politics; *but the official detail was a trifle.*' Afterwards, he adds, with respect to the third or American Secretary, 'The business of the new office which I shall propose to you to 'suppress, is by no means too much to be returned to either of the 'secretaries which remain. If this dust in the balance should be 'thought too heavy, it may be divided between them both; North 'America (whether free or reduced) to the Northern Secretary, the 'West Indies to the Southern.' It will be observed that Burke treats the colonial business at this time as exclusively limited to America.

† This division dates from the commencement of the Rockingham administration in 1782. Lord Holland and Mr. Allen in Lord John Russell's 'Memoirs of Mr. Fox,' vol. i. p. 345. 475., are mistaken in supposing that the division of Northern and Southern Departments continued under this ministry. Mr. Fox had the Foreign Department, and in this capacity he instructed Mr. Grenville to negotiate with France. Lord Shelburne had the Home Department, to which the Colonies were annexed; and it was as Colonial Minister that he authorised Mr. Oswald to negotiate with Franklin. If Mr. Fox (according to the supposition of Lord Holland and Mr. Allen) had had the Southern Department, *both* negotiations would have been in his hands, and Lord Shelburne would not have been entitled to interfere.

‡ The Home Office still retains the superintendence of the Channel

principal functions were, however, considered to be those connected with the war; and, accordingly, in the first year of the Peace (April 3. 1816) Mr. Tierney made a motion in the House of Commons for the abolition of the Third Secretary. This motion was resisted on the ground that the superintendence of our Colonial possessions was, at that time, sufficient to occupy the entire time and attention of one Minister of State; and it was negatived upon division by 182 to 100 votes. It was thought that the colonial acquisitions which England had made during the war necessitated the continuance of a permanent Colonial Secretary of State; and that the reasons which justified Mr. Burke's measure in 1782 were not applicable to Mr. Tierney's motion in 1816.

Since the Peace, the importance of the Colonial Department has been steadily growing; and its business has been enlarged in successive years, until it now not only absorbs the entire attention, but almost exceeds the unaided powers of a single Minister. The most rigid economist would not now propose to abolish the Third Secretary of State, on the ground that his business could be easily divided between the other two secretaries. This great increase in the duties of the Colonial Secretary, and in the difficulty of his department, has been owing to several concurrent causes. One of these, which was particularly felt during the first twenty years of the Peace, was the strength of the Abolitionist party, and the general sympathy with which its efforts were regarded by the public. The Slave Trade had been prohibited in 1806; but slavery still continued in our West India Islands; and the perpetual discussion of this question occupied a large portion of the time of the department which was responsible for their government. The main causes of the change, particularly of late years, have, however, been the increased publicity of public affairs, and the activity of the newspaper press in circulating news and discussing passing events; the investigation of the nature and tendency of colonial government, and of the advantages of colonial dependencies to the paramount State, by theoretical writers, and particularly by writers on Political Economy; the discussions on the principles and practice of 'Responsible Government' for the Colonies, which grew out of Lord Durham's Report, as well as those on the Wakefield theory of the disposition of public lands; and the speeches delivered in Parliament by members who had devoted

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Islands and the Isle of Man, which are dependencies of the British Crown, and not included in any English county.

a particular attention to questions of colonial government; such as Mr. C. Buller, Lord Grey, Sir W. Molesworth, and Mr. Gladstone. The number, the wealth, the intelligence, and the political energy of the various communities subject to the control of the Colonial Office, have likewise been constantly increasing since 1816, and have naturally demanded a larger share of attention from the department charged with their supervision.

The increased attention which colonial affairs have received since 1815 has, however, produced other effects besides adding to the duties of the Colonial Secretary. It has brought about a change, which we may, without exaggeration, style a revolution in the public opinion of this country respecting colonial policy. Some years ago, the established opinion was, that colonies were essential to trade; that no nation, without important colonies, could carry on an extensive commerce. The revolt of the American colonies had, moreover, created in our public men a dread of colonial liberties; and the old system of colonial government, which was popular in the extreme, had been replaced by maxims of jealous mistrust.* The practical view of colonies, which prevailed at the beginning of the Peace,

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* 'In those ancient possessions of Your Majesty's royal predecessors, which at present form so large a part of the United States of America, and in all the other British colonies (whether acquired by the occupation of vacant territories or by cessions from foreign powers), there prevailed until the commencement of the nineteenth century the almost invariable usage of establishing a local legislature, consisting of three estates—that is, of a governor, appointed by the sovereign; of a council, nominated by the sovereign; and of an assembly, elected by the people. . . . . But during the nineteenth century the British Crown has acquired by conquest and cession from foreign states three transatlantic colonies, one colony in Southern Africa, and four colonies to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. During the same period the British Crown has acquired, by the occupation of vacant territories, two colonies on the western coast of Africa, three in New Holland, one in Van Diemen's Land, one in New Zealand, and one in the Falkland Islands. In no one of these sixteen colonies has the old colonial polity of a governor, council, and assembly been introduced. In no one of them (except New South Wales) has any electoral franchise been granted to the colonists, or any share in the local legislation to their representatives.'

This passage occurs in the very able report upon Australia from the Committee of Council for Trade and Plantations in 1849, which is understood to have been the production of Sir James Stephen. It is reprinted by Lord Grey, vol. i. p. 423.

may therefore be summed up, as consisting in a belief of their commercial importance, and a fear of their self-government. These two dogmas of colonial policy have undergone much rough handling during the last thirty years, both in theoretical and practical discussion. They have been well attacked, and not inefficiently defended; but, after many sharp intellectual conflicts, they may be considered to have been generally replaced in public acceptance by two other maxims, one of which assigns a moderate economical value to the possession of colonies, while the other affirms, in a confident tone, the expediency of their local self-government. To such an extent, indeed, has the old creed of 'Ships, Colonies, and Commerce' been shaken, that the popular voice is at present rather inclined to go to the opposite extreme, and to condemn each colony as unserviceable, unless the positive gain derived from it can be assigned in figures, unless a debtor and creditor account, a balance-sheet of profit and loss, showing a favourable result for the Paramount Power, can be annually drawn up for each dependency.

It was in the midst of the break-up of the old system of colonial policy, but before the new system had been consistently applied or firmly consolidated, that Lord Grey entered upon the administration of the Colonial Office. He found a colonial empire, not such as it existed in 1782, but enlarged by the acquisitions of the French war, by the colonisation of vast territories, and by the increase of population, to dimensions which, even exclusive of India, may fairly be called gigantic. It could not be said of the business of the Colonial Department in 1846, as Burke said of it in 1780, 'that the official detail was a trifle.' The correspondence with the governors of colonies was voluminous in bulk and weighty in subjects. It concerned great questions, such as the exercise of legislative and executive powers by colonial authorities and by the imperial government, Transportation, the disposition of waste lands, Free Trade, military defence, treatment of aborigines. Lord Grey, too, for the reasons which we have already stated, had fallen if not on evil at least on difficult days. His position resembled that of the prophet in the Bible, who was required, not only to interpret the dream, but to guess what the dream had been. He was called upon, first, to forge the practical maxims which he was to apply, and then to apply them to the cases before him. The old doctrines were exploded, but the new doctrines were not yet reduced into working order. Now the work which Lord Grey has written contains a full account of the manner in which he solved the various practical problems which

he encountered in the several colonies of England during the six years of his administration, and of the maxims which he applied to their solution. Without further preface we will attempt to follow him through this series, calling attention to the most prominent points in each letter.

The first letter is a general introduction to the work. After adverting to the incompleteness of the numerous writings on colonial questions, and remarking, with truth, that the subject of Colonial Policy is, as a whole, too large for parliamentary debate, Lord Grey proceeds to set forth his view of the general principles applicable to the government of the colonies of Great Britain, and to explain the manner in which the peculiar circumstances of the times have affected the administration of colonial affairs. He first points out the influence which the recent Free-trade policy has exercised upon the relations between this country and her colonies. Since 1846, the measures for altering the corn, sugar, coffee, and timber duties, and for giving power to the local legislatures to abolish differential duties in the colonies, as well as the repeal of the Navigation Laws, have overthrown the old protective system of colonial trade, and have exposed it to the competition of the whole world. Even Sir Robert Peel, as Lord Grey remarks, maintained the system of Colonial protection until 1846: in that year, for the first time, the method of higher duties upon foreign, as distinguished from colonial goods, and the doctrine that the colonies are, for fiscal purposes, 'an integral part of the 'empire,' were abandoned.* The reforms thus effected created some temporary distress, and more apprehension of future losses, which uneasy feelings, combined with the sense of right which long enjoyment confers, produced a vindictive and resentful reaction against the Home Government, and exposed Lord Grey, as Colonial Minister, to much opposition and obloquy.

The abolition of the system of Colonial Protection placed the colonies, for fiscal purposes, upon the same footing as a foreign country, and thus, not unnaturally, raised the question as to the benefit which both the Paramount State and the Colony derived from the dependence of the latter. Lord Grey, therefore, proceeds to deliver his opinion upon the utility of dependent colonies, and to explain the advantages which the Imperial Government of England confers upon the component parts of the empire. He rests his defence of the system upon two grounds: —

* Upon Colonial Protection, see the Article in vol. lxxxiv. of this Journal (July, 1846).

'I consider,' he says, 'that the British colonial empire ought to be maintained, principally because I do not consider that the nation would be justified in throwing off the responsibility it has incurred by the acquisition of this dominion, and because I believe that much of the power and influence of this country depends upon its having large colonial possessions in different parts of the world.'

The responsibility which England has incurred, by undertaking the government of so many distinct communities, is forcibly displayed by Lord Grey. He shows that, even if we could insure a pecuniary gain of some hundred thousands a year, we should not be justified in withdrawing our protective power from the West India Islands, Ceylon, and New Zealand, and in leaving the inhabitants to an internecine war of races, with its inevitable concomitants of destruction of property, suspension of credit, and ruin of trade. The abandonment of the possessions on the west coast of Africa would likewise, he adds, lead to a revival of the slave trade; and even the Australian settlements would, he thinks, find that a grant of independence would be premature and mischievous. Moreover, the withdrawal of the protecting power from a portion of the colonies might be expected to diminish confidence and engender a feeling of insecurity in all.

These arguments, it will be observed, imply that the imperial rule of England is advantageous to the dependency; and where this is manifestly the case, the protection ought not to be withdrawn. As to the advantages which Great Britain derives from the possession of her colonies, Lord Grey's arguments are less forcible; they are principally contained in the following passage:—

'The possession,' he says, 'of a number of *steady and faithful allies* in various quarters of the globe will surely be admitted to add greatly to the strength of any nation; while no alliance between independent States can be so close and intimate as the connexion which unites the colonies to the United Kingdom as parts of the great British Empire. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the power of a nation does not depend merely on the amount of physical force it can command, but rests, in no small degree, upon *opinion and moral influence;* in this respect British power would be diminished, by the loss of our colonies, to a degree which it would be difficult to estimate.'

According to Lord Grey's view, therefore, the advantages which England derives from her colonies fall under two heads: 1. The increased command of physical force which they actually afford; 2. The belief in an increased command of such force. Can it, however, be said, that the colonies are valuable allies to

England in time of war? Where are their ships and their troops? Can we even expect that they will suffice for their own defence? When it is proposed to prove that the imperial rule of England is beneficial to the dependency, our attention is called to the mighty arm which she stretches over a weak community, and to the advantages accruing to the dwarf from the protection of the giant. But when the object is to show that England is herself benefited by the possession of colonies, then we are told that she is strengthened by the assistance of faithful allies, and that they add to her military power. Surely the former, and not the latter, of these views is correct; and it is a sanguine delusion to suppose that distant colonies (as distinguished from military stations) add anything to the resources of England for purposes either of attack or defence. The alliance between England and her colonies is, in fact, according to the ancient phrase, a *fœdus iniquum.* But in antiquity, the inequality was always in favour of the stronger ally; whereas England gives to her colonies the solid advantage of military and naval protection; but receives from them neither tribute nor any certain benefit in return. It is true, that in case of hostilities, letters of marque might be issued to colonial ships, and they might harass the enemy by a species of guerilla maritime warfare. This advantage, however, would be counterbalanced by the necessity which these foreign possessions would create of multiplying our points of defence, and dividing our forces. The other argument, which we may call the argument of *colonial prestige*, seems to us still less tenable. The comparative strength of the leading nations of the world does not now depend upon conjecture and surmise. The statistics of each country — its revenue and expenditure, its public debt, the numbers of its army and navy, — are authentically known to foreign States. Every weakness in its social condition — every civil dissension or discord between classes, is indeed, carefully noted, in order that it may, if necessary, be turned to account: but, on the other hand, the real extent and sources of its strength are investigated and understood. The utmost that can, with truth, be said is, that the power of England may be attributed by foreign States to a false cause, and may be thought to be owing to the possession of colonies, when it is, in fact, owing to the industry and energy of our native population. But if foreign nations found that the subtraction of a colony did not, in fact, diminish the power of England, they would not treat her with less respect. The independence of the American colonies furnishes an apt illustration; for although the continental nations believed that this change had

struck a deadly blow at England they soon forgot their false theory, when they observed the inexhaustible resources which she displayed during the French war, notwithstanding the loss of her barren American sovereignty.

That England has incurred serious moral obligations by undertaking the government of so many subject communities—including the vast regions under the sceptre of the East India Company; and that this obligation, having once been assumed, cannot be laid aside without the clearest evidence that independence or transfer will be beneficial to the dependency itself—we readily acknowledge: but this is a burden to England—not a source of power or wealth. The principal advantage which England derives from the possession of her colonies seems to us to be the security which it affords against protective or exorbitant tariffs. This advantage of colonial dominion is not specifically adverted to by Lord Grey; but except so far as colonies may afford facilities for emigration or penal transportation, the power of ensuring a free and unprotected trade with them seems to us the only solid benefit which the Paramount State now derives from their possession. So far as her colonial and Indian empire extends, England can insure the adoption of Free-trade principles. Wherever her protectorate is established that beneficent and enlightened system prevails; every port is open to her ships, every custom-house admits her goods at moderate duties. By the exercise of her political authority, she can in young and imperfectly formed communities eradicate those mischievous and anti-social maxims of trade which her example and moral authority have hitherto failed to dethrone in the independent and most highly civilised nations of Europe and America.*

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* The following eloquent passage of Pliny, extolling the rule of the Roman emperor over the subject provinces, may be applied to the effects of the system of Free Trade, in uniting, in one commercial union, the several parts of the British Empire.

'Quam nunc juvat provincias omnes in fidem nostram ditionemque venisse, postquam contigit princeps, qui terrarum fœcunditatem nunc huc, nunc illuc, ut tempus et necessitas posceret, transferret referretque! qui diremtam mari gentem, ut partem aliquam populi plebisque Romanæ, aleret ac tueretur! Et cœlo quidem nunquam benignitas tanta, ut omnes simul terras uberet foveatque: hic omnibus pariter, si non sterilitatem, at mala sterilitatis exturbat: hic, si non fœcunditatem, at bona fœcunditatis importat: hic alternis commeatibus orientem occidentemque connectit, ut, quæ ubique feruntur, quæque expetuntur, omnes gentes invicem capiant, et discant quanto libertate discordi servientibus sit utilius, unum esse, cui serviant. (Paneg. c. 32.)

From the principles which he lays down respecting the utility of colonial dependence, Lord Grey draws two consequences. First, that England ought to interfere very sparingly with the internal government of her colonies. Secondly, that her colonies ought to take upon themselves a larger share than they have hitherto borne of the expenses incurred on their account. The first of these propositions involves most of the practical questions which arise between England and her colonies. So long as a colony continues in a state of dependence upon the Crown of England, the Home Government must interfere to some extent with its affairs: the difficulty is to define in what manner and on what occasions that interference should take place.

The control of the Home Government over the colonies is exercised in the appointment of governors and in sanctioning or disallowing the measures of the Colonial Government, more rarely in prescribing measures for its adoption. Lord Grey thinks that the appointment of governors must remain, as it now is, vested in the Crown, and cannot emanate from any local source. The control of the Colonial Office over their acts varies inversely with the amount of local liberties. Where there is an elective local legislature, the Governor's acts do not require much revision from the Home Government; but where this check does not exist, it must be supplied by the superintendence of the Secretary of State. Lord Grey takes occasion to expose the common fallacy that colonies are chiefly valuable on account of the patronage which they yield to the Government.

'It is,' he says, 'commonly believed that one of the principal objects for which the colonies are retained is the patronage which they are supposed to afford. It is impossible to conceive a greater delusion. It is now many years since the colonies have afforded to the Home Government any patronage which can be of value to it as a means of influence in domestic politics. Since Parliament has ceased to provide, except in a very few special cases, for any part of the expenses of the civil government of the colonies, the colonists have naturally expected that offices paid for by themselves should be filled up by the selection of persons from their own body, when this can be done without inconvenience. Accordingly offices in the colonies have, for a considerable time, been for the most part practically disposed of by the governors.'

Certain exceptions are indicated with respect to particular

The arguments of colonial *prestige*, and of prevention of hostile tariffs, are examined in the Article on Colonial Policy in Mr. Greg's essays on Political and Social Science (1853), vol. ii. p. 219.

colonies, and also with respect to judicial appointments; but the above remarks describe the general practice for the subordinate offices. Lord Grey, moreover, shows, by a detailed list of the colonial governors appointed during his time, that the persons whom he appointed were selected for their fitness, and that these appointments were not used as means for extending the political influence of the Government. We may add, that the detailed narrative in the subsequent part of Lord Grey's work has left on our mind a highly favourable impression of the general ability, good sense, patience, and moderation with which the recent colonial governors have conducted themselves in the many trying and difficult positions in which they have been placed. We are the more anxious to record this opinion, inasmuch as we believe that in former periods of our colonial history a similar judgment could not have been passed consistently with truth.

On the important subject of popular institutions in the colonies, Lord Grey lays it down broadly, that 'It is the obvious 'duty and interest of this country to extend representative 'institutions to every one of its dependencies where they have 'not yet been established, and when this can be done with safety; 'and also to take every opportunity of giving increased deve-'lopment to such institutions where they already exist but in 'an imperfect form.' He then proceeds to remark that the main obstacle to the universal establishment of representative institutions in the colonies of England is the presence, in many of them, of a large population not of European race. Ceylon affords the most striking example, where the bulk of the inhabitants are of various coloured races, and the same objection to popular institutions exists as in the neighbouring continent of India. In the Crown colonies of Mauritius, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, again, the Europeans form but a small portion of the population. It is difficult to say what the capacities of some of the coloured races might be, if they were placed under favourable circumstances*; but hitherto the history of the world has presented no example of a large coloured community living under a free government. Despotism has, so far as our experience reaches, been the invariable government of the coloured races. The feeling of personal rivalry and the distrust of equals, which are the great impediments to the establishment and maintenance of free institutions, have never been so far

* For a sanguine estimate of the aptitude of the African negro races for civilisation, see the interesting discussion in Mr. Greg's Essays on Political and Social Science, vol. i. p. 4—17.

overcome by any coloured people as to enable it to extricate itself from the slough of despotism. Some of the white races have accomplished this difficult ascent; but even their tendency (as the history of Europe since 1848 sufficiently evinces) is strong and constant to relapse into the despotic state. Despotism is the necessary government of a barbarous community; but, unluckily, free institutions are not the necessary government of a civilised community. The coloured races have always crouched under a single master; the white races have only sometimes been able to establish a plurality of rulers. In those West India Islands which have long been English possessions, representative institutions have been established. But they were established when the negroes were slaves, and the Houses of Assembly were exclusively composed of whites. It remains to be seen whether a parliamentary system, like that successfully established in Canada, can be worked in Jamaica or Guiana.

Lord Grey, however, shows that the colonies which do not possess representative institutions, nevertheless enjoy other efficient securities, of a popular nature, against misgovernment. In all of them the press is free, and is moreover not confined to that bastard freedom which prevails in the German States, but it is permitted to discuss the political questions of the day. The power of petition or complaint to the Secretary of State is given to every colonist, and is largely exercised. Members of the Legislative Councils, though nominated by the Crown, are often quite independent, and influence the course of government. The colonial expenditure is subject to strict regulations, and is fixed by permanent laws and annual ordinances. Full publicity is likewise given to the estimates of expenditure, and to the annual finance accounts in each colony, and representations on financial subjects made by local public bodies to the Home Government, receive a careful and respectful consideration. Lord Grey remarks, with truth, that these, taken together, form powerful safeguards against misrule; to which he adds, that the introduction of municipal institutions is a useful preparative for free institutions of a superior kind.

In those colonies where the bulk of the population is of English descent, or at least of a white race, the local legislation is in general vested in a body chosen by popular election. This is likewise the case in the old English West India Islands, though their population is chiefly negro. In most of these colonies the power of the popular body is limited to legislative affairs, while the Executive Council is substantially dependent on the choice of the governor. In Canada, however, the system of 'responsible,' or as Lord Grey calls it, of parlia-

mentary or party government, has been introduced. The meaning of this phrase is, that the influence of the House of Assembly is not limited to legislation, but extends to the executive government. The governor forms his council exclusively of persons who enjoy the confidence of a majority of the House of Assembly, as the Queen of England chooses her ministers from the party who enjoy the confidence of a majority of the House of Commons. Lord Grey considers this form of colonial government, which is the nearest approach to independence consistent with the maintenance of the imperial power of England, as best suited to a large and civilised community such as that of Canada; but where the community is small, he thinks that the limited size of the House of Assembly will render a system of government by parties of doubtful expediency.

From some comparisons which Lord Grey draws between the President of the United States and Colonial Governors to the disadvantage of the former, and some remarks which he makes on the benefit of placing at the head of a colony a person unconnected with its local parties, we infer that he does not estimate as highly as we do the advantages of independence. Dependence upon a distant government seems to us a great, an unceasing, and an inevitable evil. It may, in a certain state of a given community, be outweighed or compensated by counter advantages; but a dependency must, from the necessity of the case, be to a certain extent ill governed. The evils of political parties (provided their dissensions do not end in despotism or civil war) are, in our judgment, trifling indeed, as compared with the evils of dependence on the decision of persons living at a distance of thousands of miles, belonging to a different political community, and imperfectly informed as to the state and circumstances of the dependency. The true defence of our colonial system is that we have reduced the imperial interference with the internal affairs of each colony to a minimum, and that we have limited it for the most part to those external relations, in which the protection of the mother country is felt to be beneficial to the colony. Hence we have made the relation of dependence as little onerous to the colony on the one hand, and as advantageous to it on the other, as circumstances permit. In reference to 'the vague declamation on 'the absurdity of attempting to govern the colonies from 'Downing Street, of which we have heard so much,' Lord Grey remarks, that 'it would undoubtedly be in the highest 'degree absurd to attempt to govern from Downing Street, if 'this is to be understood in the sense of directing from thence

'all the measures of the local authorities.' Lord Grey might have added that if it is absurd to attempt to govern the colonies from Downing Street, it is no less absurd to attempt to govern them from Westminster. Whatever objections apply to the government of the Colonial Office, apply, in a still stronger degree, to the government of the House of Commons. The colonies are not, and cannot be, directly represented in Parliament; the number of members who are well-informed upon any colonial question which is the subject of debate, is always very small; and unless the question can be drawn into the party contests of the day, the debate takes place before a thin and inattentive audience, whose knowledge of the facts is limited and confused. The popular forms of an imperial government secure a hearing to the complaints of dependencies, but they afford few securities for correct decision. Lord Grey subsequently adverts in several places to the evils inflicted on the colonies by the manner in which their affairs were used by the opposition as weapons of party warfare, and their permanent interests sacrificed for some momentary object of parliamentary attack upon the Imperial Government. The Protectionist conflict in the West India Islands was, he thinks, prolonged by this cause; the unjust attacks on Lord Torrington had the same origin; and Sir Harry Smith was prevented from taking the steps necessary for crushing the Kaffir insurrection at its outbreak by the fear of parliamentary censures from persons who had no personal interest in the colony, and who looked on its inhabitants as mere abstract beings, the subjects of a social problem. Political judges may be indifferent as well as impartial. Some interest is desirable to warm the affections, though too much interest may distort the judgment. This is an evil inherent in every form of dependence; whether the power be vested in a Secretary of State or in a House of Commons.

The only point in the First Letter which remains to be noticed is the increased obligation to defray the expenses of their own government which the non-interference of the mother country imposes on the colonies.

The colonies already defray the expenses of their own civil governments, and they are not, in Lord Grey's opinion, the cause of any increased naval expenditure. Their chief expense to England is for military purposes; and Lord Grey shows in detail the measures which were adopted under Lord J. Russell's administration for diminishing this expense. He thinks that the policy thus commenced may be carried still further, and that this burden on the mother country may at no distant period be reduced to a very moderate amount. It should not

be overlooked that the Governments of the English colonies are probably the cheapest governments in the world. No taxation is so light as that of an English colony. It is relieved from all diplomatic and consular, all naval, and nearly all military expenses. The governor's establishment is moderate, and the colonial debt is in general small. Unless there is some special cause of depression, a small additional outlay for military defences can in general be easily borne by our colonies.

The Second, Third, and Fourth Letters relate to the sugar colonies generally, and to Mauritius, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Guiana, and Jamaica in particular. Lord Grey opens the subject by explaining the measure of 1846, amended in 1848, for equalising the duties on sugar, and for repealing the discrimination between foreign and colonial sugar. It is then shown that the recent distress of the West India Islands has been owing, not so much to the withdrawal of protection on sugar, as to the defects in the measure for the emancipation of the slaves. The various legislative Acts by which this measure was carried into effect 'contained no provisions calculated to bring to bear upon the 'negroes other motives to industry when that of coercion was 'withdrawn. They were also all alike deficient in not attempting to make adequate provision for the education and religious 'instruction of the newly emancipated population, or for the 'establishment of an effective police and the enforcement of 'order.' The system of levying a revenue by taxes on imports, including articles of food, was a manifest encouragement to the negroes to persist in their habit of relying for their subsistence upon the produce of their provision-grounds; and thus the high rate of wages, and the difficulty of procuring labour,—the great evils which the planters had to contend against,—were aggravated. The retention of the protective duties on sugar, which the planters regarded as their panacea, would have tended to keep up wages by preventing competition. The only measures of relief which the Government thought applicable were the repression of the Foreign Slave Trade, the admission of foreign goods without differential duties into our colonies, and the promotion of free emigration into them. Lord Grey here introduces some important remarks upon the best mode of improving a population in a low state of civilisation. These, he thinks, are of two kinds. First; measures of police, prevention of vagrancy, relief of poor, construction of roads, education, and the like. Secondly; direct taxation, to defray the expenses thus incurred. The incidental effect of the imposition of direct taxes will, he thinks, be to supply that stimulus to exertion which is wanting in tropical climates, and to create habits of

industry in the labouring class. Lord Grey's views on this latter principle are developed with great force and clearness, and deserve the attentive consideration of economists.* Our space does not permit us to say more, than that in comparing the habits of industry among the negroes of the tropics, and the white labourers of temperate regions, the difference of race must not be left out of consideration. If the white man had the physical without the mental constitution of the negro, perhaps he would work as industriously in Jamaica as in England.

But the fair consideration of these and other plans for the amelioration of the Sugar Islands was retarded by the struggles of the colonists to recover Protection on their sugar, and the encouragement and assistance which they received from the Protectionist section in the Imperial Parliament. The party game which we have seen played at home with the Corn Laws upon the farmers, was played in the colonies with the Sugar Duties upon the planters. The only difference was, that the hopes of the colonists were excited to a higher pitch, and their self-reliance more effectually crushed. Lord Grey, however, proves, by the conclusive argument of figures, that, notwithstanding the impolicy of the course adopted by the West Indians, the total produce of sugar in the British possessions has increased since the equalisation of the duties in 1846. This fact is shown in the following statement: —

Sugar imported from British Possessions into the United Kingdom. Triennial averages: —

1839–41.	1842–4.	1845–7.	1849–51.
3,755,960 cwts.	4,100,798 cwts.	5,038,196 cwts.	5,264,180 cwts.

To this we add the account of the imports of Colonial and Foreign Sugar for the last two years, ending July 5th, which shows that while the Colonial import has increased, the Foreign import has diminished: —

	Produce of British Possessions.	Foreign Produce.
1851 - -	5,022,774 cwts.	2,658,179 cwts.
1852 - -	6,315,757 „	1,807,032 „

These results have been fully recognised by Mr. Disraeli, and, indeed, were appealed to by him, as justifying the refusal of Lord Derby's Government to propose a restoration of a pro-

* With respect to the application of this principle in the West Indies, see vol. i. p. 79—84. 136—138., and despatch to Sir C. Grey, App. C. p. 367., in Ceylon, vol. ii. p. 175., in Natal, *ib.* p. 257., in Western Africa, *ib.* p. 283. 293.

tective duty on sugar.* On the other hand, the price of British West India sugar has fallen nearly a third (from 34*s.* 9*d.* to 23*s.* 8*d.* a cwt.) since 1844. This reduction of price is probably compensated to a great extent by a diminished cost of production; so far as it is not thus compensated, it is undoubtedly a loss to the colonial producer, but it is a gain to the English consumer, who is entitled to buy sugar at its natural price; and if an increased quantity is produced in our colonies, we may be sure that on the whole the production is profitable. At all events, it is the duty of a Government to do everything in its power for lowering prices and reducing the cost of production.

The withdrawal of Protection produced in Mauritius a commercial crisis, which disorganised the island, and rendered the interference of the Government necessary. Its economical state had been unsound, and propped up by fictitious credit, so that when it came to be exposed to a severe trial, its weakness was disclosed. Much benefit was derived from emigration from India, which was conducted in such a manner as to afford efficient assistance to the employers of labour. Various measures suggested by the Mauritius Association of London, involving advances of public money to traders, and the issue of a colonial paper currency, were likewise adopted; the foundations of a municipal system were moreover laid, and a reform was made in the administration of justice. A great alteration in the fiscal system was also effected, and extensive relief afforded, partly by a remission and partly by a transfer of taxation. The result of these measures has been to produce a marked and substantial improvement in the state of the island, and to remove the feeling of discontent which had been prevalent; as Lord Grey proves by a despatch of Mr. Higginson the Governor, written in October 1851.

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* The total quantity of foreign sugar imported in the first ten months of 1852 was stated by Mr. Disraeli, in his budget speech, at only 814,000 cwt. (See Lord Grey, vol. i. p. 198.) This number, however, is exclusive of molasses, which ought to be added, according to the usual practice, reckoning 3 lb. = 1 lb. of sugar.

Foreign sugar	570,915 cwt.
„ candy	243,433
	814,348
Foreign molasses	438,826
	1,253,174

(See Board of Trade Tables, Dec. 1852.)

A policy similar to that pursued in Mauritius, though adapted to the peculiarities of each island, was likewise followed in the other two Crown colonies of St. Lucia and Trinidad. These islands, at the crisis in question, doubtless derived real benefit from the more entire dependence upon the Colonial Office, in which they were placed, as compared with those West Indian islands which had Houses of Assembly. The emancipation of the slaves was a measure forced upon the colonies by the opinion of the mother country; the colonists submitted to it reluctantly, and showed no energy or alacrity in adopting the means requisite for making it successful. The Colonial Office was, on the other hand, desirous of developing the good tendencies of the measure, and of repressing the evils inseparable from the transition to a state of freedom. Hence it was natural that the transition should be effected under more favourable circumstances in the Crown colonies than in those which were governed by a legislature of planters.

The following passage, respecting the introduction of trial by jury in St. Lucia, is deserving of attention, as a successful attempt to mould that primitive institution into something like a rational form: —

'Trial by jury was established upon a system which has been for many years in successful operation in Van Diemen's Land, and which I have omitted no opportunity of recommending for adoption elsewhere. The objections to requiring unanimity in a jury are palpable and notorious; but, on the other hand, the rule of deciding by a majority is open to the objection that the majority may overrule adverse opinions hastily and impatiently, and resort to the ready expedient of resolving every question by putting it at once to the vote. The plan which seems best adapted to obviate on the one hand the undue impatience of a majority, and on the other, the undue pertinacity of a minority, is that of verdicts by majorities lessening as the periods of deliberation lengthen. Thus, if the jury consist of twelve (which, however, is a larger number than I would recommend), unanimity is required for the first two hours, unanimity less by one for the second, less by two for the third, less by three for the fourth, less by four for the fifth; and if there should then, at the end of ten hours of deliberation, be a dissentient minority of more than four out of twelve, a new jury is to be impanelled.' (Vol. i. p. 124.)

We are unable to follow Lord Grey in detail through his account of the insolvency of the Government of Trinidad, and of the measures taken by Lord Harris, in concert with the Home Government, for improving the condition of the island. The system of direct local rates, already adverted to, is stated to have been here tried with success. Lord Grey likewise points to the procuring of free blacks from the United States,

as a method of supplying the labour market likely to prove beneficial in Trinidad and other West India islands.

In British Guiana, though nominally a Crown colony, the power of the Governor is limited by a body called the Court of Policy, which is partly elective. When the Court of Policy exercises any financial power, it receives the addition of certain 'financial representatives;' and it is then styled the Combined Court. This body, in 1847, carried resolutions for a reduction of 25 per cent. in all salaries charged on the civil list; the alleged reason being the distressed state of the colony; and the real motive being the hope of driving the Government to a restoration of Protection. The Home Government refused its assent to the proposed reduction; whereupon the Combined Court allowed the taxes to expire; so that, with the exception of a few petty receipts, the Colonial Government was destitute of a revenue. The colonists probably expected that the Home Government would, in consequence, apply to Parliament for extraordinary powers, and thus invest them with the dignity of political martyrdom. Lord Grey, however, wisely determined to leave them to bear the responsibility of their own measures, and the Governor was instructed to suspend the performance of all those public services, for which he was not furnished with adequate funds. The result of this step was such as might have been anticipated; at the end of less than eleven months of fiscal anarchy, the tax ordinance was revived, and shortly afterwards the dispute about the civil list was settled. This conflict (in which Mr. Barkly, the Governor, showed great skill and ability) naturally retarded the improvement of the colony; but some measures of legislative reform have been passed (one for extending the franchise for the election of financial representatives), and the economical state of the colony has been ameliorated.

Jamaica, our largest West India island, whose colonisation dates from the time of Cromwell and Charles II., has been the chief sufferer by recent changes. The colonists impute all their losses to imperial legislation; the anti-slavery policy of England being regarded as the true origin of their distress. Speaking of a memorial to the Queen, voted by the Jamaica Assembly in 1846, Lord Grey says: —

'It deserves to be particularly observed, that in this memorial, which contains an elaborate statement of the grievances of Jamaica, it is complained that the abolition of the slave trade by Act of Parliament was the first check to the prosperity of the colony, and that the various steps by which slavery was first mitigated and ultimately completely abolished, are insisted upon as the causes of the general

ruin of the proprietors of the island; the fiscal changes which had taken place in this country being only adverted to as likely to become a new source of difficulty.'

The Assembly, acting on these views, have, for a series of years, done everything in their power to thwart first the anti-slavery, and afterwards the anti-protection policy of the Home Government; and, since 1846, they have been naturally encouraged to persist in this course by the sympathy of the Protectionist party in the English Parliament.

In 1848, the Assembly showed an intention of adopting the same policy as that already described as having been pursued in Guiana. A Retrenchment Bill, reducing the salaries of certain officers, was passed by the Assembly; and when it was rejected by the Governor, the Assembly refused to provide the funds necessary for the payment of these salaries. A long struggle of dissolutions and prorogations then ensued between the Governor and the Assembly; the Home Government took the same course as they had taken at Guiana, refusing to give way, and throwing the responsibility on the colonists; and the contest terminated in a similar manner, the Retrenchment Bill being, after a time, finally abandoned. When the papers relative to this series of transactions was presented to Parliament, no motion was made upon the affairs of Jamaica — the gauntlet thrown down by the Government was not taken up by the Opposition. This fine island still, however, continues in a state of great depression, and will so remain, as long as the planters continue to look to the English Parliament (as was still the case last year) for the means of improving their condition. Lord Grey remarks that, 'under the law, as it stands, 'the negroes must soon acquire a predominant power in the 'Assembly.' When this change has been accomplished, we may look forward to still greater changes in the government and industrial state of Jamaica.

The Fifth and Sixth Letters are devoted to British North America. The principles of responsible government, as applicable to Canada, were sketched out by Lord J. Russell, in despatches addressed to Mr. Poulett Thomson, the Governor, in 1839: but neither in his government nor in those of his successors, Sir C. Bagot, Lord Metcalfe, and Lord Cathcart, could the system be carried into effect. On assuming the seals of the Colonial Office, Lord Grey thought that the reasons for employing a military governor in Canada no longer existed, and he accordingly decided to replace Lord Cathcart by Lord Elgin. This appointment was made without reference to party connexion; and Lord Grey remarks that, 'as the government of Canada is literally

'the only civil office in that colony in the gift of the Home 'Government, and is the greatest prize in the Colonial service, 'the manner in which it was on this occasion disposed of affords 'a proof of the injustice of the common allegations that the 'colonies are retained only for the sake of the patronage they 'afford.' Lord Elgin went out in January, 1847, taking with him further instructions as to the mode of conducting the government of Canada. He was soon called upon to act upon them; for the party which he found in office, being in a minority in the Assembly, requested him to dissolve the Parliament, and a dissolution accordingly took place. The result was that the opposition party triumphed at the elections. When the Assembly met a vote was carried against the Administration, and a new Executive Council was formed. Lord Elgin gave his confidence to each executive, and acted as an adviser to the party in power, without attempting to dictate a policy to them. By a steady adherence to this impartial course, Lord Elgin was able to give satisfaction to the French Canadians and to the Liberal party in the western province, and to inspire them with feelings towards the English connexion which had not before existed. The party which had hitherto enjoyed political ascendancy, and considered itself as peculiarly associated with English interests, was, on the other hand, displeased. It happened, likewise, that the discontent of this party was increased by the existence of temporary commercial distress, consequent on the changes in the tariff of England. The chief losses were caused by the unsound measure of 1843, by which a premium was given upon grinding American corn in Canada for exportation to England. All investments made for taking advantage of this differential duty were deprived of their artificial value by the equalising law of 1846; but although the grant of the privilege was the measure which really deserved condemnation, its withdrawal was naturally the object of colonial indignation. In this state of public feeling the Rebellion Losses Bill, to which Lord Elgin gave his assent, lighted a flame in the colony. The Government, however, maintained their ground; the riots at Montreal led, indeed, to a change in the seat of Government, and to a decision that the sittings of the Provincial Parliament should in future be held alternately at Quebec and Toronto; measures were also taken for removing from office all persons who had openly declared an opinion in favour of the annexation of Canada to the United States; but by degrees the animosities of the contending parties were mitigated, and the desire of a separation from England was removed. In the meantime the Legislature employed itself upon the preparation of useful laws;

the tariff was revised and reduced to a moderate scale of duties for revenue; the municipal organisation was improved; measures were adopted for constructing roads and railways; and popular education was extended in both provinces. Lord Grey further explains the policy adopted in Canada by the English Government with respect to emigration, commercial intercourse with the United States, and the Clergy Reserves; important questions, into which our limits forbid us from following him. We will only call attention to a remark made by him upon the policy of the United States in maintaining a protective duty against Canadian corn. If the result of this system is to keep up a higher range of prices of corn in the United States than in Canada, Quebec and Montreal will have an advantage over New York in the carrying trade for the supply of the western country.

'So clear does it seem to me (Lord Grey says), that this is the tendency of the existing restriction on the importation of the agricultural produce of Canada into the United States, that, in the interest of the former I should wish these restrictions to be maintained for a few years, until her trade with the West can be thoroughly established; were it not that I have unlimited faith in the general rule, that in every case the removal of restrictions upon the freedom of trade is certain to be attended with advantage to all whom those restrictions affect.'

It appears that a plan of providing for the salary of the Governor of Canada out of a parliamentary grant, and of guaranteeing a loan for constructing a Canadian railway by the credit of the English Treasury, combined with a reduction of the military expenses of the colony, was in contemplation when Lord John Russell's Ministry was dissolved. Some diminution of the outlay under the latter head was, however, actually effected, and during the six years of Lord Grey's tenure of office the loyalty and attachment of the colony to England was increased; the internal disputes were calmed; a regular system of constitutional government was brought into practical operation; many useful laws were passed; and the economical state of both provinces was greatly ameliorated. Lord Grey considers it to be proved, by statistical evidence, that Canada has made a more rapid progress in wealth than the most flourishing of the United States.

On the remaining North American colonies we can only bestow a few words. In Nova Scotia a question arose as to the permanence of tenure of non-political offices, owing to a desire of introducing the practice of the United States, to treat all offices as equally precarious. This question was decided by

the recognition of the English rule, which considers all non-political offices as practically held during good behaviour. In New Brunswick the Colonial Legislature passed a temporary Act for granting bounties on the cultivation of hemp. The consent of the Queen to this Act was notified, but the Governor was informed that it would be refused to similar measures in future. The Legislature remonstrated, on the ground that it was a matter of purely local interest; Lord Grey held that the grant of bounties was a matter affecting trade, and involving imperial interests, and a communication in this spirit was made to the colony. The Legislature adhered to their former view, and the question remained unsettled when Lord Grey left office. The proceedings in the fishery question (which rose into great transient importance during last autumn) are detailed by Lord Grey; and he also relates the recent history of Newfoundland (where the town of St. John's was almost destroyed by fire in 1846); but we cannot dwell on these topics, and we must change the scene to a distant quarter of the world.

The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Letters treat of Australia; the Tenth of New Zealand. Lord Grey begins with an explanation of the much discussed Land question: and he shows that the system with respect to the disposal of the Crown lands now enforced in the Australian colonies, does not depend on the will of the Colonial Secretary, but is embodied in an Act of Parliament, passed in 1842, which was itself grounded on the Report of a Select Committee. This Act requires that all public lands shall be sold by auction, at a price not less than 1*l.* per acre. Of the proceeds of the land-sales, one half is to be applied to immigration; the other half to such objects of public utility as may seem desirable to the Governor and Secretary of State. This Act was upheld by Lord Grey, who attaches great importance to the policy on which it is founded: it was only modified by giving to the Government a power of making leases for a term not exceeding fourteen years, and of granting compensation for improvements. By this power, squatters, who hold what are called 'runs' (tracts of land used only for pastoral purposes) are enabled to obtain a sufficient interest in the land to induce them to make improvements. Lord Grey expresses an opinion, that the disposal of the unoccupied Crown lands in a colony, and the appropriation of the proceeds to purposes of immigration, are questions of imperial, and not merely of local interest: land-jobbing is, he remarks, the prominent evil of newly settled countries; and he shows that the Government of the United States, where the system of sale is not employed, prevents the evils of improvident grants by local rates, which force appropriated but uncultivated land into the

market.* The immigration to Australia made great progress under Lord Grey's administration; not less than 60,000 immigrants were sent out by the Emigration Commissioners in the five years ending 1851. He disapproves, however, in general of Parliamentary grants for purposes of emigration; and he thinks that the population of this country is not now in excess of the profitable demand for its labour.

We now come to the subject of Transportation. The demoralisation of Van Diemen's land under the Government of Sir Eardley Wilmot (partly produced by measures of injudicious economy, but chiefly by the excessive accumulation of convicts on this single spot) created the necessity of suspending transportation to that island for two years. Sir W. Denison was sent out as Governor, and a new plan of secondary punishments was devised, which was embodied in a letter from Sir G. Grey, as Secretary of State for the Home Department. The penal system thus framed, was to consist of 'a limited period of 'separate imprisonment, succeeded by employment on public 'works, either abroad, as at Gibraltar, or at Bermuda, or in 'this country, and ultimately followed, in ordinary cases, by 'exile or banishment for the remaining term of the original 'sentence.' This plan was subsequently modified by substituting tickets of leave for conditional pardons, with respect to the class of convicts who were to go out as exiles. Transportation to New South Wales had been abolished in 1840; and an attempt to restore it made by Lord Grey was frustrated by the opposition of the colonists. In Van Diemen's Land the suspension has expired, and the settlement of Western Australia is also applicable to purposes of transportation. Lord Grey is of opinion that, upon the whole, the advantages of transportation preponderate over its disadvantages, with reference to the interests both of mother country and colony. The mother country gains by the system, because, instead of placing its discharged convicts under circumstances which render a return to a life of crime almost inevitable, it disposes of them in a country where they are likely to acquire habits of regular in-

* The agrarian laws of Rome were substantially a question similar to that of the Crown lands in our colonies. The rich became squatters upon them, and obtained a possessory title: an agrarian law, or the sending out of a colony, was a measure for dividing the public land among the poorer citizens without any payment. If the Romans had adopted the plan of selling the public land at a moderate price, they would probably have prevented the fierce party conflicts which their agrarian laws provoked.

dustry. With regard to the colony, Lord Grey has the following remarks:—

'Looking back at the history of Australia for the last sixty years, I see nothing to justify the conclusion that, upon a fair balance being struck between the good and the bad moral results of transportation, even as it had actually been conducted, the bad would be found to preponderate. No doubt great evil resulted from the creation of a society in which the convict element (if I may use the expression) predominated so much as it formerly did in New South Wales. No doubt great moral corruption and great physical suffering were produced by the manner in which convicts were formerly conveyed to the colony, and by the system (or rather absence of all system) of management to which they were subject, both during the passage and on their arrival. Before public attention had been seriously directed to the subject, frightful abuses certainly occurred in the transportation of offenders; even when the practice of assignment was established, there were still abuses; and, as I have shown, the probation system, which was substituted for it in 1842, was still more open to objection. But with all these errors in the mode of conducting transportation, when we look at what the Australian colonies are at this moment, and consider that these communities have been created by it (for it is notorious that the penal settlements afforded the means of founding the others), I think it would be difficult to deny that, if the scheme of sending convicts to Port Jackson has worked much evil, it has worked still greater good.' (Vol. ii. p. 75.)

The history of the measures adopted for amending and enlarging the free institutions of the Australian colonies follows next. These proceedings commenced with a reference made to a Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of Lord Campbell, Sir James Stephen, and Sir Edward Ryan, to prepare a scheme of Australian reform. On the Report which emanated from this Committee, a Bill was presented by the Government, which, after various modifications, became law in 1850. When the plan of this measure was first circulated in the colony, it was favourably received; but the criticisms which it underwent during its passage through Parliament, produced a change in the feelings of the Australian public. Lord Grey justly remarks that 'the inhabitants of New South Wales may be assured that the success of free institutions in any country depends far less upon the particular form of those institutions, than upon the character of the people upon whom they are conferred, and the use they make of the power placed in their hands.' Two points in this Australian Act are deserving of special attention. One is, the power which it confers upon the colonial legislatures of altering its provisions with the consent of the Crown. Where a constitution is granted to a colony by

the mere act of the Crown, such a power necessarily exists; and we agree with Lord Grey in thinking that the local legislature ought not to be in a worse position where the constitution is granted by Parliament. The Canada Constitution Act of 1840 contains no such permissive power; it can only be altered by the English Parliament; and Lord Grey is of opinion that a similar power ought to be given to the Canadian Legislature. The other is, the rejection of what has been called the *bicameralist* principle in the Australian Act, and the limitation of the local legislature to a single chamber. On this subject Lord Grey has some remarks well worthy of consideration. His experience of colonial affairs has induced him to doubt the soundness of the received opinion (once shared by himself) in favour of a double chamber, and to think that in colonies a single chamber is preferable. The elements for an aristocratic chamber do not exist in a young colonial community: the number of persons fitted for the duties of representation is not large, and hence their division into two houses is inexpedient; while the presence of a body of members nominated by the Governor (being a third or some other number less than half the house) serves to insure a consideration for the opinions of minorities, and to prevent an eager majority rushing at once to the attainment of their end, without due deliberation and discussion. 'It is ot the utmost importance that in all legislative assemblies 'both sides of all disputed questions should be heard, and that 'those who hold what is not the popular opinion of the day, 'should be represented. But from the nature of colonial 'societies, there is a great danger that this may not always be the 'case, if all the members of the Assembly must be returned by 'popular election; since there are occasions when able and 'upright men may fail to be elected from the very qualities 'which render it most desirable that they should be so, in con-'sequence of their being too judicious to be misled by some 'delusion of the moment, and too honest and independent to 'profess to share in it contrary to their real opinion.' (Vol. ii. p. 100.) Some statistical facts are annexed which prove the rapid progress of Australia since 1846. In New South Wales, the revenue rose from 270,550*l.* in 1846 to 371,394 in 1850, and the export of wool from 16,479,520 lbs. in 1846 to 32,361,829 lbs. in 1850. In South Australia, the Customs revenue rose from 37,643*l.* in 1846 to 102,523*l.* in 1850; and the export of wool from 1,473,186 lbs. in 1846 to 3,289,232 lbs. in 1850.

The next Letter relates to New Zealand, a more recent, but a promising and remarkable settlement. Its chief peculiarity

consists in the character of the native population, who, starting from perfect barbarism, have, nevertheless, since they came into contact with the English settlers, shown a greater aptitude for civilisation than any aboriginal race among whom the white men have established a permanent footing. Their number is estimated at 120,000; nearly the whole nation has been converted to Christianity; they are fond of agriculture, make good sailors, are attached to Europeans, are desirous of learning European arts, are ambitious, docile, and adhere to their engagements. These elements, taken together, form a character which seems susceptible of great ulterior improvement, and of attaining a degree of civilisation which none even of the Oriental populations, encased in their stationary religions, have ever been able to reach. Conflicts naturally arose between the natives and the new settlers; but tranquillity has been established under the able administration of Sir George Grey, a Governor appointed by Lord Derby in 1845, and whose community of name with Lord Grey is accidental. His policy was to crush the attacks of the aborigines at the outset with a strong military power, and to ask for considerable grants from the mother country, during the early and struggling period of the colony; the result of which far-sighted system has been that the parliamentary grants have annually diminished since 1847, and that next year the colony will probably be self-supporting. We may add that the case of New Zealand is a striking example of the benefit of dependence upon a wealthy and powerful State during the infancy of the colony. Lord Grey admits that the Act of 1846, giving representative institutions to New Zealand, was premature, and that the Governor acted wisely in not carrying it into effect. It was afterwards replaced by a measure which enabled him to introduce certain preparatory free institutions; and in the Session of 1852, Lord Derby's Government proposed and carried an Act which was substantially based upon the original plan.

Ceylon occupies the next place. In this colony a great impulse had been given to the growth of coffee about the year 1845; there had been a sudden burst of prosperity, and a considerable increase in the revenue. A large addition had likewise been made at the same time to the civil establishments of the island. When, however, Lord Torrington went out as Governor in 1847, a commercial reaction had taken place, and a deficit in the revenue had been established. In 1846, the excess of expenditure over revenue was more than 74,000*l.*; and it was estimated that the deficiency of 1847 would be still greater. A necessity for prompt action had therefore arisen; and the financial measures adopted by Lord Torrington were

judicious and effective. A general revision of taxation was undertaken; the export duty on cinnamon, which threatened to destroy this important branch of the Ceylon trade, was reduced from 12*d.* to 4*d.* a pound, and all other export duties were abolished. All differential duties on the import of foreign goods were, moreover, reduced to the rates on British goods. These reductions were estimated to produce a loss of 40,000*l.* a year. On the other hand, various retrenchments were made in the expenditure, and some new taxes were imposed. The chief relief to the island treasury was, however, afforded by a measure (known as the 'Road Ordinance') for rendering the maintenance of roads a local liability, to be discharged by labour or a money payment, and for thus removing this burden from the general government. We know, by examples such as that of Sir R. Walpole's Excise Scheme, that even in civilised communities, useful financial measures may be grossly misrepresented, and thus excite a popular discontent. It is not therefore wonderful that the native priests and chiefs of Ceylon, disliking the British rule, and finding that it gradually undermined their influence, were able, by the propagation of false reports, and by working on the credulity of the ignorant people, to stir up a revolt. This insurrection threatened to spread and to become formidable; and if it had once involved a large portion of the island, great loss of life, and destruction of property must have ensued. Prompt measures, necessarily entailing military executions, were resorted to for its suppression; which was speedily effected by the execution of eighteen of the rebels, and the infliction of minor punishments upon many of the others. Lord Torrington's conduct in quelling this insurrection received, and justly as it seems to us, the approbation of Lord John Russell's Government.

If these transactions had occurred on the neighbouring continent of India, and within the dominions of the Company, the probability is that they would have attracted little attention in Parliament. But having taken place within a territory under the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, they were a tempting subject for party opposition, and hence a Select Committee was obtained, which sat for two Sessions, and conducted its proceedings in a spirit of determined hostility to the Government. The report of the Committee was, however, after all, insignificant, and a resolution censuring Lord Torrington, moved in the House by the Chairman of the Committee, was negatived by a large majority. Circumstances came out during the sittings of the Committee which showed the existence of discord between the Governor and some of the principal

civil servants, and induced Lord Grey to recall Lord Torrington from his government. Subsequent events have, however, proved the soundness of his policy; the revenue again exceeds the expenditure, and the industrial and commercial state of the island has become prosperous.

The Twelfth Letter includes the Cape of Good Hope, and the adjoining settlement of Natal. Shortly before the accession of Lord Grey to the Colonial Office, incursions had been made into the lands of the colonists by the Kaffir tribes, accompanied with great destruction of property. One of his first measures, accordingly, was to send out additional troops to the Cape; and soon afterwards Sir Peregrine Maitland was replaced by Sir H. Pottinger as Governor. The latter, however, was speedily removed to the government of Madras, and was succeeded by Sir Harry Smith, who, on reaching the colony, found the hostilities with the Kaffir tribes concluded. The instructions given to Sir H. Pottinger, and repeated to Sir Harry Smith, were, in substance, that the system of treaties with the Kaffir tribes having been shown to be futile, no more such treaties were to be made; but that the district between the Keiskamma and the Kei was to be declared subject to the Crown, and the tribes inhabiting it were to be placed under a government of British organisation; this system being adopted with a view of civilising and reclaiming the Kaffir tribes. These instructions were carried into effect by Sir Harry Smith in December, 1847. Lord Grey says that they were founded on a policy which has been approved by the highest authorities, and has proved successful in New Zealand; and that they produced the desired results at the Cape for nearly three years. In February, 1848, Sir Harry Smith recommended that the sovereignty of the Crown should be further proclaimed over the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers; — a measure in which Lord Grey acquiesced, and which was accordingly carried into effect. In 1849, the affair of the 'Neptune' and the Bermuda convicts occurred, when the colonists made a solemn league and covenant to prevent them from being landed, and to reduce the Government to submission by starving the troops. We think it unnecessary to repeat the details of so recent a transaction; but we will remark, that of all the cases of colonial resistance to the authority of the mother country recounted in Lord Grey's volumes, this seems to us by far the most irrational and indefensible. The question of representative institutions formed only an episode in the troubled annals of this colony. In 1842, a petition for a grant of representative institutions to the colony had been sent to Lord Derby by Sir G.

Napier. Lord Derby, in his answer, stated his objections to this course, and called upon the Governor for his opinion on the question. The subject remained for some time in abeyance, but, in July, 1848, Sir Harry Smith reported his opinion, that the time for their introduction had arrived. Lord Grey informed him, that the Home Government were prepared to act on his advice, and referred the question to the Committee of Council for Trade and Plantations. The report of this body recommended that the outlines of the constitution should be laid down in letters patent, and that the details should be filled in by the Governor with the assistance of his Legislative Council. Steps were taken both by the Home Government and the Governor for carrying this plan into effect; but various impediments, and the disturbed state of the colony, delayed its operation, and it remained in suspense when Lord Grey quitted office. At the end of December, 1850, disturbances again broke out amongst the Kaffirs, contrary to Sir Harry Smith's expectation; many of the Hottentots in the colony likewise revolted, and large defections took place in the Cape Mounted Rifle Regiment. The war which then began survived Lord Grey's administration and that of his successor, Sir J. Pakington, it seems for the present to be concluded, and we hope that it may not speedily revive. Lord Grey thinks, that if measures of severity had been promptly used, it might have been crushed in its commencement; but that Sir Harry Smith was naturally deterred from resorting to military executions, by the attacks which had made in Parliament upon Lord Torrington and Sir Henry Ward for adopting a similar course. With respect to the recall of Sir Harry Smith, which afterwards took place, Lord Grey expresses himself in a manner equally honourable to the author and to the subject of this measure.

As to the future state of the Cape colony, Lord Grey speaks of the prevalent feeling that it is not worth the sacrifices which it costs us; 'few persons (he says) would probably dissent from 'the opinion that it would be far better for this country if the 'British territory in South Africa were confined to Cape Town 'and to Simon's Bay.' But he shows that we have incurred moral liabilities towards the population which cannot be disregarded; thus 5000 emigrants were sent out by the Government in 1819, and settled in the district of Albany, at an expense of 120,000*l.*; and the European settlers have been encouraged to make improvements, and accumulate property, in the outlying districts. The argument, that the colonists would be able to provide for their own defence, if they were allowed to manage their own government, Lord Grey altogether rejects;

and he says that the parallel drawn from the agricultural population of the early American colonies to the colonists of the Cape, whose wealth consists in cattle, is inapplicable and fallacious. Lord Grey regards the civilisation of the native tribes at the Cape as an object of possible attainment. 'For my own 'part (he says), I confess I should grieve to think that the 'ultimate occupation of Southern Africa by a civilised popu-'lation was only to be accomplished, like that of North 'America, by the gradual destruction of the native races, before 'the advancing tide of a white occupation of the soil. I be-'lieve that, instead of this, the civilisation of the Black, *and the 'ultimate amalgamation of the two races*, is not impracticable, if 'the superior power of this country is wisely and generously 'used to enforce on both sides a respect for each other's rights, 'and to foster all those germs of improvement which are already 'showing themselves among the aboriginal population.'

In all wishes for the ultimate civilisation of the Black tribes of Southern Africa, we heartily concur; but we cannot look forward with satisfaction to such an amalgamation of races as will efface the separate existence of a White population; nor indeed do we consider it certain that a mixed or mulatto race can be permanently continued, without fresh infusions of the blood of an unmixed race. Experience seems to show, that where these renewals from the original stocks do not take place, the characteristics of the preponderant race obtain an exclusive dominion, and that those of the minority are gradually extinguished.*

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* On the civilisation of savage tribes, see the interesting chapter of Mr. Kaye in his recent work on the 'Administration of the East 'India Company,' p. 463—493. What Mr. Kaye proves amounts only to this: that where an Indian tribe is in a state of anarchy, unsettled in its habits, and living by rapine, English officers, by great energy, daring, and personal sacrifices, have been able to raise it to the ordinary level of Indian society. He shows, moreover, that certain mischievous and immoral practices—such as human sacrifices, Suttee, female infanticide, thuggee, and to a considerable extent decoity, or gang-robbery,—have been suppressed by our Government. These latter practices, however, though ancient, have never been universal in India. Hitherto the English Government has found no means of raising the general average of native Indian civilisation: if our influence was withdrawn from any district, the population would speedily relapse into its former state. Some remarks on the difficulty of reclaiming savage tribes, and their extinction in the presence of European settlers, are made by Mr. M'Cann in his 'Travels through the Argentine Provinces,' vol. i. p. 253—271.

With respect to Natal, we can only say that it has now reached the point at which it maintains its own civil government; — a circumstance which indicates a sound state of things, considering the recency of its settlement. This end has partly been attained by the policy (already adverted to) of imposing a direct tax upon the inhabitants; in this instance a tax of 7*s.* a-year on each native hut.

The Thirteenth and last Letter relates to those colonies which are principally to be regarded as trading stations, or as posts of military strength; and in which there is no large territory occupied for purposes of agriculture or pasturage. These, as they involve no important questions of colonial policy, may be briefly dismissed. Hong-kong has not fulfilled all the expectations originally formed of its utility; but its expenditure has been greatly reduced, and its state is satisfactory. Labuan was first occupied as a British possession during Lord Grey's Colonial Government: it is intended principally to facilitate the trade with Borneo. A similar measure was at the same time adopted with the Falkland Islands. Of the forts on the Gold Coast, Lord Grey gives a highly interesting account, and he shows how the British authority, though legally limited to a cannon shot's distance from the forts, nevertheless exercises a moral influence over a large tract of country, by the habit of the population to submit to the voluntary jurisdiction of English magistrates, who administer justice among these uncivilised people. A considerable trade has lately been established from the mouth of the Gambia; the principal export being an article entitled *ground-nuts.* The Governor of Bathurst, on the Gambia, has reported his opinion that cotton might be grown with profit in that district, if habits of regular industry could be established among the natives. Lord Grey, well aware of the importance of multiplying the sources of supply for cotton, considers this suggestion as worthy of attentive consideration. In Sierra Leone, the principal of our establishments in Western Africa, the finances were placed in order in Lord Grey's time, and a direct tax on houses and lands then imposed has proved productive. Malta received many improvements of its civil government under the able administration of Mr. More O'Ferrall, who was appointed Governor by Lord Grey. It had already obtained a free press, and a tariff founded on Free-trade principles; by the advice of Mr. O'Ferrall, a change was made in the Legislative Council, which admitted into it some members chosen by popular election.

In the following summary of the results of his administration, with which Lord Grey concludes his work, he is, we think,

fully borne out by the detailed account of the several colonies which he had previously given: —

'Let me add, with regard to the results of our policy, — for after all it must be judged by its fruits, — that taking our Colonial Empire as a whole, I greatly doubt whether any other period of equal length can be pointed out in our history in which that empire has prospered so much, and has made such large strides towards future greatness, as during the years of which I have been speaking. There has certainly been no similar period during which, in spite of all the difficulties that have been encountered, the advance has been greater. The facts and statistics which I have quoted, from official documents, enable me to make this assertion without fear of contradiction. With the single exception of the Cape, where we left, as we found, a distressing war going on, profound peace and internal tranquillity prevailed throughout the whole of our extensive colonial empire at the time of our quitting office. A commercial revolution deeply affecting the interests of many of our most important colonies has been safely passed through, not, it is true, without much distress and loss to individuals, which I deeply lament, but with great advantage to the permanent welfare of these colonies and of the mother country; and, except where our measures have been thwarted by the opposition to the new commercial policy, the difficulties inseparable from so great a change have been nearly surmounted. Various important and difficult questions, touching both the internal government of the colonies and their relations with the mother country, have been happily settled; and in almost all the colonies a great reduction of the charges they impose on the British Treasury has been effected, and principles have been established, and rules laid down, which, if they shall continue to be acted upon, must lead to still larger and early reductions of our expenditure. The burden of taxation has also been diminished, and the state of the finances, at the same time, improved, in the colonies where the most direct authority is exercised by the Crown. Finally, while the principle of leaving to the colonists the management of their own affairs has been carried further than at any former period, this has been accomplished without disturbing any of the ancient landmarks which define the limits of the powers vested respectively in the Crown, the Imperial Parliament, and the Colonial Legislatures.' (Vol. ii. p. 302.)

We have now given such an outline of the contents of Lord Grey's work as will serve to show its importance and extent, and to prove that in composing a vindication of his own policy, he has, in fact, written a Handbook of Modern Colonial Policy, which no person desirous of understanding the present state and future prospects of our colonies can omit to read. We wish, too, that the contents of this book could become known in foreign countries, as there is scarcely any subject upon which foreign politicians more often mistake the conduct and motives of this country than colonial questions; whereas a knowledge

of the truth might remove many absurd jealousies and suspicions which now reign in their minds with undisputed sway.* We may add, that the opinions expressed incidentally by Lord Grey upon matters of general policy involved in the discussion of colonial subjects, are clear, sound, and enlightened. Upon questions of trade, in particular, he shows everywhere not only a perfect mastery of the facts with which he deals, but also such a firm and consistent adherence to general principles as proves that he has thoroughly sifted and appropriated the original processes of argument upon which they are founded. We will only, in conclusion, express a hope that Lord Grey's work may serve as an example to his successors, and that we may receive from future Secretaries of State a similar *compte rendu* of their colonial administration.

ART. IV. — *China during the War and since the Peace.* By Sir JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Bart. 2 vols. 8vo. 1852.

THREE circumstances combine at the present moment to secure our earnest attention to the state and prospects of China and of its relations with western civilisation. The first to which we would allude is the remarkable effect which appears to be in process of the recent discoveries of gold in California and Australia, and the prominent part which this people seems destined to act, and indeed has already enacted, in the Pacific hemisphere.

The second specialty relating to China which attracts our attention at this particular juncture is the approach of the period for the revision of the commercial treaties with that nation. In nothing is procrastination more common, in nothing is it so fatal and consequently, as the subject is one of the deepest importance, in nothing should it be so studiously guarded against as in the management of political affairs. We therefore need make no apology for at once calling attention to what, in the pressing and stirring affairs of the present, had well nigh been forgotten, viz., that in 1855 the provisions of the French and American

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* We may take this opportunity of mentioning the candid and intelligent appreciation of English affairs by which the *Revue des deux Mondes* has on many occasions distinguished itself; and particularly of calling attention to four articles by M. Léonce de Lavergne, on the *Rural Economy of England*, in the numbers for Jan. 15., March 1. and 15., and April 15. of this year. These articles not only discuss the social questions relating to English agriculture with great ability, but even on practical matters contain much information interesting to an English reader.

treaties with China will have to be reconsidered and revised by the contracting parties. To these stipulations our attention has been recalled by perusing the volumes of Sir John Davis, who observes, very justly, that 'If, on the approach of the period '(1855-56), the Governments of England, France, and America 'could contrive to act in concert and alliance on the occasion '(which, in fact, is the spirit in which the treaties were made), 'it would naturally add immensely to the weight and consistency 'of the negotiations, and be a rare opportunity for opening still 'wider the gates of China to the civilised world.' (Vol. ii. p. 87.) It is not to be objected that, as the stipulations are contained in the French and American treaties only, we have nothing to do with it; for it would be a very important matter even had we not been, as we are, actually embraced in this stipulation, *so far as it is beneficial*, by virtue of the general provision in the treaty of Nankin placing us upon the footing of the most favoured nations. Sir John Davis informs us that Keying has expressly recognised our interest in this revision, adding, 'with 'the caution of a Chinese minister, "it is not said that after '"twelve years the previous treaty ought no longer to be ob-'"served, but that each party must appoint ministers to deter-'"mine on the new regulations."' Now, it must be admitted that for the reconsideration of a question affecting interests lying at so great a distance, two years is not too long a period.

The third of the circumstances alluded to above, and affecting our relations with China at the present moment, is its internal state.

For many months past our periodical intelligence from the East has had an unusual interest, in being the chronicle of the serious rebellion which has already spread itself over the southern provinces of China against the rule of that Tartar dynasty which has for two hundred years swayed the despotic or paternal sceptre of those vast realms. This rebellion has apparently had its origin in the more than ordinary success of certain robbers in the province of Kwang-si, who invoked in aid of their enterprise the support of the secret political societies of China, muttering the *cabala* of Chinese patriotism, as robbers in other countries and ages have invoked the name of liberty and the assistance of similar connexions. It has gradually spread in a very remarkable manner; and now appears to have identified itself with the cause of Chinese independence of Manchu domination, being supported by certain new-found legitimists or pseudo-legitimists of the ancient Ming dynasty. So widespread seems the reverence for 'legitimacy,' that in the extreme bounds of Asia we find it put forward as the Shibboleth

of the 'Chinese party,' a watchword which seems to threaten the stability of the most ancient, and in many respects the most remarkable empire on the roll of history.

'About the year 1352, just 500 years before the date of the 'present assumption, it is remarkable that the rebellion of the 'Chinese commenced against the former Tartar dynasty, that of 'the Mongols, under which Marco Polo possessed so much credit 'at Pekin. The Mongols having been expelled by the Chinese 'in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the Chinese again 'by the Mantchus, in the middle of the seventeenth century, it 'now remains to be seen if the Mantchus are to be put down 'in their turn by the Chinese in the middle of the nineteenth 'century after a tenure of two hundred years.' 'The drama 'has not yet reached the fifth act,' concludes Sir John, 'but 'were the catastrophe of a tragical cast, it would be strictly 'in accordance with the principle of poetical justice. At the 'commencement of the present year the emperor's troops had 'suffered severely in a contest with the rebels, and the inha-'bitants of Canton had reason to apprehend that a continuance 'of such warfare might place their tempting city in some 'jeopardy.' (Vol. ii. pp. 216. 219.)

Since the publication of these quotations considerable progress has been made by the insurgents, and so much public interest is at present attached to their movements that we shall be excused for dwelling at some length upon the causes of the insurrection. In doing this we shall adopt very much the opinions of Sir John Davis, which are entitled to the greatest weight, and which, as they are enunciated in his last work, have been very much supported by the events which have since occurred.

We may gather sufficiently clearly from that work that whatever may be the final result of the internal troubles which now affect China, (and the catastrophe seems near at hand), they are in no small degree the consequences of that disgrace and defeat which the proud and boastful government of the country sustained in the war with Great Britain. Until then, the assumption of immense superiority had in some way or other been maintained; but the necessary humiliations imposed by the Treaty of Nanking were so great and so public, that there was no disguising them. The people had not received that protection which had been expected from the Emperor's forces; they had on the contrary seen those forces completely repulsed and dispersed in every single instance, and were no longer able to regard their rulers with the respect and awe which they had hitherto inspired.

The change was felt in many parts of the country. The

people began to oppose the payment of their former exactions, insurrections arose in various quarters, and bands of robbers, always a source of trouble, now began to defy the government. The public documents in the 'Peking Gazette' clearly betrayed the weak and temporising course which it had become necessary to adopt. It was evident that there was a disposition to yield to necessity, and a fear of pushing matters to extremes.

By a long-established rule of the Government, the possession of firearms had always, previous to the war with England, been denied to the common people; and even the sale of iron had been at one time restricted, lest it might be converted to other uses than those of agriculture. But, during the war, there had been such a liberal distribution of arms to persons of all descriptions that they remained in the possession of many who were soon ready to make a bad use of them. The growth of piracy since the war may be in a great measure attributed to this cause, conjointly with the illicit opium traffic. The mere possession of weapons led to their abuse; and those who were fishermen or smugglers to-day, were pirates to-morrow. The Government, on the other hand, had become weaker and less able to control, in proportion as the exertion of its powers was more required.

The evils on shore rivalled those at sea. During the war, there was little or no sympathy or co-operation between the Government and the inhabitants of the places visited by the British forces, except indeed at Canton; and even there the populace treated the matter rather as an ancient feud of their own against foreigners, and acted independently. When towns on the coast were captured, the rabble followed close upon our troops, and plundered the places which these had spared. The universal disorder and confusion thus generated left their traces and effects after the conclusion of the peace, and have never been completely remedied. Stimulus and encouragement was especially given to the secret societies, which under the name of the 'Triad,' the 'Water Lily,' and other designations, had been long in existence, with the professed object of restoring the Ming or Chinese dynasty, by the expulsion of the Tartars.

To the growing evils by which he was surrounded, the late Emperor, older in constitution than in years, was little able to oppose any effectual remedies. His difficulties had been greatly increased by the indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars to be paid us for the war which had already exhausted his resources. The revenue, which had been in some cases anticipated, could not again be raised, and thus there arose a financial crisis of the worst description. Trade had of course suffered during the

war, especially that of the beleaguered coast, and the usual produce of the customs was greatly impaired. Natural evils combined with the political to enhance the difficulties of the Government. An unusually wet year, and the inundations of the Yangtszekiang and Yellow River devastated several provinces. The principal source of Chinese revenue is the land-tax, and with all his absolute power the Emperor cannot easily depart from the traditions of the country, or change those rules of taxation which time has sanctioned.

To provide for his immediate necessities, the Emperor was advised to have recourse to a system of patriotic aids on the part of wealthy persons, who in return for subscribing certain sums were to receive a nominal rank, and enjoy particular privileges. This system of barter succeeded in some measure, and at Canton a host of such candidates for honours subscribed enough to rebuild the damaged defences. Similar appeals succeeded in other quarters, but such a source was easily exhausted; for when these distinctions and privileges increased in number they diminished at the same time in value, and future offers were less readily welcomed. Then came the infinitely worse proposition, to dispose of civil offices for money, an infraction of the fundamental principle of China, on which has been based so much of her stability and comparative good government. By giving thus an unfair and unconstitutional advantage to wealth over personal merit, a blow was aimed at the most influential class in the country, the learned; and the manifest tendency was to alienate them from the Tartar rule.

When it was known that civil offices might be eventually obtained by the contribution of certain fixed sums, there was at first no dearth of candidates. As the possession of office might be turned to pecuniary advantage it was a sort of investment, and the subscribers to such a lottery were sufficiently numerous. The vacancies were, however, in a small proportion to the aspirants, and these soon found they had the chance of waiting with no very early prospect of seeing their expectations realised. The purchasers became discontented at finding they had spent their money to little purpose; and to meet their clamours a course of rigid severity was adopted towards the actual occupants of office, who, on the commission of the slightest error, either real or imputed, were ousted, and some monied candidate substituted.

If any thing had been wanting to rouse the literary and official class against the government it was this. They had always and justly enjoyed, as an inherent constitutional right, the undisputed privilege of filling honourable magisterial offices, and

now saw themselves displaced by the merely rich. The general dissatisfaction of the most influential class of the Chinese community, at being thus defrauded of their ancient rights, became a source of danger to the Tartar rule. Two antagonistic parties now existed,—the advocates of the new financial system, most of them Manchus, and the members of the old Chinese school, with a long tale of their ill-treatment and their grievances.

On the 25th of February, 1850, the Emperor Taou-kwang died, after a reign of nearly thirty years. He was succeeded by a son *under the age of twenty.* The immature age of the new emperor was not a favourable circumstance at the present juncture, as a change in the succession to an oriental despotism, while the country is in an unsettled state, requires experience and age, rather than the opposite qualifications. It was moreover unfortunate that the young sovereign showed little wisdom in dismissing from his councils such men as Keying and others, who were the long chosen ministers and friends of his father.

It is certain that the insurrectionary movements in the south advanced, both in extent and activity, after the demise of the old emperor. From August, 1850, every month's advices have brought intelligence of their progress, with the avowed object of expelling the Tartar government. The Chinese insurgents have at length, after a course of uninterrupted success, naturally made for Nankin, the ancient seat of native Chinese rule, the possession of which would to a certain extent make them masters of the southern half of the Empire.

A very curious proclamation on the part of the Chinese army has appeared by a late mail, wherein the new Emperor is styled *Tien-tih* (celestial virtue), and the style assumed for his reign is *Tae-ping*, 'universal peace,' or rather 'subjugation.' From some of the expressions, it may be inferred that the long tails and tonsure of the head, imposed by the Tartars on the Chinese, are in some jeopardy, and likely to be superseded by the old Chinese coiffure (as still represented on their stage), a full head of hair, tied up. 'These roamers of the barren desert' (says the proclamation) 'have entered our palaces, and these in-'habitants of bare mountains have taken possession of our halls. 'They have not followed the regulations of Yaon and Shun, but 'have made human beings assume the appearance of irrational 'animals.'

A confirmation of the preceding remarks on the mal-administration of the Tartars appears in this:—'Those who 'diligently study the works of Confucius and Mencius seldom 'succeed in attaining official dignity; while those who make use of pecuniary means frequently reach the highest rank.'

The weak system pursued by the Tartar government against us in the war seems alluded to in the subjoined passage: — 'You 'Tartars, being destitute of brave generals and good soldiers, 'have encouraged the gentry and elders to collect and drill their 'neighbours, and have urged the village braves to turn out in 'your defence. The ancients employed a standing army to 'protect the people; but you drove the people to become 'soldiers.'

Every circumstance confirms the position already stated, that this great revolution among a population which constitutes a large proportion of the human race, had its origin in the events of the war with England.

To prognosticate the course or result of this rebellion, is a matter which perhaps those of our nation most immediately in intercourse with the Chinese would find impossible. From our own information of the political and social state of China, the nature of its Government and the character of its people we are, however, inclined to think that these consequences will not be so serious as the newspaper press has of late represented as approaching. The municipal state of China has for ages been in a most disjointed state, — it would be difficult to account for its continuance at all under such conditions, except for the contented and easy-going disposition of the great mass of the people, their industrious habits, the slender list of their wants, their being a good deal busied about local politics, and chief of all, the fact that from the mode of appointment to public office, and in spite of all its abuses and corruptions, scarcely a family can be found which has not some of its members in the occupation of an office of more or less importance; and, speaking generally, it may be added that hardly any of these officers but can, at least in theory, by zeal and ability rise to be prefects of districts, governors of provinces, or even members of the Imperial Council. The consequence of these elements is seen in every-day Chinese life. People by no means ignorant of the principles of justice or unobservant of their breach, by no means wanting in appreciation of law and order or willing to countenance their violation, systematically submit to an amount of oppression and extortion and suffer, in many districts, from an amount of rapine and disorder such as if described would display one of the most curious chapters of the history of mankind ever written, with a *laissez-faire* so astounding as almost to excite our admiration. True, they often remonstrate, they often complain, they often take the law into their own hand, and contrive an *émeute* or even set on foot a rebellion; but their remonstrances and disturbances are met

successfully either by concession or force, and they return to their daily occupations the same light-hearted, or rather easy-going, comfortable, self-satisfied people that they were before.

Now what is this rebellion that is to revolutionise so anomalous and impassive an empire? In its origin a foray of a band of robbers, invoking on its first successes, as we have seen, the assistance of legitimacy, and the spirit of Chinese nationality, it has succeeded in attracting the attention of the world in its progress. It now appears to enlist in the west something of that sympathy which its leaders, no doubt, calculate to secure in those Chinese provinces from which our latest information on the subject has come, by putting on a religious character, which while to the very numerous Roman Catholic inhabitants of those provinces it appears to identify the rebels with the followers of Christ, is perfectly explicable to the Buddhist populace there and in other parts of China, by reference to the traditions of their own faith. It has, moreover, enlisted the co-operation of the very extensive brotherhood of the 'Triad Societies;' but, notwithstanding all these elements of success and sources of influence, notwithstanding its actual success in one sense,—that is its actual progress over half the latitude of the empire, up to the very walls of Nankin,—we cannot but think that really it has not made so much progress, as might at first sight seem, towards the permanent revolutionising of the Chinese Empire.

When we look to its track, we find its course amongst such a people, with such a government as we have described, very much that of a ship through the waters. Everything has, it is true, given way before it; the corruption of the Government everywhere, the laziness of the populace, the cowardice of the unpaid troops, has constantly smoothed the path of a numerous band of active, ambitious, and ferocious rebels. Town after town, province after province, has fallen into their hands; but it does not appear, so far as we have learned, that any permanent authority has been established to any great extent on their part; no considerable mass of the people have followed the standard of the Pretender. On the other hand, as the rebel army has come into each district, so it has in most cases gone out, and the whole staff of mandarins (except such as have been executed) have returned to their plundered mansions, and have proceeded to administer the law, to collect the taxes, and fulfil their ordinary duties as if nothing whatever had happened.

It is true that authentic information of these facts is scanty, and the undoubted success of the rebels seems to augur its continuance; but although they have scoured some of the principal tea districts, and are now in the immediate neighbourhood of

Shanghae, so little does there appear to be any extended alarm as to the future, that the tea markets in China were, by the last accounts, perfectly steady as to prices; although from the immediate proximity of the rebel army trade was at the northern emporium suspended.

While it appears that no great amount of permanent success is actually gained, the rebels are every day approaching more nearly those districts which are defended, not by a set of lazy, indifferent Chinese mercenaries, but by bodies of Tartar troops not more brave than loyal, not more fierce than steadfast. Our own troops, supported by all the discipline and resources of a great kingdom, and animated with the courage of an English army, will remember what warm work they met with in the two or three affairs north of the Yangtszekiang. It is more than can be supposed that the rebel army will be able to encounter with success the Tartar retainers of the great Manchu monarch, or if this is overrating the chances of the existing Government, at least we are inclined to believe that the chances of the insurgents have been as much overrated.*

When we recommend, as it is one of the objects of this Article to do, the taking advantage of the existing state of things in China for diplomatic objects, it is by no means that we desire to see any military intervention on our part in the struggle between the reigning and usurping powers. It may perhaps be that as events progress, it will be found difficult to avoid such intervention, however much to be deprecated, which the protection of our own commerce may naturally lead to. At the same time we are satisfied that the course at present adopted by our Government of refusing to interfere in the matter is the proper and wiser course; but while we thus refuse to make ourselves parties to a struggle not our own, we may well make use of the opportunity to influence the Chinese Government to permit our closer intercourse, and to extend our commercial privileges.

That our relations, in common with those of all European races, with the Chinese Empire have always been and still are on a most anomalous and unsatisfactory footing, is a matter which is daily becoming more and more widely appreciated; and the regret which cannot but accompany this feeling is considerably aggravated by a sense of our ignorance of the social and political state of China. Such ignorance entails serious difficulty in arriving at, or carrying out with reasonable cer-

* The latest news received since the above was in type has confirmed the views here expressed by informing us of the repulse of the rebels before Nankin and Chin-kiang-foo.

tainty and consistency, any course calculated to effectuate the great object—for a very great and desirable object to the whole world it undoubtedly is—of opening that vast empire to the commerce, the arts, the civilisation, and the religion of Europe.

At first sight it appears very remarkable—and this singularity is only partially removed on consideration of the classes of men who for the most part are our informants upon Chinese subjects, the difficulties of the language, and the impediments to intercourse, arising from the jealousy of the Government and the people—that in the very numerous works which have within the last twenty years issued from the British press upon China, the works of men of science, politicians, lawyers, merchants, missionaries, soldiers, and sailors, it is only very rarely that we discover, even in such of them as from their professions or their authors have raised our expectations, anything tending to throw light upon the philosophy of the state of China. We do not lack narratives sufficiently interesting and amusing, even when hardly sufficiently authentic, of singularities in religion, in manners and in government, dissertations on character and details of events; but any consideration of facts as causes and effects, as parts of a singular but explicable and homogeneous system, we have usually searched for in vain. No book published of late years about China has, in our opinion, thrown so much light upon its actual state and prospects as the late work of Sir John Davis, which often lets us behind the scenes which have secluded the Celestial Kingdom, with its social and political system, its strifes, its parties, its machinery of progress or its causes of retrogression, from our view. China seen with the eyes of Sir J. Davis cannot fail to amuse and interest the observer, while it affords matter abundant for the gravest consideration of our duties, our prospects, and our dangers in relation to the Chinese empire.

The ignorance, however, in which we as yet are of the state of the Chinese is a very serious impediment to an answer to the questions, Why is it that the effects of the late war with China, which ought to have given the world complete access to a community constituting one-third part of the human race, have been so miserably small as they are? and, What is that policy best adapted to improve our relations with China?

We propose now summarily to consider the extent of our commercial intercourse with China, as it existed prior to the Nankin treaty but after the opening of the trade, and as it has been since the peace of 1842. Our figures will be very few as our present object is only preliminary; and those who are anxious to consider statistics more at full may be amply

gratified by a perusal of the Report of the House of Commons' Committee on the China Trade (Sess. 1846), and of the annual returns relating to Trade. We will balance the trade with China carried on by us * from July, 1837, to July, 1838 (the fairest year which can be taken between the settlement of the trade in 1834 and the hostilities which terminated in the war of 1840), with that carried on in 1846, one of the most successful commercial years since the treaty of 1842. Now in the first of these years we find that the value of the imports into China was 24,785,462 Spanish dollars, or 5,163,637*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*,—that of the export trade with us, 22,014,700 dollars, or 4,586,395*l.* 16*s* 8*d.* These sums, however, include the estimated value of the opium trade in that year, viz. 2,823,752*l.*, and the value of the returns for the drug,—items which the consular accounts under the present system take no notice of, except so far as a return in the regular course of trade may be made for the imported poison. The consular returns for 1846 show the value of the trade in that year with Great Britain and her possessions to have been, at Canton:—

* The foreign trade of China with England is very much larger than that conducted by the Americans, and the commerce between China and other European countries (except Russia) is quite insignificant. As to the trade with Russia, the smuggling on the frontier is so extensive that the custom-house returns cannot be depended upon at all as an accurate measure. Certainly the trade in Russian woollens is very important, and is one in which we are not able to compete under the present system successfully. We quote from Sir John Davis the following statement of the Russian overland commerce: — 'In 1830, the whole importation of woollens at that place '(Kiachta) amounted to 154,552 yards; in 1839, to 1,297,230; and 'in 1840 it rose to 1,328,912. These were two years of a more or 'less suspended trade with England; but the quantity is still very 'large. Tea, the principal export, has increased in a similar manner. 'In 1830, there were brought 43,070 boxes each of 100 lbs., besides '71,940 pieces of brick tea; in 1839, boxes 47,950, and 60,430 'pieces. On this commodity the greatest profits are realised; and 'one account states that what was bought at Kiachta in 1839 for '7,000,000 dollars realised 18,000,000 at the fair of Nischegorod. 'All the nomadic tribes of Western Asia use the brick tea in pro-'fusion, and it often passes as a circulating medium. Hence the 'large gain of the Russians, who may be said to possess the mo-'nopoly; and at the same time the readiness with which they incur 'a loss on their imports to pay for this article. . . . . The declared 'amount (declared in Russia) of imports to Northern Asia in 1840 'was 3,615,130*l.* in Russian dollars; and of exports, 6,892,952*l.* About eleven-twelfths of this are absorbed, either directly or indi-'rectly, in the Chinese trade.' (Vol. ii. pp. 96, 97.)

	£	s.	d.
Imports - -	2,213,116	6	4
Exports - -	3,332,021	0	0

At Shanghae:—

Imports - -	810,200	0	0
Exports - -	1,352,530	0	0

whilst the trade at the other ports is quite insignificant, except at Amoy, where the imports amounted to 106,000*l.*, though the exports seem to have amounted to 8,600*l.* only. In these accounts the preponderance of exports over imports at Canton and Shanghae is attributable to some of the returns for opium being made in the way of legitimate commerce; whereas at Amoy these returns are always made in specie, and are dealt with by the opium clippers themselves, and so do not pass through the custom house or consular offices. After 1846 the state of trade was very unsatisfactory for some time, the Manchester shippers had overstocked the Chinese markets, and the English tea and silk markets were equally glutted. The tea glut was a year in advance of the silk plethora, apparently, and the state of trade in these staple articles appears only lately to have become at all settled. In 1848 the raw silk imported amounted to 2,200,182 lbs., which in 1849 fell off to 1,845,525 lbs.; whilst the supplies of tea which in 1848 had fallen to 47,774,755 lbs., in 1849 rose to 53,459,469 lbs.,—*somewhat* larger than the largest previous importations in any one year. Perhaps the following table of the declared values of the exports of British produce to China in every year from the opening of the trade in 1834 to 1849, will give a useful idea of the course of that commerce in that period.

	£		£
1834 -	842,852	1842 -	969,381
1835 -	1,074,708	1843 -	1,456,180
1836 -	1,326,388	1844 -	2,305,617
1837 -	678,375	1845 -	2,394,827
1838 -	1,204,356	1846 -	1,791,439
1839 -	851,969	1847 -	1,503,969
1840 -	524,198	1848 -	1,465,959
1841 -	862,570	1849 -	1,537,109

Before leaving these figures we must remark upon one feature of the commerce which we have carried on in China since 1844, and that is the change which has taken place in the relative positions of Canton and Shanghae,—a change which we cannot but think gratifying, so far as it goes, and which the following statistics will illustrate:—

Years.	Tea exported from Shanghae.	Silk so exported.
	Lbs.	*Bales.*
1844-45	3,800,627	6,433
1845-46	12,459,988	15,192
1846-47	12,494,140	15,972
1847-48	15,711,142	21,176
1848-49	18,303,074	18,134
1849-50	22,363,370	15,237

Now, comparing the trade with China of the year 1838 and that of the years since the peace,— when we remember what had taken place in the interim of these two periods, that the Chinese had been completely within our power, that we had made with them a treaty which we considered, not indeed to secure to us perfect freedom and equality in China, but yet to obtain for us every facility for conducting an extensive trade with upwards of 350 millions theretofore secluded and beyond our reach, but then, as we fondly imagined, brought within the circle of western commerce;—when we remember all this, the comparison of the dealings of the two commercial years above given is cause for great astonishment and chagrin. Surely we were justified in thinking that so vast a mass of consumers — a people without steam power or any of the modern mechanical improvements, inhabiting so immense an empire as the Chinese, and for ages having possessed but one narrow inlet on the seaboard for the commerce of European nations, suddenly thrown open to us at five different points, several of which are amongst the most important commercial places in the empire, and having many weighty reasons of curiosity, of necessity and of policy to cultivate a close connexion with us — would have given far greater impulse than is shown by the figures we have quoted, which represent our commerce with this vast country in 1846 as very considerably less valuable than that which in 1788 France carried on with its colony of St. Domingo! In times so arduous as those in which our lot is cast, and especially with the prospect of a monetary revolution, bearing we know not what consequences in its train, we are very closely urged at present to pursue an inquiry to a successful issue which, if practically taken advantage of, may be of very considerable importance to the commercial prosperity of this country. Although, no doubt, many of the consequences which, upon the first transpiration of occurrences such as those of 1841 and 1842 in China, would naturally and did actually suggest themselves to all who were

interested in the result were greater than those which upon due consideration we were warranted in expecting under the circumstances, yet in a far greater degree, are the actual consequences disproportionately and unduly small.

However stoically a phlegmatic looker-on might hold that the mercantile world was giving itself up to vain dreams of the immense results of the peace of 1842, it really is difficult to say that *any* estimate of the impulse ultimately to be given to our commerce by opening to it a nation of 350 millions or upwards of civilised, trading, calico-wearing human beings, hitherto secluded from us, which was in fact or which could with probability be entertained by commercial men, was or would be an exaggerated estimate. But, with the light of the actual events of the last ten years, it is not difficult to see that, looking to some of the surrounding circumstances, we should have measured more carefully the immediate prospect of the improved condition of Anglo-Chinese relations.

If we look back to the past history of China, we find that it was coveted as an ally by the long decayed monarchy of Persia; that, when in its full prime, its conquering arms gave that impetus to the savage Huns which, centuries afterwards, effected the downfal of imperial Rome, a period separated from us by eventful ages; that when Bertezena founded the Turkish monarchy, destined to overthrow the remains, not indeed of Roman virtue, but of Byzantine luxury and to establish and spread a false religion over a vast portion of the globe, he sued for, as a matter essential to his success, the hand of a daughter of the Chinese monarch. As to its civilisation, we have learned that when Helâgabalus purchased the silk which so shocked the severe propriety of Pliny for its weight in gold, the populace of China used it for their common apparel; that when the classic literature of golden ages was perishing unknown to the ignorance or was falsified by the affectation and prejudices of scholiasts and ascetics, the walls of Nankin were placarded with advertisements of cheap lanterns and programmes of popular comedies; and that when the wise men of Greece were ridiculing the credulity which could believe that in sailing towards the west the sun had been observed on the right hand of the voyagers, professional astronomers were appointed in China to observe the movements of the sidereal heavens and determine the annual period, taking into consideration the precession of the equinoxes. As to their domestic undertakings, we find complete municipal organisation and a realm intersected with canals for public convenience ere the laws of the ten tables were promulgated or the Appian aqueducts constructed. As to their commerce, it ap-

pears that they were the purveyors, not of the East alone, but also of the Roman empire, their voyages to Ceylon being probably the most extended which were known for ages before the commercial spirit had arisen in Europe. But as to the present external relations of an empire the population of which includes one-third of our race, and which covers an extent of territory by far exceeding that of any other state of which we have ever heard, we should learn that it secludes itself in its own bounds, that it declines foreign commerce as far as possible, that it endeavours to prevent the introduction of foreign improvements and to hinder the emigration of its citizens to other lands and that the only maritime traffic of any extent or importance which it conducts with any other country by its own merchants is that in grain. Thus much known, what would we venture to allege of the internal condition of China? Surely, that it had arrived, in the course of ages which have overthronged continents (all but desert when China teemed with an already numerous population), at a stationary point, had increased its population to a burdensome extent, had occupied in consequence all its productive lands, had devoted all the energies of its people to obtaining a livelihood, had arrested its progress in science and manufactures, and had lost a large proportion of its proper enterprising and energetic spirit.

As a matter of fact, this is the state in which China is at the present day. No 'margin of cultivation,' no sufficient remuneration for labour, a minimum of profits, the land farmed and owned in small holdings for domestic purposes, the people living from hand to mouth, so that an inundation, a hail-storm or a locust-swarm causes the most dreadful suffering in a whole province, although the Government is necessitated to keep large public granaries to guard against such occurrences. Manufactures even are for the most part carried on by individual exertion; the loom in the house is the order of things in the whole of the immense silk district of Su-chau, and such a thing as improvement or change is quite unknown. Every one looks back instead of forward, their golden age seems bygone, they live in it instead of in the dark future or the toilsome present, and under these circumstances there is something to our minds touching instead of ridiculous in that attachment to 'old custom' which is perhaps the most peculiar feature in the Chinese character.

Now, it will be seen that such a country is not in a position to enter at once into a foreign traffic proportioned to its size and importance. Where every rood is husbanded by hand, where the hill is terraced off into beds covered with transported soil,

where districts are often irrigated by manual labour and where cotton is sown and woven by the father of a family, hoed and picked by the mother and children, and cleaned and spun by the grandmother, it is perfectly puerile to talk of 'unlimited 'production'; and if production has reached its limit, commerce is not far from its limit also, unless circumstances can be altered.

Mr. Wakefield tells us that the tendency of profits to a minimum 'arises from production being limited not only by 'labour and capital, but by *field of employment.*' This field of employment, however, may be enlarged by *increasing* the production, say of an acre or a loom, as well as by giving a man *two* acres or *two* looms, and in this manner the field of employment in China is indeed unlimited. Had we but the means of conducting our own commerce in every part of China we might, in time, in two ways enlarge indefinitely the means of that country to produce articles for our consumption. First, we would for ourselves learn what articles of Chinese consumption we are able to supply, and they would find what articles of our produce they were able to procure more advantageously of our manufacture than similar ones of their own; we should then have the means of carrying into their provinces grain, raw cotton and wool from our own and other Eastern territories, and by this means would be able to present them with a large 'margin of cultivation' and production. Secondly, a more intimate intercourse with us would infallibly introduce into China those numerous scientific and mechanical inventions, perfectly unknown there at present, and without which *we* ourselves surely would have remained in *barbarism*. The extension of the field of employment which this would open is indeed unlimited—more especially in respect of manufactures. An endeavour to conceive, for a moment, a limit to be imposed upon the manufacturing resources of a country so vast as the Chinese empire, when steam-power and the numerous mechanical inventions, which there are as yet unthought of, shall be applied to the preparation of cotton and silk by its ingenious and industrious inhabitants, will convince the sceptic that the word *unlimited* is scarcely in this case too large. If such an intercourse as we have spoken of were but established, China would ere long be aroused, would forget the golden age, and joining in the commercial undertakings of the world would be both the donor and recipient of abundant wealth, and a source of untold benefit to mankind. Until, however, by some such means that country is stimulated to spring from the helpless state in which she lies, we must expect much more moderate results than we have

imagined, and must be satisfied to endeavour to make the best of our present position.

We are fully aware that what we have said as to the overcrowding of the territory of China, and the limit of production there having been already reached, may be apparently opposed to the statements, which are no doubt perfectly true, that in China large tracts of territory are but sparsely peopled, and but partially cultivated. No doubt this is the case; but in the first place we are strongly inclined to think generally — and whenever it takes place in the midst of cultivation we are convinced — that these are but unproductive lands in the present state of Chinese agriculture and commerce, and that they will remain so until commerce either excites the intelligence of the people to the pursuit of science, or calls for some produce which such lands are capable of yielding. It is simply absurd to say that a man will lay out a natural superficial acre (if there be such a measurement) of site by immense manual labour into two artificial superficial acres of terraces, irrigated by the most ingenious yet laborious methods (as every traveller in China sees every day in hilly provinces), or that the pathways between fields (as is uniformly the case even in level countries) should be a mere handbreadth if the inhabitants had productive lands at their disposal which would obviate these inconveniences. Besides, if there be certain remote districts which remain scarcely fully cultivated though productive, no nation has more reason to know than we have, that such is not at all inconsistent with the densest population and the most embarrassed state of society resulting from overcrowded population. We have only to look to the fertile wastes of Ireland, and the straits of our agricultural population in many parts of England, quite lately, to know that from tradition, from political, local or, not to embarrass ourselves with irrelevant matter, inexplicable causes, such anomalies may well exist.

If such is the state of China, what are we called on to do in order to advance our common interests? Surely to expose the stagnant waters of the Celestial Empire to those active breezes which might excite it to a healthful and fertilising action; surely to cherish with a tender, and at the same time a firm, hand our political and commercial relations; to open up as extended an intercourse as possible between all classes of both countries; and to use every possible effort to allay all prejudices and to inspire respect and confidence. And then we certainly might hope that this curious people would in the course of time be embraced within the fraternity of nations, from which it has

so long excluded itself. Perhaps we may find that our course has in many respects been widely different from this.

Having now considered those circumstances connected with the internal and domestic state of China which in our view placed, and still place, special impediments in the way of extending its commercial transactions with foreign countries, we have now to inquire whether we have in fact used our position in China to the best advantage, and harvested our mercantile opportunities with a wise and far-seeing policy. This consideration, we fear, will not be productive of any great self-satisfaction, although a little further inquiry will show us that in so far as our failures are attributable to our faults and the jealousies and suspicions raised by them, our position is yet retrievable and our prospects hopeful. One ingredient however, and one sadly too potential in Anglo-Chinese politics, is not strictly chargeable to our Government, but has grown up in spite, or at all events independently, of it. We refer to the opium trade, which has worked very pernicious results to us by arousing the prejudice and suspicion of a large portion of the intelligence and virtue of the empire; so that we should leave a great blank in our plan if we did not refer to it particularly.

This traffic is perhaps the most singular development of the spirit of commerce which has ever been displayed. Its subject so valuable, so injurious, so marvellously fascinating; its prohibition in the only country where it has become the bane of the people; its extent, and the peculiar circumstances under which it is carried on in China — all these mark it as *sui generis*. Now the fact is, that it is by opium that we are known in China, and by opium and war alone. All knowledge of us in respect of other matters is confined to three or four points, and even there, except as tea consumers, it is as meagre as can well be conceived. But all over China our name is notorious and brought home to every inhabitant of that vast empire as the purveyors of one of the most ruinous commodities that was ever, perhaps, an article of commerce. Accordingly we can hardly be surprised if, in those parts of China in which nothing is known of us except that we defeated them in arms and supplied them with opium, we are not looked upon with a very favourable eye.

The extent of the degradation which the use of opium entails will be apparent when we say that, not in exceptionally brutal cases, but in very numerous and regularly recurring instances, opium smokers after running through all their property and becoming bankrupt in means and in reputation scruple not to secure a prolonged term of enjoyment (for we have heard one

confess 'without opium life is nothing') by selling their sons as slaves, their wives and daughters as slaves or prostitutes, and, horrible to relate, themselves as substitutes for condemned criminals even about to suffer capital punishment! As to the extent of the vice, two or three figures will tell a painful story. A person who uses *one mace* of opium daily is a hopeless character. This quantity makes twelve pipes, and ten *mace* are one *tael,* and we may out of the 350,000,000 of Chinese set apart 60,000,000 as adult males. The quantity of opium imported from our Indian possessions into China is, in round numbers, 40,000 chests annually, an amount which allows a daily consumption of 120,000 taels. And, in addition to this, we must reckon a quantity amounting, according to the best authority we have been able to obtain, of 35,000,000 taels, which the demand has caused to be grown in the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow.

Particular circumstances exist in China moreover which cause several very serious indirect effects to flow from its introduction and use. In the first place, as that drug is absolutely prohibited the effect of so profitable a contraband trade has been to introduce corruption into all the custom-houses of the empire. The extent to which the Chinese officials are venal is, perhaps, unequalled in the annals of nations. It is not merely that customs' coolies are open to the influence of money, otherwise we might be referred to our own landing waiters; but the superintendants and comptrollers, the intendants, admirals and governors are all to be bought. The ordinary mandarins commanding forts, squadrons and revenue stations constantly permit the trade, levying in many cases a fixed and regular *black mail* for their own advantage. So systematic is this arrangement that a subscription is sometimes paid *per annum,* and so avowedly is it carried out, that if a smuggling boat by any accident cannot be procured, or if it be convenient for any other reason to employ such, a *mandarin guard boat* may be hired for the purpose of fetching a *chop* of drug up from the opium station! This wholesale bribery however is far from being the only indirect national effect of this contraband traffic, for another set of officers, though unconnected with the customs, are indirectly but especially corrupted as completely as the officers of the customs and those in charge of districts. Among the most powerful mandarins are those called 'Commissioners for the collection of the salt revenue.' From the nature of their duties and the great and summary powers with which it is necessary to entrust them, they have, perhaps, more numerous opportunities of being both unjust to the people and

faithless to the imperial government with impunity than any officials except the provincial governors. Now the injury which the opium trade works through these salt commissioners we are not going to lay much stress upon, because it springs not from the traffic as one in *opium*, but rather from the peculiar manner in which it is conducted. But the *fact* is that this *is* the only branch of commerce which is carried on so as to operate prejudicially through the salt commissioners.

Until very lately it was a rule, most rigidly observed by our merchants, that opium was to be sold for silver or gold only and, though they have recently been compelled to depart more frequently than heretofore from that rule, yet the greater portion of the trade is still carried on in that manner. We cannot speak with any minuteness as to the value of the imports of this drug into China as, the trade being contraband, there are, of course no official returns; but, according to the best authorities, it may be estimated as about 5,000,000*l.* sterling annually. Now if half of this sum is exported in bullion, very serious consequences take place, as that amount forms so considerable a part of the precious metals of China that the price of silver (in which remittances are chiefly made) becomes considerably raised. The *gabelle* is collected from individuals, and so frequently as to necessitate the use of the small copper coin of the country; but the remittances are made to the provincial capital in sycee. This the collector cannot do (as the standard price of silver, which is fixed by law, has not been altered for many years) except to his own ruin, but by extorting from the people and withholding from the government, and we can hardly be surprised when we hear that these officers do oppress the provinces to a shocking extent, as they are in fact referred by the imperial government to that quarter to make the profit which, were the equilibrium of the circulation in China not disturbed by the opium trade, they would secure by legitimate means.

We have not yet, however, completed our catalogue of the injury entailed upon the Chinese by this traffic. Although the officers, both fiscal and superintendant, and military and naval are indeed as corrupt and venal as we have represented, yet, as far as the supreme government is concerned, it is sincerely and with good reason anxious to root out the use of opium; and were the contrabandists to carry on their commerce unmolested, a reform would speedily be effected and the profits both of smugglers and mandarins would come to an end. Accordingly, at intervals a capture is made or attempted, the natural consequence of which is that a fleet of boats, fitted out most carefully not only for resistance but to overawe, has

been called into existence. On the Canton river especially the fleet of smuggling boats engaged in landing the forbidden drug, from the opium anchorage at Cum-sing-moon, is one of terrible power. The long low craft of which this fleet consists are built to carry 200 or 300 chests of opium if need be, to sail like the wind, to row (according to the Chinese simile — not very intelligible) like *a dragon*, and to fight in all waters and weathers. To facilitate escape by sweeps in calm and foul winds, and to defend themselves *at least* when brought to bay, they are manned with large crews of from 50 to 100 of the most daring ruffians, armed to the teeth and beyond the pale of law. Constantly in defiance of the government, incurring the risk of violent death and possessed of the power which they wield, it may be supposed that the gentlemen of the 'fast crabs' and 'scrambling dragons' (as these smuggling boats are styled) are not over scrupulous as to their occupation, and when smuggling is slack (and even while engaged in their comparatively lawful occupation), they are prepared for a little pirating. No prize is so valuable as an opium schooner — often half full of specie; and our readers will probably remember some of the tragedies which have occurred to that class of vessels of late years, more especially the horrid affair of the 'Omega' and 'Caroline,' in Chimmo Bay, in 1847. Our clippers are, indeed, usually too well armed and too constantly on the *qui vive* to fall victims to their parasites, yet every now and then a piracy (though not of so bloody and tragic a nature as that of Chimmo) is effected upon one of them. And although the Chinese opium smugglers and professional pirates are not so bloody as the Malays, yet they are cautious enough to murder all whom they cannot trust; and our countrymen, when their resistance has been unsuccessful, always fall (as professedly the most formidable enemies of that species of crime) by the hands of their *ci-devant* agents.

We are glad to be able to quote the authority of Sir John Davis (vol. i. p. 19.) in support of our view of this result of the opium trade—the piracy encouraged by which he looks upon as among the principal causes which have led to the existing disorganisation and feebleness of the Chinese government. A power such as is possessed by these fleets cannot be called into existence without the most extensive effects, and in consequence of its presence everything sailing in the neighbourhood of China must be well armed and prepared, not junks with valuable cargoes alone, but the very fishing boats. Many persons who reside in towns at a distance from any of the ports which are open to us, find it the most convenient way to send a fishing

boat to the nearest opium station, and so numerous and profitable are these commissions that it may be said, we are assured, that the whole of the Chinese fishermen as far north as Shanghae are sufficiently well armed to execute them. Then here we have the whole of the Chinese marine — coasting as well as foreign—fitted out at least for resistance and, as facts assure us, for offence also. Those who have any experience in Chinese waters admit that whenever they see there anything that can mount a *gingall* or throw a fire-ball, they see a pirate whenever she dare be one. We have derived great satisfaction from the vigour and activity which our cruisers have of late displayed against some of the most notorious of the Chinese piratical squadrons, but surely we have ourselves at least nurtured and fostered this national grievance.

We have nothing to do in this place with our domestic mismanagement of Hong Kong, and we are not going to recur to the often discussed question of its value and fitness for a commercial port, for which it never was intended at all by the parties who obtained its cession. We shall only, with reference to the treaty of Nankin, express our regret that when the empire of China was at our mercy upon very sufficient cause we allowed it to shut itself up again from the world, churlish, self-contained and solitary, and to confine us to five points upon its coast. Wherever a foot is withdrawn the Chinese will follow it up and that so hastily that one or two more steps must be taken backwards before a firm foothold can be again obtained; but a bold and steadfast front they cannot and will not face. We have found it so in all our dealings with them, and in some circumstances this characteristic has been displayed in the most ludicrous manner. Perhaps two or three of these instances will show the extent to which this national weakness is carried.

The late Mr. Tradescant Lay (who was thoroughly conversant with the Chinese character) shortly after the war found that the governor at Foo-chow-foo (where Mr. Lay was consul) refused to allow him a consulate within the city walls and even to permit Englishmen to enter the gates, and upon receiving an unsatisfactory answer to his demand for an immediate and full recognition of our rights, Mr. Lay, in his own sedan chair, with no companion but a consul's 'knitting needle' at his side, stormed the city, forced his way through the guards at the gate, and with his own hands hoisted an English flag on one of the 'joss poles' in front of the principal building (a temple) of the most commanding site in the city which was immediately and quietly evacuated, and we believe continued for some time to be the British consulate,

and may be so to this day! The late lamented governor of Macao, Senhor Amaral, who was a man of very singular energy and determination, finding upon his arrival in that colony in 1846 that it was languishing in the most unhappy state, impoverished and at the mercy of the Chinese, determined to attempt its immediate improvement and commenced by levying a tax upon licensing boats belonging to Macao, a measure much called for. In consequence of this, one morning some hundreds of boatmen collected from all the villages in the neighbourhood landed at Macao with a field piece, matchlocks and gingalls, and immediately made their way to government-house. That post was most gallantly defended, but the assailants were not dispersed without the loss of several lives. Upon the Chinese mandarin coming to demand from Senhor Amarallife for life, he was treated by the indignant governor (much to his astonishment) in the most cavalier style. The Senhor asserted the independence of the Portuguese, assured the mandarin that he was only allowed to remain there for the protection of the Chinese revenue, as a Spanish officer might remain in Gibraltar, and to guard against the escape of criminals, refused to hear any of the time-serving plausibilities of the Chinaman and ordered him (indeed at the time it was reported violently impelled him) into the court-yard! It may indeed be said with truth that these proceedings were somewhat childish and undignified, but the state of the case is that the Chinese government often acts in so childish and unworthy a manner, that we must treat it with unwonted freedom. However that may be, in each of these cases the point at issue was effectually and permanently gained, and if such exhibitions be not advisable or even fully excusable, these events yet affirm the principle upon which they were grounded (that of not submitting the exercise of legal authority to be *called in question*, and not allowing ourselves to be duped by excuses of time, convenience, and other such subterfuges), as the wisest and most effective as well as the most becoming *rules* of action, which may be carried out in as dignified a manner as the temper or judgment of the actors may approve.

No doubt we were quite right (or at least perfectly excusable) in giving a great empire of which we knew little, credit for being governed by statesmanship as upright and dignified as we knew it to be ingenious. But we have now acted on this principle long enough, and our experience has taught us that it is necessary to assume a measure of inflexibility, even upon trifling subjects, which might have been styled obstinacy or even puerility but for these lessons.

Upon these principles and in this manner Mr. Alcock, our consul at Shanghae, acted four years ago when some English missionaries were attacked and mobbed in the neighbourhood of that city. Such an outrage was unknown in that district, and accordingly the consul was especially anxious not to allow its perpetration with impunity. The Taou-tae of the city endeavoured, *à la Chinoise*, to propitiate Mr. Alcock and evade his demands by polite letters and mouth promises, desiring time, imploring patience, &c., but the latter was too well versed in Chinese duplicity and diplomacy and of too firm a disposition to allow the matter to blow over in that fashion, and upon continued delay he ordered the single English vessel of war which was at the time lying off Shanghae to blockade the river forthwith, he sent over to Ning-po requesting the assistance of the sloop of war which was lying there, and wrote to Hong Kong for assistance. The Taou-tae holding out, upon the accidental arrival of a brig of war, Mr. Alcock ordered it to proceed up the Yang-tsze-kiang to Nankin, the provincial capital. This order was cleverly carried out, and the provincial governor, alarmed at such unwonted energy, terrified at finding a barbarian ship of war in the 'inner waters,' acceded without hesitation to the demands of the British agents, and not only secured and punished the offenders but recalled and degraded the officer who, as Taou-tae of Shanghae, had withstood us. It may happen, indeed, that energetic proceedings such as these, tardily adopted, will produce disputes such as that occasioned by the late assassination of Senhor Amaral at Macao, whose life was almost invaluable not alone to Portuguese interests in China but to those of commerce generally, but they are in justice attributable to the tardy application of the remedy, and not to the remedy itself. Nor, if we would appreciate our own position in China, must we forget that the most direct and systematic lying is the practice of all the officers of that country.

The consideration of these Celestial characteristics can hardly fail to convince us that our simple and only politic rule of ordinary intercourse with that empire is — never to ask what we have not a clearly undeniable right to have, but on the other hand never to yield an *iota*, however minute, which we have once demanded. On how diametrically opposite a principle to this, and with what widely different results from those which were obtained by the expedition to Nankin, our authorities in China have usually proceeded, must be familiar to all who have watched their conduct. Constant irritation festers anew every half-healed sore on the Canton river, and the insecurity of British life and property in that part of China appears

to be on the increase. We have already given the clue to this entanglement, but we shall direct attention more particularly to one or two especial instances of our bungling mismanagement at Canton, and it should be remembered that the aspect of our affairs at that city governs that of the relations between the Imperial Government. Canton occupies the second place in the empire, it is the capital of two very important provinces, and in consequence of this and of the ancient establishment of foreigners, the 'Imperial Commissioner and Governor-General 'of the two Kwang' is usually the man for the time possessed of the 'king's ear.' Calmness and prosperity at the other ports go for nothing at Pekin. If noticed they are accounted for either by reporting that at so great a distance from Hong Kong we are quite too submissive to cause any disturbance, or that there are so few barbarians there, and that they carry on so small a trade that they are too insignificant to be annoyed. But on the other hand, any disturbance at any of the northern ports aggravates extremely the ill-feeling which is provoked by our vacillation.

The population of the southern capital, again, is one particularly turbulent and excitable, and their ancient prejudices against us have been anything but allayed by late events there. Our remarks as to the presuming and at the same time weak character of the Chinese are especially applicable to the citizens of Canton town — all their turbulence they are ever ready to let loose upon a flying foe, but they shrink before a steadfast opponent. Sir John Davis admits the effect upon the imperial relations which has been produced by the rabble of Canton, who have in fact been the arbiters of our mutual position for some years. Sir John says, 'It was a most unfortunate cir-'cumstance for Keying that Canton should have been selected 'for his place of residence and negotiation. It was the only one 'of the ports where so relentless a degree of hostility prevailed 'against foreigners, and where, consequently, he himself was 'most unpopular. To aggravate all this, the periodical payments 'of the indemnity at Canton acted like the repeated application 'of a blister, keeping up the sore, but without any abatement 'of internal inflammation, by what the doctors call counter-'irritation.' (Vol. ii. p. 113.) At this city, however, where the most unflinching firmness was called for, our conduct has been eminently vacillating and indecisive. How incessant and gross were the insults which we brooked for ages, until war at last seemed about to avenge them! And when retribution appeared at hand we, in our short-sightedness, conceived that, because that war could be more speedily brought to a close by

invading the northern provinces, where we had had no transactions and suffered no injuries, than by the more natural proceeding of making ourselves felt at Canton, *therefore* peace would be more effectually secured by that course; whereas the fact is, that the Chinese authorities are so ready to violate treaties if they can do so under any excuse, however flimsy, that our first duty was to remove from them the pretence which they have since adopted — and which ordinary foresight should have discovered to those who knew their character,—that the populace at Canton were too ungovernable to be set at defiance by the Government, acting up to the terms of the treaty, unless that populace had been terrified into order by the experience of our real power, and of our determination to use it.

Instead of such a course, the delusion which they nourish as to our force and policy has been industriously confirmed; as, for instance, in our defeat at Canton in 1841, for in that light the Chinese consider the following affair. When Lord Gough in that year had taken up his position on the heights commanding Canton, his troops suffered so considerably in detail, from the harassing attacks of the 'village braves,' that their character was to be retrieved there only by action. A ransom was accepted for the only offending city of the empire, and our forces withdrawn to desolate innocent and distant provinces. The effect of this was foreseen by all those who were acquainted with the Canton people. The people, indeed, never heard of the ransom which was paid, and even to those from whom it could not be concealed, including the Central Government, it was represented as the payment of debts due by the Colony — the whole of the sum being extorted from the Hong merchants! It is very difficult to persuade an inhabitant of this favoured city to draw a distinction between being forced away *vi et armis*, and being so forced *ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι*, or by money being given to our plenipotentiary as a ransom; or if at last convinced, he merely says, No matter! Whether you were driven away by sycee and dollars, or by round shot and flights of arrows, the victory is the same; and it is often more convenient to a wealthy country to use the former than the latter means!

At subsequent intervals, usually very short, acts of violence, often fatal, committed by the rabble of Canton upon British subjects have called for remonstrance and demands of satisfaction. The same answer is always ready. 'We would if we could, 'but our people are very violent and turbulent; we cannot 'manage them; your people must be more cautious, and protect 'themselves!' And after long and flowery correspondences, the affairs have from time to time died out during the course of

some pretended investigation, the excitement caused by them having of course expired, and our diplomatic officers in the South of China having been fatigued into acquiescence.

The writer of these pages was himself one of the victims in the Fuhshan outrage in 1847, and had some opportunity of observing the effect upon the Canton populace of the abortive demonstration which was made in order to obtain an adequate amend for that and other grievances, which at that time engaged the attention of our government. That failure could not fail to impress them as well as their government, with a sense of overbearing, faithless and impotent insolence on our part, and flush them with a sense of victory on their own. It was not inaptly caricatured by the Chinese in a *squib* which covered the walls of Canton for weeks afterwards, purporting to represent the 'red-haired devil' (John Bull) of the most portentous countenance and stentorian mouth, but with a ridiculously disproportionate body, and yet more diminutive arms, his hands being but *rudimentary;* and this impotent and frantic bawler was freely accepted by the Cantonese as a faithful symbol of Great Britain. The ill effects of such abortive efforts on the self-complaisant and gratulatory Chinese mind, we are convinced, can hardly be over-rated, and how must they be fortified in their notion of our tyrannical cowardice, when they hear of those very officers whom in China they *wheedle* and fancy they frighten out of half their *points*, hectoring and fuming most potently over an impotent, unoffending king of Loochoo? We could fill this volume with accounts of similar errors were they not in themselves too unimportant to fail of being tiresome.

After this review of our policy in China we may see that we have been far from doing all we could to allay prejudices, to promote confidence, to extend commerce, and at the same time, and it is essential to all these things, to command respect in China; and consequently the state of our commerce with that country is far from satisfactory, and still further from being promising. Enough has been said to show that the existing prejudices of the people of China are not entirely destitute of cause; and if we have not ourselves to blame for their origin, we have, in great measure, for their continuance and extension. It is time to remedy this, and to 'forsake that excellent foppery 'of the world that, when we are sick in fortune, often the surfeits 'of our own behaviour, we make guilty of our disasters the sun, 'the moon, and the stars.'

Our experience of the past may guide us in our policy towards China in that future which we have yet at our command. The

question of the reduction of the tea duties in this country does not come, in all its aspects, within the scope of this Article. It is before the country as part of a proposed scheme of taxation, and its merits must be decided upon those general grounds which determine fiscal regulations of that nature. Whether even in the actual state of our relations with China, a material reduction of the price of low teas might not so extend the consumption as to maintain the revenue in that mode which has so often and remarkably been exemplified in the course of the last twenty years, is a question worthy of consideration. We have, in the history of the trade in this very article two salient instances of the effect naturally consequent upon such a measure, in the results of the alterations of the tea duties in 1745 and 1784. Prior to the former of these years the impost upon tea was of a compound character. An excise duty was levied of four shillings per pound, and an *ad valorem* customs duty of four per cent. In that year, however, a modification of this fiscal arrangement took place, and tea was then charged with an excise duty of 1*s.* per pound, and a customs duty of twenty-five per cent. The average current importation of tea for the five years preceding 1745 was 768,520 lbs.; whereas in the five years subsequent to that year the annual amount of imports rose on the average to 2,360,000 lbs.

Again, in the year 1784 a great reduction in the tea duties was effected. That commodity was then for the future charged to the customs with an *ad valorem* duty of 12½ per cent only, in lieu of the then existing duty of 119 per cent! The result of this measure in one direction was a general abandonment of an almost universal system of adulteration, and in another the fourfold increase of the quantity imported within ten years. Notwithstanding what has been urged by us as to the folly of expecting the supply of Chinese produce to be unlimited, there is no reason to doubt that, even without looking to the ultimate effects of a great extension of Chinese commerce which we have endeavoured to point out, the supply of tea at once obtainable is adequate to answer a considerable extension of consumption. A sufficient evidence of this is to be found in the fact that, while the entries of tea for consumption in the year 1851 were only 54,000,000 lbs., the quantity imported rose to the immense total of 71,466,000 lbs., while every additional importation of grain and of cotton, whether raw or manufactured, from our Indian possessions will tend to extend the area applicable in China to the cultivation of tea, in so far as this increase in the means of production is not realised, the increased demand will naturally tend to raise the price of tea temporarily, and, there-

fore, to devote the existing tea plantations to the better class of plain teas, which form the staple export to foreign countries, and which realise a much more considerable profit than the coarse tea which form the *staple* of home consumption. The Chinese populace will have recourse for their beverage to the 'brick tea,' which is at present used by the Tartars in great quantities, to other lower classes of teas than are at present produced, and to redried or second-hand teas.

We have already expressed our own inclination to the opinion that the existing rebellion will not have any considerable effect on the prices of teas or their supply, or the course of our commerce generally; but should this expectation be disappointed, any rise in prices consequent upon current events in China, being accidental and temporary, must not be taken into consideration in estimating the proper effects of the reduction of the duties on tea. In fact, though it may be disturbed, the effect of that reduction will immediately be, in case of such a rise, to secure tea for our own consumption at a price so much the less increased as, had other things remained the same, it would have been reduced. As it appears then, that we may anticipate that China, even in its present condition, is competent to answer a considerably increased demand npon its tea countries, so we think there can be little doubt that the consequence of the reduction of the tea duties will be to give rise to such a demand. This result will of course be suspended if for any period other causes should maintain the existing prices; and had a small proportion of the impost been remitted, or had the remissions been extended over a more prolonged period, the benefit would probably for some years have been reaped almost exclusively by the tea dealers. The measure, however, of the present Government will reduce the tea duties by more than 50 per cent. in less than three years from the present time; fixing them at 1*s.* 10*d.* per pound up to the 5th of April 1854, at 1*s.* 6*d.* for the following year, then for one more year at 1*s.* 3*d.*, and thenceforward at 1*s.* per pound only.

So great a reduction to be made so soon, no class can hope to retain from the consumer, and therefore it may confidently be expected that the very keen competition which exists amongst the retailers of tea will soon give to the public its full benefit. If we are correct in our anticipations, the fall of price will infallibly occasion a very extended demand for an article, the taste for which is very much increasing, the use of which with the mass of the people is from its cost very much restricted, and the increased consumption of which, it is very generally and with much reason supposed, will counteract to a considerable extent

habits of dissipation and dram-drinking, and add to the domestic comforts of the poorer classes at the same time that even with the reduction of duty the revenue will be sustained.

Reverting, however, to the general question, of the best course to be taken for the improvement of our relations with China, we would remark that, even if our position in that country were to remain unchanged, much benefit would be derived from the repression of all the grievances which from time to time occur at Canton, and our course should be the same whatever dynasty may rule that immense empire; nor need we speculate further on what will be the issue of the present civil dissensions. It would be most desirable instantly to require the opening of the city gates, in pursuance of the treaty engagements to that effect; to insist on complete liberty for British subjects at Canton to perambulate the vicinage under the *bonâ fide* protection of the law; and the absolute discontinuance of the insulting manifestoes which so exasperate the Cantonese against us.

All this, however, appears to us to have become a comparatively trivial matter, for not only is the importance of Canton, even under the present *régime*, rapidly declining, but the measures which we would press upon the Government of the country would supersede any such steps. At the foundation of our future prosperity in China we place a *direct diplomatic intercourse* with Pekin. That the race of Chinese statesmen and diplomatists, perhaps not less astute than any of their tribe, are particularly distinguished for the most singular depravity in the matter of veracity, for the most daring flights of imagination and the most incredible schemes of deception, those who have given any attention to Chinese affairs have long been aware. Sir John Davis, however, has thrown a new and more certain light upon these circumstances. He has shown, in a curious manner, how utterly in the dark the head of the Government is kept as to the true colour of events, until he can no longer be blinded; and he has shown us a cause for this which must inevitably work such a consequence. Nothing can be more comically capricious and tragically absurd than the fashion in which the highest ministers of state are treated by his Celestial Majesty. The mode in which they conducted their communications with Pekin throughout the war is all but incredible — the barefaced falsehood, the ridiculous bravado, the servile adulation, are equalled only one by another. And the very sufficient cause for all this is, that want of success appears at Pekin to be a crime, that even (as in the case of Keshen, who candidly told the emperor of the weakness of

Canton in 1841,) dangers may not be pointed out but at the risk of degradation and banishment.

A general suffers a defeat and, no matter how gallant his conduct, how impracticable his position, he must either deceive the emperor or await (unless he observes the Chinese punctilio by committing suicide) such an edict as that which was launched against Keshen, one of the ablest of Chinese statesmen, because he dared to propose making terms with *the barbarians.* Sir John Davis has given us a translation of this edict (vol. i. p. 40.), and in it occurs the following passage: — 'And yet he dares to ask such favours for the English rebels, and moreover descants on the wretched condition of Canton to induce us to agree to the proposal. How great is the presumption and shamelessness of Keshen! Let him be degraded *and placed in chains*, and brought to the capital under convoy; and let his property be absolutely confiscated.' This edict, indeed, was but the precursor of a sentence of death, and of a long and cruel imprisonment. So utter was this degradation, that the great Keshen, whose confiscated property amounted, we are told by Sir John Davis, to several millions of personalty, besides 500,000 acres of land, could scarce procure a few copper coins to feed himself in prison! Another remarkable instance is given of this despotic cruelty in the case of Elepoo, who was governor of the province in which Chusan was situated when that island was first occupied by our troops.

'Suddenly there appeared an order for him to appear at Pekin, there to answer with Keshen for not having exterminated the English. He himself and all his adherents and *employés* had to kneel for three days at the palace gate (rather a protracted levee) before they could obtain a hearing, and then the sentence of their condemnation was pronounced. The old Elepoo, a hoary head of seventy-five, who had been for many years governor of several provinces, was to be sent as a common convict to the river Amoor, on the frontier of Siberia, where they either track boats or are given as slaves to the hunters of fur animals. Such was to be the reward of his public services; and if he escaped this fate it was solely owing to the uninterrupted success of the British forces, which demonstrated the value of his earliest advice, and led to its adoption in the end.' (Vol. i. p. 73.)

Now this state of things, the notorious, the invincible treachery and bad faith of the Chinese, appear to render it essential to any considerable amelioration of our condition in China, that Pekin be made the seat of negotiations, the residence of the British plenipotentiary. There can be no doubt that the institution of such diplomatic relations would be vehemently

opposed, and would require to be carried out with the firmest hand. It is hardly imaginable that the existing state of things can continue, and the most desirable event is that the Chinese empire, before it is further weakened, should be opened absolutely and freely to intercourse with the world. While such absurd puerilities as an autograph letter, conveyed by a war steamer and handed to a mandarin, who would probably devote it to any other purpose than that for which he received it, cannot fail to be injurious, we believe that a becoming, dignified embassy, even if it proceeded without the sanction of treaty, could not fail ultimately to be received, not, as formerly, as delegate of an island monarch, asserting an unknown dominion, but as representative of a member, far from the least important, of the society of nations, having well proved its title to such a position. We are not, however, left to proceed independently of treaty, for it is specially provided that Her Britannic Majesty's chief officer in China shall conduct his correspondence 'in the capital and out of the capital, without distinction.' We are glad to be able to quote the authority of Sir John Davis, in favour of the establishment of diplomatic intercourse at Pekin. While deprecating any interference with the progress of the Chinese rebellion, we do not see in it a sufficient reason for delaying what is on general grounds desirable; nor is it probable that any issue of that event will affect the importance of this point.

Hitherto there has been a very gratifying unanimity of feeling between the French, the Americans and ourselves in China. All of us are reciprocally entitled to the advantages stipulated for by the others; and that these three countries should act together in the settlement of this important question is very much to be desired. We have before observed that the period stipulated for the revision of the treaties is at hand, nor should it be forgotten that the intestine disturbances in China would probably at the present moment greatly predispose the imperial mind to consolidate his relations with European nations.

In whatever mode, however, our diplomatic intercourse with China may be carried on, the objects of that intercourse should be three principal points, — the remission (so far at least as they are inconsistent with the spirit of the treaties) of the transit and customs duties on tea, the legalisation of the opium traffic, and, chief of all, the absolute freedom of intercourse with every part of China.

The legalisation of the importation of opium would be productive of a very considerable benefit to us by allaying those

prejudices which exist against the purveyors of that drug, and mitigating its evil results in China. No doubt it would be still just as poisonous a drug, the habit of smoking it would be not one whit the less vicious; but whilst its use would not be at all likely to extend in consequence of its importation being permitted, all those innumerable evils which result, as we have seen, from the prohibition of the traffic would be removed. When we anticipate the non-extension of the use of opium, it is because we bear in mind the frequently exemplified fact, that prohibitions of this nature appear to lead directly to their own violation. They draw attention so much to the forbidden luxury; they invest it with such a special charm to the weaker, more excitable, and more perverse classes of minds, which taken together always form a very considerable part of a community, that numerous instances occur in history in which prohibition has actually fostered the thing forbidden. And we further assume that the Chinese government would, in the case we anticipate, impose a custom duty nearly equal to the cost of smuggling. Although opium smoking is at present strictly forbidden by law, that law is inoperative. Keying, in the year 1844, openly proposed to Sir John Davis the recognition of that connivance (but only *as connivance*), with which the traffic in opium was conducted (vol. ii. p. 203.), and we should entertain very considerable hopes, were the subject mooted, of the celestial politicians yielding the point upon its being pressed upon them for their own direct advantage. In fact, this course has just been suggested by some of the Emperor's ministers; but it will probably be found that, unless the English nation supports the Chinese Government in adopting this step, the latter will hardly venture to sweep away the enormous gains of the officials who are interested in the smuggling trade, supported as they will be by the old Chinese party and the stricter sort of moralists.

The grand aim of all our efforts should, however, be the complete removal of every legal restriction upon intercourse with any part of the *middle country*. No doubt, even were they removed, the seats of our commerce would still probably remain at Canton, Amoy and Shanghae, with the addition of Tien-tsing; but although this would be so, there can be equally little doubt but that quite a sufficient number of that class of English traders, who are so common in remote parts of other Oriental countries would be found to saturate the most important districts of the empire with European produce. This measure appears to go to the root of the matter, and therefore to be of infinitely greater importance (with reference, we are now

speaking, to the increase of our commerce) than any reduction of import duties, the effect of which, whilst our international relations continue unchanged, is only somewhat narrowly limited or problematical. The fact is, as we have before stated, in order to develop the resources of China a great stimulus must be applied; and nothing perhaps short of such an impetus as would be given by suddenly throwing open the whole empire, so that its marts may be open to our own enterprise, new tastes may be developed, and mechanical knowledge may be given, is adequate to that end. China is a rich country, but it must supply its teeming millions with grain, it must clothe them with cotton and silk; it is as great a delusion (as any one who has there observed the husbandman terracing off the mountain side, and forcing the rill up the steep to cultivate his rice and cucumbers, must be satisfied) to imagine that, without our supplying their wants, they can supply ours to an unlimited extent, as it would be to suppose that we could support such a one-sided traffic.

If, however, we can obtain the means of carrying to the knowledge of the inhabitants, not of five ports, but of all the great marts of China, the merits of our own cotton manufactures, and if we supply them with the raw cotton and the wool of our own Indian and Australian growth, without even considering the less staple articles of our importation into that country, or the subtle questions of agricultural and manufacturing improvements and intellectual excitement, we surely are entitled to expect not only an immediate and considerable increase in the supply and diminution in the price of teas, but also a still extending demand for our various products. And, looking forward a little further, and indulging in hopes less measured certainly,—perhaps not less justifiable,—may we not imagine the remarkable country of which we write displaying the iron road, the snorting engine, the busy wheel, improved civilisation, and the renovated energy and combined enterprise of a mighty nation; stimulating the industry of all countries with a prodigious excitement; adding to and circulating the wealth of the world to the advantage of other communities and extending, in no common measure, peace on earth and good will among men?

ART. V. — *Lives and Letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.:* 1540—1646. By the Honourable WALTER BOURCHIER DEVEREUX, R.N. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1853.

IF the universality of any intellectual taste could justify its being called natural, the love of history might assuredly lay claim to that distinction, so strongly has the desire been evinced by all people and in all ages to discover and preserve the traditions both of their own and of other countries. The earliest literature of every nation consists of poetical recitations of the events of a period still more remote, or of the adventures of some hero whose deeds have captivated the fancy or flattered the national pride of his fellow-countrymen. Even when distorted by marvels, and overlaid with exaggerations, these recitations maintain their value in later times rather by their historical pretensions than by the interest attached to them as mere romantic compositions; and sooner than abandon them to the province of fiction, much labour and learning has been often expended in endeavouring, by some ingenious theory, to reconcile the fables of antiquity with the more modern notions of probability. No one *willingly* believes that Troy did not exist, that Æneas did not found a colony in Latium, and that traits of Roman valour and virtue existed but in song; and still less willingly does any one withdraw his faith from those chivalric romances of the Middle Ages that recount the doughty deeds of Good King Arthur, the exploits of Charlemagne and his leudes, or the wondrous adventures of the renowned Roland. So great is the wish to possess or even to believe we possess the links that may connect us with the distant past that every tale is cherished which can be regarded as even possibly founded on fact. The taste for history may indeed be referred not only to a thirst for knowledge, but to the love of truth; and the nearer that history approaches to the time in which we live, the more stern become the demands, and the more searching the inquiries respecting its authenticity. Then the doubts of a hero's actual existence, or of the credibility of an event is exchanged for an examination into the niceties of character and the details of every fact; and in this demand for complete and perfect information, there is some danger that historians may be tempted to fill up the deficiencies in authentic records by the expression of strong opinions or bold speculations. It is for this reason that we must receive with gratitude and hold in great respect every contribution of original documents that may serve to en-

large or correct the basis on which history is written. The search for such records, whether preserved in public institutions or scattered in private collections, necessarily requires both industry and perseverance: they may be sought in order to throw light on the lives of those distinguished men who have exercised their influence for good or for evil on the destinies of their country, or for objects of more general purport; but the result of such labours is to improve and enlarge the available store of knowledge from which history is to be drawn, and as such they are entitled to the thanks and consideration of all who are capable of appreciating the value of truth. Of the moral effect of preserving the remembrance of those who have played a leading part in the history of their country, there can be no doubt; such examples are as the warning voice of experience teaching mankind what to avoid and what to imitate; their fame is the eloquence of the dead to the living — the legacy bequeathed by greatness to posterity; and it is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the grounds of that fame should be well examined, and the worth of that inheritance placed at its just value.

Nothing would conduce more to the correct writing and understanding of general History than an intimate knowledge of the characters of those who determine its events. Biography should serve at once as a guide and an interpreter; and every accession in this department of Historical Literature must be hailed with welcome, as tending to increase and improve the means of right judgment on things past. In the various offices appropriated to the conservation of MSS., and even in many private families, there still exist in this country, unpublished and unknown, the materials for adding largely to the common stock of biographical and historical knowledge; and it is greatly to be hoped that we may often see judicious selections withdrawn from obscurity, and devoted to purposes of general utility. Captain Devereux in his preface, modestly attributes his literary labours to the necessity of seeking out some new occupation when professionally unemployed; but we are inclined to think that in the choice of that occupation he was determined by the no less laudable wish to do justice to the most distinguished members of his house. Of all the forms in which the pride of birth appears, none is so justly entitled to respect and sympathy as that which is evinced in the efforts of descendants to preserve the fame of those ancestors whose honours they bear, or whose renown has given distinction to their name; and even granting some little danger of partiality in the estimate of their merits, yet biography written by one allied in blood to its subject, and

probably assisted by family papers and family traditions, affords strong presumption that the work has been undertaken with feelings of interest, has been handled with care, and assisted by advantages less accessible to others.

The House of D'Evreux was originally one of high rank in Normandy; and two of the sons of the Count de Rosmar and Mantelake, by name Edward and Robert D'Evreux, accompanied William I. to England, where they settled at the time of the Conquest. In the year 1550, Walter Devereux, a descendant of this Robert D'Evreux, was created Viscount Hereford by Edward VI., which title has continued in the family till the present day; his grandson, Walter, was created Earl of Essex by Queen Elizabeth, and is the first of those bearing that title whose lives and correspondence have been recently published by Captain Walter Devereux.

The very valuable collection of letters which Captain Devereux has brought to light furnishes materials not only for the better understanding of the characters of the three Earls of Essex whose biographies he has written, but suggests topics of interesting discussion respecting the conduct of those great historical characters under whom they served, with whom their career was interwoven, or on whom their fate depended. The conduct and feelings of Queen Elizabeth, as displayed by her own letters to both the first and second Earls of Essex, afford the strongest proof that in her was fully represented the parsimonious injustice of her grandfather, and the tyrannic wilfulness of her father. Elizabeth was at heart a despot—she disliked all interference by Parliament—she resented the exercise of its legislative functions; and for want of the supplies which Parliament only could legitimately grant, she was guilty of the meanest evasion of just payments and the most niggardly economy in the remuneration of public services. The whole history of the Irish expedition under the command of the first Earl of Essex, exhibits a painful picture of unrequited loyalty, in the struggles of a brave and honest General, devoting health, fortune, and even life itself, to the service of a sovereign who neither repaid his losses, rewarded his efforts, nor appreciated his sacrifices. In 1558, the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, Walter Devereux succeeded his grandfather as Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrars of Chartley, Bourchier, and Lovaine. At the age of twenty-two he married Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, and thus became nearly connected with the Queen, the mother of Sir Francis' wife having been the sister of Anne Boleyn. His marriage, however, does not appear to have secured him any particular notice at Court; and

he and his wife lived in retirement till the year 1568, when he was called upon to join with the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon in guarding Mary Queen of Scots. He afterwards raised, on his own estate at Chartley, a body of 150 horse, in order to join the army levied to put down the rebellion of the Earls of Nothumberland and Westmoreland; and, in reward for the zeal and activity shown on that occasion, he was made Knight of the Garter, and created Earl of Essex. In the spring of 1573, he offered his services to the Queen to subdue the turbulent and rebellious inhabitants of the province of Ulster into a peaceful and loyal population. On the 8th of July, an agreement was concluded between them which shows the strange partnership-like terms which the proud and arbitrary Queen could condescend to make with a subject when the sharing of expenditure was in question.

'The Queen granted to the Earl the moiety of the county of Clandeboye, in consideration of the surrender of his title to 800 marks of land, which he claimed under the will of the Earl of March. He was to set out before Michaelmas with 200 horse and 400 foot, which numbers he was to maintain at his own cost for two years, the Queen keeping an equal number; after two years he was to maintain the same number as the Queen, not to exceed 600. All fortifications to be at equal charges between them. The Earl was to have timber out of Killulto Woods, was to pay no customs, and have free transport of arms, money, and all necessaries for seven years. Old Fuller might well exclaim, "To maintain an army, though a very "little one, is a sovereign's and no subject's work, too heavy for the "support of any private man's estate; which cost this Earl first the "mortgaging, then the selling outright, his fair inheritance in Essex." The most remarkable part of the transaction is yet to be related. Not possessing funds sufficient for the large expenses preliminary to so great an undertaking, it became necessary for Essex to borrow 10,000*l.*, and who should be the money-lender but the Queen herself! A real Jew's bargain, with forfeiture for non-punctuality of payment; while he was to be at equal charge with her in building fortifications and garrisons, from which he would certainly not reap equal advantage; and, after all, we shall find her suffering him to be thwarted by every underling who desired to gain favour with the Leicester faction.' (Vol. i. p. 27.)

At the outset of his expedition he was made to feel how insecure was the Queen's favourable intentions towards him, if opposed by or unsupported by those who ranked higher in her favour.

'It had been at first intended that Essex should hold a commission from the Queen as Captain-general of Ulster; but Sir William Fitz-William, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, jealous of the rank and reputation of the Earl, and dreading to be eclipsed by him, made such

earnest remonstrance, entreating the Queen that she would maintain him in the full power of his office; and was so well backed by Leicester, who, though desirous to remove Essex, was not at all anxious to give him a bed of roses to repose on, that Elizabeth was prevailed on to consent that the Earl should receive his commission as Governor of Ulster from the Lord Deputy. Unsatisfactory as this was to Essex, and injurious as it proved to the service, his zeal and anxiety to set out were nothing abated.' (Vol. i. p. 29.)

Lord Essex embarked for Ireland in August 1573, and in November he despatched a confidential messenger (Waterhouse) to Burleigh, in order to state to him the difficulties and embarrassments of his position.

'The adventurers, or volunteers, were becoming dissatisfied, and seeking means to leave the service, which entailed hardships they were unwilling to endure. Lord Rich very early set the example of desertion, promising to return in the spring, which, however, he never did, and probably never intended. The Lord Deputy delayed sending Essex his commission, and so encouraged the rumour which got about, that the expedition was entirely a private one of the Earl's, which made the Irish resolve to tire him out, as they could easily do by never quitting their fastnesses except on some advantage. He complained also that the adventurers, not satisfied with deserting him, endeavoured on their return home to deter others from joining him. He therefore thought it would be necessary to alter his agreement with the Queen, and make the whole service her's, although he should continue to bear his moiety of the expense.' (Vol. i. p. 43.)

The conduct of the Lord Deputy was disapproved of by the Queen, and various persons were thought of to replace him; and amongst others, Essex himself. 'The Queen, however,' writes Sir Francis Knollys to Lord Burleigh, 'will in no 'wise allow my Lord of Essex shall be Deputy of Ireland, 'because she would have no man that hath lands of inherit-'ance there to be Deputy; but,' he continues, 'I fear if her 'Majesty will neither make him Deputy, nor yet take the 'charge of that enterprise into her own hands, and let my Lord 'of Essex be but an adventurer according to his own offer, I 'fear that my Lord of Essex will be undone to her Majesty's 'great dishonour, and to her danger.' Lord Essex disinterestedly declared, 'that though he could wish no better than 'to have it himself, that in respect to the Queen's service, it 'were not amiss if one were chosen who had less acquaintance 'there.' (Vol. i. p. 52.)

In a letter to Burleigh from Sergeant-Major Wilford, Essex is thus spoken of:—'It were the greatest pity in the world, 'that so noble and worthy a man as the Earl should consume 'himself in this enterprise, which by her Majesty's countenance

'and no great charges would be so easily brought to pass. 'Well, if her Majesty did know his noble and honourable 'intent, having a body and mind invincible to endure all miseries 'and extremities, so well as we do know him, surely she would 'not suffer him to quail for half her kingdom of Ireland.' An expedition against the rebels which had been planned in concert with the Deputy, failed, from want of his proper co-operation.

In a very long and interesting letter addressed to Burleigh, Sussex, and Leicester by Essex, he details not only the causes of the failure, but endeavours to make fresh arrangements with the Queen as to the terms on which the payment of the expedition was to be conducted. The remainder of Lord Essex's short life was spent not only in subduing the rebellious spirit of the Irish, but in a constant struggle against the jealousies of the Irish government and the Court. 'The expenses of his Irish 'adventure had left him in debt to the amount of 25,473*l.*, 'besides 10,000*l.* to the Queen.' (Vol. i. p. 134.)

In Jan. 1576, we find Lord Essex again pressing for a settlement of his affairs. 'It appears also that the Queen had made 'certain offers which Essex had declined to accept, whereat her 'Majesty was offended. The style of his letter stating his 'reasons for not accepting her proposal being too lofty.' (Vol. i. p. 129.)

To the offence taken at this letter, Lord Essex touchingly alluded in that which he addressed to the Queen on his deathbed:—

'My estate of life, which in my conscience cannot be prolonged until the sun rise again, hath made me dedicate myself only to God, and generally to forgive and ask forgiveness of the world; but most specially, of all creatures, to ask pardon of Your Majesty for all offences that you have taken against me, not only for my last letters, wherewith I hear Your Majesty was so much grieved, but also with all other actions of mine that have been offensively conceived by Your Majesty. My hard estate, most gracious Sovereign, having by great attempts long ebbed, even almost to the low-water mark, made me hope much of the flood of your abundance, which when I saw were not, in mine own opinion, more plentifully poured upon me, drove me to that which I dare not call plainness, but as a matter offering offence do condemn it for error; yet pardon all, Madam, because I justify not my doings, but humbly ask forgiveness, even at such a time as I can offend no more.' (Vol. i. p. 141.)

On the 30th of August 1576, a month after his last return to Dublin, he was taken ill of dysentery, brought on, as he seemed himself to consider, from 'hearty grief of mind.' (Vol. i. p. 138.) He at first neglected the disorder, which constantly increased

upon him; and on the 22nd of Sept. he expired. His widow afterwards married Lord Leicester; in the true spirit of those times Leicester, of course, was accused of having poisoned Essex in order to obtain her hand: an accusation which the very account of his illness is sufficient to refute; but whether Lord Essex entertained any suspicions of his wife's fidelity, or that from any other cause she had lost his affections, she certainly does not appear to have occupied his thoughts, or to have been mentioned by him either in his letter to the Queen, in which he strongly recommended his children to her care and protection, nor to those around him. 'The only care he had 'of any worldly matter,' writes his faithful attendant Edward Waterhouse, 'was for his children, to whom he often com-'mended his love and blessing.' (Vol. i. p. 139.)

But, if the life of the first Earl of Essex calls forth the sympathy due to the evil fortune and early death of one who conscientiously had sought to fulfil his duty in the service of the Crown, far different are the feelings excited by the perusal of the life and letters of Robert, second Earl of Essex, the spoilt child of the Court of Elizabeth, and alternately the favourite of the Queen and the people.

Captain Devereux has done good service in the cause of historical truth, by seeking out those hidden treasures of unpublished MSS. which enable the lover of history to judge of facts and interpret the feelings of historical personages by their own writings rather than by the speculations of modern historians; and certainly the majority of the letters of Elizabeth and of Lord Essex, now for the first time offered to the public, place the character and conduct of both in a most unfavourable point of view.

There is a natural tendency in every biographer, no less to palliate the faults and magnify the virtues of his hero, than to exaggerate the errors and vices of those who were opposed to him; and from this species of hero-worship Captain Devereux is certainly not exempt, either in his estimate of the second Lord Essex's qualities, or in his view of the conduct and motives of his enemies.

There is a degree of dignity attached to the name of certain failings, and under such names the more repugnant qualities may be often so disguised as to become scarcely less attractive than merits; thus Lord Essex is described as having been haughty, proud, impetuous, imprudent, lavish; but on the other hand to have been generous, brave and sincere; and for such characters there is never any lack of sympathy and admiration; but, in truth, his conduct throughout life affords but

little ground for extenuation and still less for praise. Devoid of all the more ennobling qualities that spring from genuine loyalty, he was mean or violent as best suited his purpose or temper; he could fawn and flatter, but would neither serve nor obey; arrogant without independence; rapacious and extravagant, impetuous but insincere; impatient of control, and petulant if opposed; he was rather insubordinate than high-spirited, and greedy of favours, without gratitude for gifts; he was at once a courtier and a rebel. Even the wild spirit of adventure which gave a romantic colouring to his daring exploits by sea and land, resembled rather that of the pirate and the buccaneer than such as should animate a loyal subject in the service of his country; and though his great personal courage and the splendour of his position as favourite of the Queen, may have dazzled the multitude and influenced the court, and thus account for the popularity he enjoyed during his life; it is difficult to understand the interest attached to his name even in later times, but from the circumstance that his execution did not receive the sanction of public feeling. Like Mary Queen of Scots, his guilt was undoubted, yet both have been treated as victims of the cruel despotism of Elizabeth: the guilt of high treason has been forgotten in one case in sympathy for the exiled and imprisoned Queen; and in the other, in disgust, that where the hand had pampered and spoiled, it should have implacably enforced the right to punish.

Robert, Earl of Essex, was about nine years of age when he succeeded to the title and much impaired estates of his father. In 1577 he was entered at Trinity College, and the Christmas vacation of that year was passed at the Court. In 1581 he took his degree (M. A.), and the following year, at the age of fifteen, he wrote to his guardian, Lord Burleigh, to ask forgiveness for having passed the bounds of frugality. (P. 171.) Three years later (1585), he accompanied his step-father, the Earl of Leicester, to the Low Countries; when not satisfied with the command of General of the Horse to which he was appointed, he wished to equip a band of his own; and in a strong letter of remonstrance from his grandfather, Sir Francis Knollys, 'against 'this causeless and needless expense,' he is also reminded of the impoverished state of his inheritance, his father not having left him 'sufficient lands to maintain the poorest Earl in England.' (Vol. i. p. 178.) So early in life had the love of display and the habits of extravagance begun to appear in the future favourite.

In December 1587, Lord Essex became Master of the Horse (p. 194.), and was in the full sunshine of royal favour and

bounty; but his prodigality outran the Queen's liberality, and her kindness was repaid by contempt of her authority. In April 1589, an expedition was fitted out under the command of Sir John Norreys and Sir Francis Drake to assist the king of Portugal to regain possession of his throne; Essex desired to join it—the Queen refused her consent, and to that refusal Essex was bound to have submitted both as a loyal subject and as the paid officer of the Court; but in defiance of the Queen's prohibition, he secretly fled, leaving behind him not less than forty letters, addressed to the Council and others, in which he expressed his resolution not to be stayed by any commandment excepting death. (Vol. i. p. 196.) He proceeded to Plymouth with extraordinary haste, and unknown to Sir J. Norreys and Sir Francis Drake, went on board one of the Queen's ships (the Swiftsure), which, without authority, he placed at his own disposal and proceeded to Falmouth. From that port he set sail about the same time as Norreys and Drake from Plymouth, and in about a month after fell in with their fleet. These commanders in vain endeavoured to induce Essex to obey the commands of the Queen and Council; he persisted in refusing to return to England, the winds rather favoured his resolution to remain, and so soon as the troops were landed in Portugal, he succeeded in taking a leading part in the expedition. We naturally look for some motive to account for such acts of insubordination, and that motive is explained by himself in a letter to his grandfather (p. 206.), wherein he states that his debts amount to 22,000*l.* or 23,000*l.*; that her Majesty's goodness to him had been so great, that he could ask no more of her, that he had already offended her with solicitations, and that his object is to repair himself by this adventure; that if he sped well, he will 'adventure to be rich, if not, he will never live to see the end 'of his poverty.'

That Essex showed courage and activity when engaged in the object he had thus in view, is a merit which has distinguished the lawless leader of many a lawless band; but it is difficult in the teeth of his own letter to acquiesce in the chivalrous turn which Captain Devereux has given to this daring attempt to repair the dissipated fortunes of a rapacious courtier by calling it 'a romantic spirit of knight-errantry' (p. 194.); and a desire to succour a distressed prince, and to annoy Spain, which exactly suited his temper (p. 195.). Elizabeth formed a just estimate of his misconduct towards herself in the reproof contained in her letter of recall, when she addressed him in the following words:—'Essex, your sudden and undutiful depar-'ture from our presence and your place of attendance, you may

'easily conceive how offensive it is and ought to be to us. 'Our great favours bestowed on you without deserts, hath 'drawn you thus to neglect and forget your duty.' (P. 205.) Had Essex shown equal independence of the wishes and authority of Elizabeth on the subject of his marriage he might have been better entitled to those chivalrous attributes lavished on him by his biographer; but the 'generous,' 'proud,' 'high-spi-'rited,' and 'romantic' Essex did not scruple to keep his marriage with the widow of Sir Philip Sidney secret till her reputation demanded its avowal, and then 'for her Majesty's better 'satisfaction was pleased that his wife should live very retired 'in her mother's house.' (P. 212.) Lady Essex is described as 'an accomplished person, of a refined taste in literature, and one 'whose society must during his long period of confinement and 'anxiety have afforded the greatest consolation to her husband;' and yet it is said that 'the names of at least four ladies of the 'Court were coupled with his' (p. 475.); and that his faithless conduct so seriously affected the happiness of Lady Essex that it not only on one occasion blighted her maternal hopes, but drew from Lady Bacon a friendly exhortation, not again to risk a similar misfortune, but 'to make great account of God's 'blessing to them both, and not to make her heart sorrowful to 'the hindrance of her young fruit.' (P. 407.). Nor was Lady Essex the only sufferer from her husband's infidelity; for the objects of his attention were sure to provoke the suspicions of Elizabeth, and they were made to feel in acts of petty spite the power of a jealous Queen.

'On the 11th of February we hear that "it is spied out by some "that my Lord of Essex is again fallen in love with his fairest B.; "it cannot choose but come to Her Majesty's ears, and then he is "undone." Lady Essex, who was with child at this time, was observed to be much disquieted, having either been informed of or suspecting it. The lady in question was Mrs. Brydges, a maid of honour and celebrated beauty, who had been in some disgrace the preceding April on this account. The Queen had treated her and Mrs. Russell with words and blows of anger; they were put out of the Coffer Chamber, and took refuge in Lady Stafford's house for three nights, when, promising to avoid the like offence in future, they were restored to their wonted waiting. One reason assigned for the royal displeasure is sufficiently ludicrous, that the ladies had taken physic—without leave I presume; the other was, that they had gone one day privately through the privy galleries to see the playing of ballon, or football. [It appears that for some days subsequent to the visit of his ladye-love to the ballon-playing, Essex was confined "with a great heat in his mouth," caused by over-excitement in playing this game.] . . . . Lady Mary Howard neglected to "bear "Her Highness's mantle, and other furniture," at the hour that the

Queen walked in the garden; she was absent from meals and prayers; and, on one occasion, was not ready to carry the cup of grace during dinner into the Privy Chamber, and, when rebuked, gave such unseemly answer as bred great choler in the Queen, whose mind was at that time very much occupied with Irish affairs, so that she seldom talked of familiar matters to her women, and chided them severely for small neglects. But the cause of Lady Mary's offence was likely to increase her Mistress's anger, for it appeared that she had "much "favour and marks of love" from the young Earl, which she encouraged, notwithstanding that the Queen exhorted all "her women to "remain in virgin state as much as may be." Lady Mary was advised to shun the Earl, and not entertain his company, nor be careful in altering her person to win his love, which she seemed more careful about than the Queen's goodwill. Elizabeth herself took the following method of correcting the latter fault in Lady Mary, all that could be said "of youth and enticing love" in mitigation of her offence having rather a contrary effect. Lady Mary had a velvet dress, with a rich border, powdered with gold and pearl, which moved many to envy, and among the rest the Queen herself, who thought it surpassed her own in beauty and richness. So one day she sent privately for Lady Mary's dress, put it on, and came out among the ladies; the Queen being a great deal taller than Lady Mary, the dress was ridiculous on her; she asked all the ladies how they liked her new fancied suit; at length she came to the poor girl herself, and asked her if she did not think it too short and unbecoming, to which Lady Mary was forced to agree. "Why, then," said the Queen, "if it become not me, as "being too short, I am minded it shall never become thee, as being "too fine, so it fitteth neither well." The dress was accordingly put by, and never worn till after the Queen's death, when he, to gratify whose eyes it had been perhaps originally made, was no longer there to admire its fair wearer.' (Vol. i. p. 476.)

That Essex ill repaid his wife's constancy and affection was not only shown by his attentions to others, but in the want of tenderness he appears to have evinced at the close of his life towards both her and his children. After his condemnation we find Lady Essex the humble and earnest supplicant to Cecil, 'for the hindering of that fatal warrant for execution, which if 'it be once signed, she would never wish to breathe one hour 'after.' (Vol. ii. p. 175.) But 'Lord Essex never saw his wife 'and son, nor took a last farewell of them or any of his friends, 'nor had expressed a wish to see them.' (Vol. ii. p. 178.)

Whatever may have been the nature of the feelings with which Elizabeth regarded Essex, it is obvious by the letters contained in these volumes that whilst he addressed her in terms of adulation, neither his personal devotion nor his loyalty were sincere. After passing two hours on his knees to obtain the command of an auxiliary force in Normandy, he writes to the

Queen on the second day only after his departure 'a lamentation 'on the misery of absence.' (Vol. i. p. 219.)

His object in life appears to have been to obtain from the Crown all that his vanity, his ambition, and his extravagance demanded; and whilst he querulously resented the smallest check to his success, the Queen was constantly chafed by the sense of his insolence and rapacity; and it is to be presumed that no tender regret for his death could obliterate the recollection of these offences, when we find that in 1602, she talked to M. de Beaumont of Essex, 'with sighs and almost tears, but added, 'qu'il se contentât de prendre plaisir de lui déplaire à toutes 'occasions, et de mépriser sa personne insolemment, comme il 'faisoit, et qu'il se gardât bien de toucher à son sceptre.' (Vol. ii. p. 204.) So constant indeed were the quarrels, and so bitter the mutual reproaches that passed between the Queen and her favourite, that the difficulty is rather to understand how he came to be so often reinstated in her good graces, than that his days should have ended on the scaffold.

The following extracts are but a sample of the tone of those letters which form a considerable portion of his correspondence contained in these volumes:—

Essex to Sir R. Cecyll.

'Sr. Robert,—You will bear with me for my short writing the last time. I was punished with a fever, and my heart broken with the Queen's unkindness. Since the writing of my last I lost my brother in an unfortunate skirmish before Rouen. I call it unfortunate that robbed me of him who was dearer to me than ever I was to myself. We killed divers of them, and lost but two, whereof he was one. When I went I was so weak I was carried in a litter. This cursed mishap took me at great advantage, when I had neither strength of body nor mind to overcome my grief. Upon my return to Argues, with a fit of ague on my back, I received the Queen's letter of the 3rd of this month, together with my L. your father's packet. When I read them I thought I should never see end of my affliction. I want words to express my just grief. I was blamed as negligent, undutiful, rash in going, slow in returning, indiscreet in dividing the horse from the foot, faulty in all things, because I was not fortunate to please. Whereas, if I did not send as often as it was possible to have passage,—if I did not refuse to march until I knew the ratification was signed (for so I was commanded),—if I had not the assent of my L. ambassador, Mr. Killigrew, and all the chief officers of the army, besides the King's sending with such earnestness, as he said it imported both the States,—if I did not return with as much speed as might be, saving that at Gisors I left the ordinary way, because I knew I was laid for by all the forces both at Normandy and Picardy,—if I left not the foot in safety where they

had no use of horse,—have me condemned in all; but if this be all true, as upon my soul it is true, judge uprightly between the Queen and me, whether she be not an unkind lady, and I an unfortunate servant. I wish to be out of my prison, which I account my life; but while I must needs live, I will seek to have my service graciously accepted by Her Majesty, and my poor reputation not overthrown.' (Vol. i. p. 233.)

Essex to the Queen.

'Your Majesty's unkindness accompanied the loss of my brother, and your heavy indignation I see follows your unkindness; and now I find that Your Majesty's indignation threatens the ruin and disgrace of him that hath lost his dearest and only brother, spent a great part of his substance, ventured his own life and many of his friends, in seeking to do Your Majesty's service. But I have offended and must suffer.' (Vol. i. p. 241.)

At other times he addressed her in terms of such adulation and submission as the following letters:—

Essex to the Queen.

'Receive, I humbly beseech Your Majesty, the unfeigned submission of the saddest soul on earth. I have offended in presumption, for which my humble soul doth sigh, sorrow, languish, and wish to die. I have offended a Sovereign whose displeasure is a heavier weight upon me than if all the earth besides did overwhelm me. To redeem this offence, and recover Your Majesty's gracious favour, I would do, I protest, whatsoever is possible for flesh and blood; and for proof of my true sorrow, if Your Majesty do not speedily receive me, I hope you shall see the strong effects of your disfavour in the death and destiny of Your Majesty's humblest vassal,

'Essex.'*

Essex to the Queen.

'Vouchsafe, dread Sovereign, to know there lives a man,—though dead to the world, and in himself exercised with continued torments of mind and body,—that doth more true honour to your thrice blessed day than all those that appear in your sight. For no soul had ever such an impression of your perfections, no alteration showed such an effect of your power, nor no heart ever felt such a joy of your triumph. For they that feel the comfortable influence of Your Majesty's favour, or stand in the bright beams of your presence, rejoice, partly for Your Majesty's, but chiefly for their own happiness.

'Only miserable Essex, full of pain, full of sickness, full of sorrow, languishing in repentance for his offences past, hateful to himself that he is yet alive, and importunate on death, if your sentence be irrevocable, he joys only for Your Majesty's great happiness and

* Vol. ii. p. 83.

happy greatness; and were the rest of his days never so many, and sure to be as happy as they are like to be miserable, he would lose them all to have this happy seventeenth day many and many times renewed with glory to Your Majesty, and comfort of all your faithful subjects, of whom none is accursed but Your Majesty's humblest vassal,

'ESSEX.'*

But his letters were at once fulsome and false, and not all the gifts and honours lavished upon him could preserve his allegiance intact, or prevent his carrying on intrigues with the King of Scotland, and making his house the rendezvous of Puritan preachers and malcontents of various descriptions, who held doctrines subversive of the Queen's authority (vol. ii. p. 135.); his professions of submission, loyalty, and affection, when a suitor for favours, did not withhold him from acting in defiance of the Queen's commands, nor could all the expressions of regret and despair at having incurred her displeasure, deter him from planning acts of violence to reinstate himself in power. The Earl of Southampton, being in disgrace with the Queen, was notwithstanding appointed by him General of the Horse in Ireland (vol. ii. p. 42.); when ordered to be circumspect in the use of his power of making knights in Ireland, he created no less than eighty-one, and notwithstanding that he had received an order not to come over to England without licence, he suddenly abandoned his command, and forced himself into the Queen's presence. (Vol. ii. p. 123.) The arbitrary spirit of Elizabeth was not likely to make her very tolerant of such acts of resistance and disrespect, nor did her partiality blind her to the objects of self-interest which dictated some of his most repentant and devoted letters. She told Bacon, that 'he had written her 'some very dutiful letters, and that she had been moved by 'them; but when she took it to be the abundance of his heart, 'she found it to be but a preparation to a suit for the renewing 'of his farm of sweet wines.' (Vol. ii. p. 125.) Essex professed to kiss her fair hands and the rod with which she corrected him, —that he would retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, 'Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the 'field, let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of 'heaven, till it shall please Her Majesty to restore me to my 'understanding.' To which the Queen on receiving his application for this favour, replied, with more truth than delicacy or tenderness, 'that the more one feeds corrupt and diseased bodies 'the more one hurts them; and that the ungovernable beast 'must be stinted of his provender.'

* Vol. ii. p. 128.

Captain Devereux has laid much stress on the enmity and intrigues of those who were opposed to Essex; but in tracing his 'Life and Correspondence' it is easy to perceive the fact that he was, throughout his short and chequered career, his own worst enemy. It is much to be regretted that Captain Devereux was not permitted, as he states in his Preface, to have access to the MSS. at Hatfield, which would probably have better explained the relations subsisting at different times between Essex and Robert Cecil; but we must also remark that the evidence of that powerful and effective hostility of the Cecils to Essex, so often alluded to, is hardly substantiated by the facts adduced in these volumes. Lord Burleigh appears to have been the friend of his father, and to have shown a kindly interest in his welfare, and so far from wishing to estrange him from the favour of the Queen, he even incurred her bitter displeasure for pleading in his favour; and on one of those occasions when Essex had absented himself from Court, he wrote to him in the following terms to urge him to return and make his peace:—

Burghley to Essex.

'My very good Lord,—I know not how to write to your Lordship for my satisfaction with your contentation. Sorry am I to see your abstinence from hence, whereby Her Majesty hath want of her service, and yourself subject to diversity of censures. I find Her Majesty sharp to such as advise to that which were meet for her to do, and for you to receive.

'Good, my Lord, ever come here with yielding, without disparagement of your honour, and plead your own cause with your presence, whereto I will be as serviceable as any friend you have to my power, which is not to run for lack of good feet, nor to fight for lack of sound hands, but able and ready with my heart to command my tongue to do you honour.

'I wish to receive answer when you will come to the Court.

'Your Lordship's assured at command,

'W. Burghley.*

'30th Nov. 1597.'

To state that enmities and cabals, quarrels and reconciliations, were constantly occurring between all who were rivals for power, is saying no more than that the Court of Elizabeth was composed of men moved by the passions common to human nature, and who were seeking in the personal favour of the sovereign the means of gratifying their own ambition.

Essex and Raleigh were constantly opposed to each other, and though Captain Devereux often alludes to the influence exer-

* Vol. i. p. 471.

cised by the latter to the prejudice of Essex, it is clear that Essex was equally unfriendly to Raleigh, and addressed the Queen in terms of great bitterness and hostility towards him. (Vol. i. p. 186.)

Captain Devereux has endeavoured to prove, in spite of the authority of Camden and of Lord Bacon, that the appointment of Lord Essex to Ireland was not only unsolicited by Essex, but that 'he had from the first a strong aversion to the service, and 'accepted the office of Deputy most unwillingly.' (Vol. ii. p. 2.) Essex's own letter to the Queen (vol. i. p. 496.) tends to confirm Camden's view, for by that it appears that after absenting himself from Court and refusing to take his place at the Council, he was aroused to post up and offer to attend when the unhappy news from Ireland arrived, and that he apprehended how much Her Majesty would be grieved to hear her armies beaten and her kingdoms conquered by the son of a smith.'

The choice of a Lord Deputy of Ireland was a question of great importance. Camden states, that the Queen and most of the Council were in favour of Charles Blount, Earl of Montjoy; but Essex strenuously opposed his appointment, and at the same time pointed to the necessity of such qualities for the duties of that office as to be 'a broad sign that 'he thought none so proper as himself' for their fulfilment, and he had an objection ready against any person whom the Queen might name. Captain Devereux, strangely enough, assigns as a possible reason for his opposition to Lord Montjoy's appointment, the unwillingness of his sister, Lady Rich, to part with her lover; but without attributing any great strictness of morality to Essex, he was hardly likely to have treated the susceptibility of Lady Rich on the point of separation from her lover with more tenderness than he evinced towards his other sister, whose husband, the Earl of Southampton, he appointed to be General of the Horse in Ireland. That Essex's enemies wished to be rid of him was both natural and true, and perhaps without any great gift of prophecy, they might foresee that his fame was likely to be diminished rather than increased by the undertaking in question; but if their clearsightedness put them upon this track, the blindness of Essex soon furnished them with a powerful coadjutor in himself. Camden's account of the opposite motives and feelings by which he and his adversaries were drawn to act in unison on this occasion, is very clear and consonant both with probability and facts. 'They were,' says he, speaking of his enemies, 'in the meantime using all arts to 'undermine him, as knowing well that the vehemency of his 'spirit would conspire with their endeavours to ruin and undo

'him, and that there was not any likelier method to trip up the 'heels of an aspiring man than to push him upon an office he 'was altogether unfit for; to be short, as quick and penetrating 'a person as he was, he either did not, or would not, perceive 'the bottom of their aims, as long as he thought no employment 'too big for his grasp, and his friends or flatterers supported 'him in that opinion.'*

Whatever hesitation was shown by Essex either in accepting this office, or in proceeding to the execution of its duties, was occasioned by his repeated demands for further supplies, or greater powers; and in one of Elizabeth's many letters of severe reproof to him when in Ireland, the expressions she uses tend to prove that she regarded the task he had undertaken was one for which he considered himself better fitted than others, and was in accordance with his own wishes. 'How often,' says she, 'have you told us, that others that preceded you had no judg-'ment to end the war.' 'You had your asking, you had your 'choice of times, you had power and authority more ample than 'ever any had or ever shall have.' (Vol. ii. p. 63.)

Amongst the most interesting historical questions to which the 'Life of Lord Essex' must again give rise, is the degree of blame to be attached to Lord Bacon on the score of ingratitude to his early patron. The knowledge of the course which Bacon finally adopted towards Lord Essex has tinged Captain Devereux's view of his motives, and he has certainly antedated with insufficient proof the period at which Bacon seemed to forget the kindness he had received from his friend. He ventures too freely on surmises of the feelings by which Bacon was actuated, and thus attributes a decay of his intimate friendship with the Earl of Essex from the summer of 1597 to the ineffectual attempts made by Essex to further his interests in his suit to the rich widow, Lady Hatton; adding, 'that he had probably con-'templated, and was prepared to execute when occasion should 'offer, that base desertion of his generous and unsuspecting 'friend, which has cast a shade of infamy on his memory that 'not all the reverence felt for his splendid intellect, nor all his 'great services to mankind, have been able to remove.' (Vol. ii. p. 21.)

Bacon ascribes the cessation of intimate relations between himself and Essex to the effects of his constant efforts to repress the soaring ambition of the favourite; he urged him to stand upon two feet, and to fly not upon two wings; and their differences of opinion upon points so material, 'bred,' says he,

* Camden, 'Life of Elizabeth,' p. 614.

'in process of time, a discontinuance of privateness (as it is the 'manner of men seldom to communicate where they think their 'courses not approved) between his lordship and myself, so as 'I was not called nor advised with for some year and a half be-'fore his lordship going into Ireland as in former time.'

A difficult, not to say impossible, task remains to the enthusiastic admirers of Bacon to justify or even to excuse the conduct he pursued when called upon to decide between his feelings of gratitude for past obligations to Essex, and what he might consider his duty to the Queen, which was, in fact, identical with his own interest. Mr. Basil Montagu laboured hard to prove that Bacon sacrificed himself and his friend in order that the community at large might reap the benefit of his professional advancement; an explanation of his conduct ably and humorously exposed some years ago, by Mr. Macaulay, in his 'Essay 'on Lord Bacon.'

Mr. Basil Montagu, however, afforded a sufficient commentary on his own theory by saying, 'that Bacon saw, if he 'did not plead against Essex, all his hopes of advancement 'might, without any benefit to his friend, be destroyed;' and doubtless it was a sincere regard for his own advancement, but very little checked by the consideration of what might benefit his friend, that ultimately determined the part he took. Still, Bacon's conduct was rather mean than perfidious; he was grateful, but he was not magnanimous—he unceasingly acknowledged his obligations to Essex, and for long repaid those obligations by attachment and advice—he risked the Queen's displeasure for his sake, and even endured her coldness and reproaches for his attempts to serve him,—but to be absolutely ruined for the doubtful benefit of one whom neither counsel nor experience could guide or amend, was beyond the stretch of his grateful and self-sacrificing friendship.

Captain Devereux has quoted two letters from Bacon to Lord Essex,—one written during the absence of Sir Robert Cecil in France, and the other after Essex's nomination to the Government of Ireland,—in order to prove that Bacon was amongst the number of those who encouraged an undertaking which was most unwillingly accepted by Essex, and which would obviously lead to his ruin. There is no date affixed to the first of these letters; but as Cecil returned from his mission in May 1598, it must have been written at the least ten months before the time when Essex's commission as Lord Lieutenant was signed. There can be no doubt but that Bacon in that letter appeared anxious to draw Essex's attention to Irish matters, 'as one of 'the aptest particulars that can come upon the stage for his

'Lordship to purchase honour upon;' but even then he concluded his epistle with this useful caution: 'I know your 'Lordship will carry it (the business,) with that modesty and 'respect towards aged dignity, and that good correspondence 'towards my dear ally and your good friend now abroad, as no 'inconvenience may grow that way.'

Ample time had elapsed after the writing of this letter and the time of Essex's appointment, for Bacon to have changed his opinion as to Ireland being the fittest stage for his Lordship to purchase honour upon, and by no means therefore disproves the truth of his own account of the matter in his 'Apology,' when he says, 'I did not only dissuade but protest against his 'going, telling him with as much vehemency and asseveration 'as I could, that absence in that kind would exulcerate the 'Queen's mind, whereby it would not be possible for him to 'carry himself so as to give her sufficient contentment, nor for 'her to carry herself so as to give him sufficient countenance; 'which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the State. 'And because I would omit no argument, I remember I stood 'also upon the difficulty of the action: many other reasons 'I used, so as I am sure I never in any thing in my lifetime 'dealt with him in like earnestness by speech, by writing, and 'by all the means I could devise. For I did as plainly see his 'overthrow chained, as it were by destiny, to that journey, as 'it is possible for a man to ground a judgment upon future 'contingents. But, my lord, howsoever his ear was open, yet 'his heart and resolution was shut against that advice, whereby 'his ruin might have been prevented.'*

Bacon, writing in defence of his own conduct, may of course be suspected of taking an advocate's liberty in favour of his client; but it can hardly be supposed that he went the length of asserting so broad a falsehood, as that he not only dissuaded but protested against his going, had he, as Captain Devereux supposes, used all his influence 'to induce the unwilling Essex 'to take a more favourable view of it.' The second letter of Bacon, quoted by Captain Devereux in support of this opinion, was written after Lord Essex's appointment was settled; there was no longer, therefore, question of advice as to the acceptance of so perilous an undertaking, and the letter is one of compliment, congratulation, and encouragement; still the warnings and advice contained in that letter correspond with the warnings he describes himself as having used to dissuade him from accepting the post, and show that whilst encouraging him to hope

* Bacon's Works, vol. vi. p. 245.

for success, and pointing out the best means to secure it, that he continued fully alive to the dangers to which Essex would be exposed from his rash and insubordinate nature.

'Now, although it be true,' says he on this occasion, 'that 'these things which I have writ (being but representation unto 'your Lordship of the honour and appearance of success in the 'enterprise) be not much to the purpose of my direction, yet it 'is that which is best to me, being no man of war, and ignorant 'in the particulars of State; for a man may, by the eye, set up 'the white right in the midst of the butt, though he be no 'archer. Therefore I will only add this wish, according to the 'English phrase, which termeth a wellwishing advice a wish, 'that your Lordship, in this whole action, looking forward, set 'down this position, that merit is worthier than fame; and 'looking back hither, would remember this text, that "obedience '"is better than sacrifice." For designing to fame and glory 'may make your Lordship, in the adventure of your person, to 'be valiant as a private soldier, rather than as a general; it 'may make you in your commandments rather to be gracious 'than disciplinary; it may make you press action, in the 'respect of the great expectation conceived, rather hastily than 'seasonably and safely; it may make you seek rather to 'achieve the war by force, than by mixture of practice; it may 'make you (if God shall send you prosperous beginnings) rather 'seek the fruition of the honour, than the perfection of the 'work in hand. And for your proceeding like a good protes-'tant (upon warrant, and not upon good intention), your Lord-'ship knoweth, in your wisdom, that as it is most fit for you to 'desire convenient liberty of instruction, so it is no less fit for 'you to observe the due limits of them, remembering that the 'exceeding of them may not only procure (in case of adverse 'accident) a dangerous disavow, but also (in case of prosperous 'success), be subject to interpretation, as if all was not referred 'to the right end.'*

It might have happened that Bacon, blinded by partiality, might have sincerely thought it well, for the fame of his early patron, to undertake the difficult task of reducing Ireland to a state of loyalty and obedience, and that he might, therefore, have advised his acceptance without the sinister motive attributed by Camden to the enemies of Essex, of wishing 'to trip 'up his heels, by pushing him upon an office he was altogether 'unfit for;' but Bacon was too clear-sighted to mistake where lay the real interest of his friend. He 'vehemently dissuaded

* Bacon's Works, vol. xii. pp. 22, 23.

'him from seeking greatness by a military dependence, or by a 'popular dependence, as that which would breed in the Queen 'jealousy, in himself presumption, and in the State pertur- 'bation.'* And, when listening to the Queen's complaints of Essex's proceedings in Ireland, which she spoke of as 'unfortu- 'nate, without judgment,' contemptuous, and not without some private end of his own, he endeavoured to persuade her to place him where he was best fitted to shine without risk of offence to Her Majesty, or of danger to the State. 'If you had my 'Lord of Essex here,' said he, 'with a white staff in his hand, 'as my Lord of Leicester had, and continued him still about 'you for society to yourself, and for an honour and ornament to 'your attendance and Court in the eyes of your people, and in 'the eyes of foreign ambassadors, then were he in his right 'element; for to discontent him as you do, and yet to put 'arms and power into his hands, may be a kind of temptation 'to make him prove cumbersome and unruly.'†

On Essex's abrupt return without leave from Ireland, he lighted at once at the Court gate, 'and though so full of dirt 'and mire that his very face was full of it,' he rushed into the 'Queen's bedchamber, where he found the Queen newly up, 'the hair about her face: he kneeled unto her, kissed her 'hands, and had some private speech with her, which seemed to 'give him great contentment.'‡

Whether the Queen, surprised for the moment by the unexpected pleasure of seeing him again at her feet, really gave him cause for this contentment, or that his vanity misconstrued her reception, or that he deemed it only politic to affect, as he said, to have found a sweet calm at home after he had suffered much trouble and storm abroad, it is certain that, before the day was over, he had little reason to congratulate himself on the effect of his daring intrusion. Not many hours elapsed before the Queen's recollection of what was due to her own dignity, or the sense of Essex's defalcation of duty, or the representation of her Ministers as to his conduct, aroused her displeasure; it appears that, after dinner, he found her much changed—she treated him with coldness—the Lords were appointed to hear him in Council that afternoon, and between eleven and twelve o'clock that night he was ordered by the Queen to keep his chamber. Bacon was still the friend of Essex; and, according to his own statement, offered him such advice on the course he

* Bacon's 'Apology,' vol. vi. p. 245.

† Bacon's Works, vol. vi. p. 50.

‡ Account given by Rowland White in 'Sidney Memoir.'

should pursue as would have been best calculated to reinstate him in favour with the Queen; first, not to treat the peace with Tyrone as a matter of glory, but of unfortunate necessity; next, not to force upon the Queen the necessity of sending him back to Ireland, but to leave it to her decision; and, above all, to seek access, importune, opportune, seriously, sportingly, every way; but though Essex listened willingly, 'he spake,' says Bacon, 'very few words, and shaked his head sometimes as 'if he thought I was in the wrong; but sure I am, he did just 'contrary in every one of these three points.'* It was determined, after much doubt as to the course of proceeding, that Essex's conduct should be investigated, not by public accusation but by a declaration in the Star Chamber. Captain Devereux admits that, during the time of Essex's confinement, the Queen had frequently consulted Bacon respecting his case, 'and that 'he had made many efforts to persuade Elizabeth to relax the 'severity of her treatment. He endeavoured, by such argu-'ments as were best calculated to make an impression on her 'mind, to dissuade her from the declaration in the Star 'Chamber in November, telling her that the Earl possessed 'the pity of the people, and that such a course would lead 'them to say that my Lord was wounded in the back, and that 'Justice had her balance taken from her, which consisted ever 'in an accusation and defence; but his arguments were for the 'time unheeded by his irritated mistress.' This assembly of Privy Councillors, Judges, and Statesmen was held on the 30th of November, when they declared, without Essex being heard in his own defence, the nature of his misconduct. Bacon would not attend, and afterwards excused himself to the Queen on the plea of indisposition.

Bacon continued to warn the Queen of the danger of bringing the cause of so eloquent and well-spoken a man into any public question, and advised her 'to restore the Earl to his former 'attendance, with some addition of honour to take away dis-'content;' but she rejected his advice. After Easter, she confessed to Bacon that she found his words were true respecting the proceedings in the Star Chamber — that instead of doing good they had only kindled factious fruits; and that she was, therefore, determined now to proceed against the Earl in the Star Chamber by an information *ore tenus*, to have him brought to an answer, although what she did should not be *ad destructionem* but only *ad castigationem* — not to render him unable to serve her after. Bacon and others of the learned

* Bacon's 'Apology,' vol. vi. p. 254.

Counsel were hereupon sent for by some of the principal Councillors, to notify Her Majesty's pleasure to them, when he was 'openly told by one of them that Her Majesty had not yet 'resolved whether she would have him forborne in the business 'or no.' Bacon then addressed a letter to the Queen, praying 'that she would be pleased to spare him in Lord Essex's cause, 'out of the consideration she took of his obligations to that 'Lord, and that he should reckon it one of her greatest favours;' at the same time assuring her that 'no particular obligation 'whatsoever to any subject could supplant or weaken the 'entireness of duty that he did owe and bear to her and her 'service.' But Elizabeth was not one to admit the claims of friendship and gratitude to another to interpose or interfere with the execution of her will; and Bacon states that the next news he heard was, that 'Her Majesty's pleasure was, we all 'should have parts in the business.' Bacon remonstrated with the Lords on the part allotted to him; but the Queen's pleasure was imperative, and Bacon, as he himself acknowledges, 'little 'satisfied in his own mind,' submitted. Whether his mode of conducting the part thus forced upon him was, as both he and his eulogist Mr. Basil Montagu pretend, ingeniously friendly to Lord Essex, or was unnecessarily hostile, as Captain Devereux implies (vol. ii. p. 11.), may remain matter of discussion and dispute between those who, on one side, see nothing in Bacon's conduct but that of the kind and constant friend, and those who, on the other side, view Essex as the object of his heartless ingratitude. The result of this trial, which took place on the 5th of June, 1600, was, 'that the Earl of Essex should 'be suspended from his offices, and continue a prisoner in his 'own house till it pleased Her Majesty to release him.' According to Bacon, he immediately used his utmost endeavours with the Queen to bring Lord Essex back again into Court and into favour, and tried to satisfy her that the course she had now taken was successful, and therefore should be no further pursued. Elizabeth, satisfied with herself, reiterated her saying that the proceedings should be *ad reparationem* and not *ad ruinam*, and there was every appearance of her intending to relent, when she was again offended by the indiscreet zeal of some of Essex's partisans in endeavouring to justify his conduct. Bacon again interposed in his behalf; and in the beginning of July, Essex was ordered to be liberated from his keeper, but not to quit London.

On the 9th of July* Bacon addressed a letter to Essex,

* Life of Bacon, vol. xvi. Bacon's Works. Note 4 D. In Captain Devereux's work the date of the Letter is July 19.

assuring him of his affection and good offices; and though Captain Devereux comments upon Essex's reply to this letter as one 'which merits particular attention, so dignified, so gentle, so 'free from reproach or rather, in its very gentleness so full 'of reproach,' we cannot but think that the more simple solution of the absence of reproach is to be found in the fact that none was intended, Essex having been secretly well informed of Bacon's constant advocacy in his behalf with the Queen. The style of the correspondence may be formal, and from some of the expressions it appears to bear out Mr. Basil Montagu's supposition that it was intended to be seen by the Queen, but there is no reason to suppose that Essex intended or Bacon understood any deep hidden reproach in a letter which Bacon describes as 'a courteous and loving acceptation of his good will 'and endeavours.'*

Bacon's tender of good offices was made and accepted in good faith, and was speedily called into action. He not only watched his opportunities of working on the Queen in Lord Essex's favour, and then apprising him of what had passed and advising the best course for him to take, but he gave him the further assistance of his pen, in writing at his desire and for his benefit, a supposed correspondence between his own brother Anthony Bacon and Essex, which was to be shown to the Queen, and also a letter from Essex direct to the Queen, all of which letters were thought calculated to plead best for his restoration to favour. At the end of August Essex was liberated, but not allowed to return to Court, and he retired into the country, hoping soon to obtain the further grace of a renewal of his patent of monopoly of sweet wines, which was nearly expired. To the renewal of this patent he looked as the critical event which was to determine whether he should be reinstated in his former credit at Court. He sought it with the most abject professions of devotion and humility; but he overshot the mark, and the Queen was offended at the ill-adjusted veil which could not conceal the intended object for which it was assumed. The patent was refused, and the humble, contrite Essex indulged at once in a tone of petulant and insulting complaint. The man who had addressed letters of adulation and penitence to his 'most dear and admired Sovereign;' who spoke of himself on the occasion of the anniversary of the Queen's accession as 'the 'miserable Essex, full of pain, full of sickness, full of sorrow, 'languishing in repentance for his offences past, hateful to him-'self that he is yet alive, and importunate on death if her sen-

* Life of Bacon, vol. xvi. p. 81.

'tence be irrevocable' (vol. ii. p. 128.); the man who wrote to Her Majesty, saying, 'I look up to you on earth as my only 'physician, yet look for no physic till you, in your deepest 'wisdom and precious favour, shall think the crisis past and the 'time fit for a cure' (vol. ii. p. 115.); now that he was denied the favour he expected, scrupled not to declare, that 'he 'could not serve with base obsequiousness, that he was thrust 'down into private life and wrongfully committed to custody, 'and this by an old woman no less crooked in mind than in 'body.'* The breach that Bacon had so sedulously endeavoured to heal between the Queen and her turbulent favourite became wider and wider; her indignation was roused by Essex's ingratitude, and whilst she resolved to humble him more effectually by prolonging his banishment from Court, Essex House became the resort of every malcontent, and he had actually gone so far as to hold out the threat of entering the royal presence by force. 'I sometimes think of running,' says he, in one of his letters to the Queen, 'and then remember what it will be to 'come in armour triumphing into that presence out of which 'both by your own voice I was commanded, and by your own 'hands thrust out.' (Vol. ii. p. 129.) The Queen now visited her anger on the friend who had so constantly endeavoured to persuade her to restore the refractory Essex to her grace and presence; and, to use Bacon's own words, 'for the space of three 'months, which was between Michaelmas and New Year tide 'following, the Queen would not so much as look on me, but 'turned away from me with express and purposelike discountenance whenever she saw me; and at such time as I 'desired to speak with her about law business ever sent me 'forth very slight refusals.'†

At the end of the three months Bacon asked an audience of the Queen, and after an explanation and many gracious expressions on her part towards him, he departed, 'resting,' as he says, 'determined to meddle no more in the matter, as I saw that it 'would overthrow me, and not be able to do him any good.' It is from the moment of this determination that the conduct of Bacon towards Lord Essex becomes matter of fair discussion as to whether the sense of those obligations he had so often acknowledged should have carried him on to act the part of his friend at whatever risk to himself; or, if not, how far the instinct of self-interest, justified his being passive to serve or active to ruin his former patron. Bacon had committed himself over and

* Quoted in 'Life of Bacon,' Bacon's Works, vol. xvi. p. 85.

† Bacon's 'Apology,' Bacon's Works, vol. vi. p. 271.

over again to the Queen by confident assurances of Essex's attachment and repentance; and Essex must have deceived him by insincere professions of loyalty, or the cautious Bacon would never have ventured to be the constant advocate for his re-establishment in her favour. His conduct, after the refusal of the patent, must have convinced him that he had been surety for one who was not to be trusted; his omission to make any further efforts to serve the interests of a man who marred the effect of every friendly exertion, is hardly worthy of the severe censure with which it has been the habit of some writers to load the memory of Bacon, and to treat him as if he had been one of those summer friends who had basked in the sunshine of the favourite's fortune till night came on, and then, without cause or provocation, turned upon him and hastened his destruction. Thus far Bacon's course in 'meddling no more in the 'matter' was purely defensive, but unhappily it did not rest there. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the last well-known fatal act of rebellious violence which led to Essex being again placed on his trial. In the plan and in the execution of his conspiracy, no less than during his trial, he showed throughout the same selfish ambition, the same impatience of authority and irresolution of purpose, the same faithlessness and also the same personal courage, that had so often marked the conduct of the rebel courtier throughout his career.

Bacon says he never saw the Queen from the day on which he resolved to meddle no more in the business, till the 8th of February, which he terms the day of my Lord of Essex's misfortune; and for that which he afterwards performed at the bar in his public service, he was bound, says he, by the rules of duty to do it honestly and without prevarication—but that for putting himself into it, he protested before God he never moved either the Queen or any person living concerning his being in the service either of evidence or examination, but that it was laid upon him with the rest of his fellows.* It may be perfectly true that Bacon only undertook to perform the task laid upon him, and it is more than probable, even if we had not his word for it, that he did not seek the service on which he was employed; but did he then, as before, request to be spared in my Lord Essex's cause on account of his obligation towards him? He had promised to meddle no more in his favour, might he not therefore have the more reasonably asked of the Queen the favour to be excused from taking part, even professionally, against one to whom he owned former obligations? The Queen might have refused; but

* 'Apology,' vol. vi. p. 272.

it is clear, by Bacon's own statement, that he made no attempt to preserve his neutrality: when once engaged in the service, he was certainly bound by the rules of duty to do it honestly and without prevarication, and for that very reason he should have risked even the Queen's displeasure sooner than be placed in a position where it might, and indeed must, become his duty to share in being the legal instrument of death to a former friend. There was no excuse to be urged of danger to the Queen or to the State. Essex's guilt was too clear to require the exercise of any great legal skill to ensure conviction. Bacon's services could not have been necessary to the public safety. Essex had fairly forfeited the confidence and tired out the good will and affection of his best friends—but he had not cancelled the claims which former obligations had given him on the gratitude of Bacon, and that tongue should never have been employed to point and fix his guilt, that pen should never have been used to perpetuate the remembrance of it. Essex's miserable defence in extenuation of his treason, that his enemies were seeking his life, and that he fled into the city for favour and defence, was rebutted by Bacon, who very aptly compared him to the self-wounded Pisistratus, 'who ran crying into Athens, that his 'life was sought and like to have been taken away, thinking to 'move the people to have pity on him by such counterfeit 'danger and harm, whereas his aim was to take the government 'of the city into his hands.'*

Essex, with singular baseness, retorted upon Bacon by the most palpable breach of confidence: he at once betrayed the assistance he had received from him in the composition of those letters written at his own desire, and by which he had profited during his recent disgrace with the Queen. He thought that Bacon was in his power, and in defiance of every feeling of honour, he used that power not even to benefit himself, but to endanger one who had been his friend for a service which he had desired and accepted. Bacon was probably well justified in asserting in return, that he had spent more hours in vain in studying how to make him a good servant to her Majesty than he had done in anything else, and that for the letters they would not blush for anything contained in them; but his further retort was most ungenerous: he compared his conduct to that of Henry Duke of Guise, and his attempt in the city to the day of the barricades,—allusions which were peculiarly calculated to aggravate the Queen's displeasure and to withhold the exercise of her clemency, by which alone it was possible for his life to

* Harl. MS. No. 6854. fol. 188.

be spared. Nor is there any proof afforded even by himself that Bacon made any real effort after Essex's condemnation to move the Queen to spare his life. It would seem but natural to suppose, that after satisfying the Queen how far his loyalty had outstripped his friendship and gratitude to his early patron, he might have safely pleaded for mitigation of the fatal sentence; but whilst in his 'Apology' he takes credit to himself for the efforts he made for others concerned in the plot, he acknowledges, that during his interview with the Queen, 'he 'durst not deal directly for my lord as things then stood.' Bacon's view of Essex's character had evidently undergone considerable change; he had regarded him as rash, impetuous, and turbulent, but trusted to his being undesigning, fickle, and yielding; he found him intriguing, false, and fierce; he saw he was incorrigible, he felt he was dangerous, and with the instinct of fear he became cruel. He saw in Essex a friend who would betray and a foe who would destroy: self-preservation predominated over every other feeling, and Bacon hardened his heart from cowardice at the moment when it should have been softened by pity. Essex had nothing to allege that could disprove an act of open rebellion, but he indulged in the malignant pleasure of making accusations that might injure those whom he regarded as his enemies. Not content with this ungenerous breach of confidence towards Bacon, which exposed him to danger for services rendered to himself, he also accused Cecil of having said that the Infanta of Spain was the rightful heir to the Crown of England. Cecil indignantly refuted the charge. 'For wit, 'wherewith you certainly abound,' said he, addressing the Earl of Essex, 'I am your inferior; I am inferior to you in nobility, 'yet noble I am; a military man I am not, and herein you go 'before me; yet doth my innocency protect me; and in this 'court I stand an upright man, and you a delinquent:' he demanded the authority for this accusation, and Essex unhesitatingly compromised his brother-in-law, Lord Southampton, by saying that he had heard it as well as himself. Cecil then called upon Southampton to name his authority, and was told it was Mr. Comptroller. Cecil desired Sir William Knollys might be sent for, when 'it appeared that a book treating of 'the succession of the Infanta had been read in his presence 'and some remarks made on it, but that Sir Robert Cecil had 'never used such an expression to the Comptroller' (vol. ii. p. 156.). Essex might possibly have believed that Cecil had used such expressions, but it was clear he had been at no pains to ascertain the truth of the matter, and yet put forth without scruple an idle tale that in no way bore upon his own

vindication, but which might have proved the ruin of the man whom he had regarded sometimes as a friend, somtimes as an enemy, and always as a rival when in power. It was fortunate for Cecil that he was able to disprove at once an aspersion so well calculated to rouse the Queen's jealous alarms. Essex was condemned, and received his sentence with the firmness that marked every occasion in his life when personal courage was required to support him. He desired to have the same preacher that he had had with him since his troubles began (vol. ii. p. 163.), and accordingly he was visited in prison by his chaplain, Mr. Ashton. Mr. Ashton reproved him severely for his crimes, and expressed his doubts as 'to any person having 'been either his adviser, persuader, or approver' (vol. ii. p. 167.). Irritated by this reproach, Essex at once confessed his plan, and ended at his own desire by betraying, in presence of the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, and Secretary, the names of all whom he had induced to follow him, or whom from love of him had joined in his daring conspiracy (vol. ii. p. 169.). Captain Devereux dilates much on the cruel and Jesuitical conduct of Mr. Ashton towards Lord Essex; but there is no reason to think he forfeited his confidence; as it appears that by Lord Essex's own desire, he was still in attendance on him the very morning of his execution, and even to the scaffold.

However unfavourable may be the impression left on the mind of the reader, after perusing the life of this unfortunate victim of over indulgence and of unsparing justice, he must close the book with equal dissatisfaction at all that it reveals respecting the disposition of the Queen. Ingratitude and treason cannot be excused by the personal faults of a benefactor or a sovereign; but it must be confessed that Elizabeth's character and conduct may be pleaded in extenuation of the errors if not of the crimes of Essex. Arbitrary, capricious, and vain, she tolerated and encouraged adulation she must have known was insincere; her approbation and rewards were bestowed rather by favour than accorded to merit, whilst a sense of justice seldom checked her ebullitions of temper or guided the exercise of her power. That Essex served her ill was to the shame of one who so often and so largely reaped the benefits of her partiality; but who can say that she personally deserved the devoted service which she expected from all, and which was so conscientiously rendered by many? Is it to be wondered at that the Queen who could receive with reproachful coldness the officers who had done honour to her arms in foreign lands, and who could degrade herself by indulging in violent and coarse abuse

of her tried and faithful servants,—who could treat Burleigh with indignity and reject him as a coward and a miscreant when opposed to her schemes of avarice (vol. i. p. 389.), — is it to be wondered at that she should have failed to fix the fickle affections and light allegiance of a youth dazzled by the splendour of his position and corrupted by the unearned distinctions he enjoyed?

The story of the ring said to have been sent by Lord Essex to the Queen through the Countess of Nottingham, is discussed at some length in this work. Captain Devereux inclines to accept it as an historical fact; but notwithstanding this, and the popular belief in its truth, and the existence of the various rings which have been so carefully preserved as the identical ring, it is impossible to assent to its authenticity without better proof than has yet been adduced in its support. The anecdote is mentioned by Clarendon in a work entitled 'Disparity be-'tween the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Buckingham,' written by him, as he states, in his younger days, and in which he mentions it only to discredit it as 'a loose report which hath crept 'in.' At a later period this same story figures in Mr. Francis Osborn's 'Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth,' published in 1658; and in M. Aubrey de Maurier's 'Memoirs,' published in 1688, as having been told to Prince Maurice by Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador in Holland under James I.; and again, some years later, Lady Elizabeth Spelman related the same to the Earl of Cork; to him she also gave the MS. memoirs of her great grandfather, Sir Robert Carey (Earl of Monmouth); and by him they were published in 1759. There is a slight variation in the story as told by M. Aubrey de Maurier and by Lady Elizabeth Spelman. M. de Maurier states that 'Le Comte 'dans la première extrémité, eut recours à la femme de l'Amiral 'Howard sa parente, et la fit supplier par une personne confi-'dente de bailler cette bague à la reine en main propre; 'mais son mari, l'un des ennemis capitaux du Comte, à qui elle 'le dit imprudemment, l'ayant empêchée de s'acquitter de sa 'commission, elle consentit à sa mort.'

Lady Elizabeth states that the Earl of Essex, unwilling to trust any who were about him, 'called a boy whom he saw 'passing beneath his window, and whose appearance pleased 'him, and engaged him to carry the ring, which he threw down 'to him, to the Lady Scrope, a sister of Lady Nottingham 'and a friend of the Earl, who was also in attendance on the 'Queen, and to beg her to present it to Her Majesty. The 'boy, by mistake, took it to Lady Nottingham, who showed it 'to her husband, in order to take his advice. The Earl forbade 'her to carry it to the Queen or return any answer to the mes-

'sage, but desired her to retain the ring.' The variation between the two stories is not very material; the principal facts are the same in each, — that the Queen had given a ring to Essex which was to serve him in time of need; that he employed the Countess of Nottingham to transmit it to the Queen; that she consulted her husband, who forbade her to do so; and that on her deathbed she made a full confession to the Queen of all the facts, alleging her husband's prohibition as her excuse. The whole of the evidence in support of the facts, therefore, is the mention of it by Osborn fifty-five years after the death of Elizabeth; the subsequent narration of it in M. de Maurier's Memoirs; Lord Clarendon's authority to confirm the fact that 'such a loose report had crept into discourse;' and the narrative of Lady Elizabeth Spelman, the great grand-daughter of the Earl of Monmouth and the great great-niece of the Countess of Nottingham.

On the other hand, there is no contemporaneous account of the fact. A most detailed account of the Queen's last illness, — of her sighs, depression of spirits, and of her death-bed, — were recorded by the contemporary pen of Camden, in the letters of M. de Beaumont, the French Ambassador, and in the Memoirs of the Earl of Monmouth, both the latter having been eye-witnesses to what they related.

Camden alludes to the Queen's melancholy, and says that Essex's friends were inclined to attribute the change in her spirits to his loss, and also gives other reasons as equally supposed to have produced this effect. M. de Beaumont mentions the Queen having excused herself from granting him an audience on account of the death of the Countess of Nottingham, for which she had wept extremely, and shown an uncommon concern.*

The Earl of Monmouth describes her melancholy humour, and his fruitless endeavours to cheer her, but no allusion to the cause being in any way connected with Essex or Lady Nottingham; but the following passage shows, that so far from anything having occurred to disturb her friendly relations with Lord Nottingham, he was actually sent for, as the only person whose influence would be sufficiently powerful to induce her to obey her physicians: — 'The Queen grew worse and worse, 'because she would be so, none about her being able to per-'suade her to go to bed. My Lord Admiral was sent for (who, 'by reason of my sister's death, that was his wife, had absented 'himself some fortnight from Court); what by fair means, what 'by force, he got her to bed.'†

* Birch's Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 506.

† Memoirs of Earl of Monmouth, p. 140.

Now, whatever might be the supposed indignation of Elizabeth against her dying cousin, Lady Nottingham, it is clear that as the real offender was Lord Nottingham, he would naturally have more than shared in her displeasure; and it is very improbable that a fortnight after the Queen had shaken the helpless wife on her death-bed, the husband, by whose authority the offence was committed, should have continued in undiminished favour. The relationship between Lady Elizabeth Spelman and the Countess of Nottingham might give some weight to her as an authority for this story, had there been any reason to suppose that it had been handed down as a family tradition; but this does not appear to have been the case, for it was evidently unknown to her great grandfather, the Earl of Monmouth, the brother of Lady Nottingham and of Lady Scrope. The existence of the ring would do but little to establish the truth of the story, even if but one had been preserved and cherished as the identical ring; but as there are two, if not three, which lay claim to that distinction, they invalidate each other's claims. One is preserved at Hawnes, in Bedfordshire, the seat of the Rev. Lord John Thynne; another is the property of C. W. Warren, Esq.; and we believe a third is deposited for safety at Messrs. Drummonds' Bank. The ring at Hawnes is said to have descended in unbroken succession from Lady Frances Devereux (afterwards Duchess of Somerset) to the present owner: —

Lady Frances Devereux, daughter of Robert Earl of Essex = William Earl of Hertford

Mary = Henry Earl of Winchester

Frances = Thomas Thynne, first Viscount Weymouth

Frances = Sir Robert Worsley of Appuldurcombe

Frances = John Carteret, Earl Granville

Louisa = Thomas, second Viscount Weymouth, whose second son, Henry Frederick Thynne, became heir to his uncle, Earl Granville.*

The stone in this ring is a sardonyx, on which is cut in relief

* Vol. ii. p. 183.

a head of Elizabeth, the execution of which is of a high order. (Vol. ii. p. 183.) That the ring has descended from Lady Frances Devereux affords the strongest presumptive evidence that it was not *the* ring. According to the tradition, it had passed from her father into Lady Nottingham's hands. According to Lady Elizabeth Spelman, Lord Nottingham insisted upon her keeping it. In her interview with the Queen, the Countess might be supposed to have presented to her the token she had so fatally withheld; or it might have remained in her family, or have been destroyed; but the most improbable circumstance would have been its restoration to the widow or daughter of the much injured Essex by the offending Earl of Nottingham. The Duchess of Somerset left a 'long, curious, and minute will, 'and in it there is no mention of any such ring.' (Vol. ii. p. 183.) If there is good evidence for believing that the curious ring at Hawnes was ever in the possession of the Earl of Essex, one might be tempted to suppose that it was the likeness of the Queen to which he alludes in his letters as his 'fair angel.'

It was when setting out on his expedition to Spain (1597) that he thus expresses his passionate gratitude to the Queen for the gift of her likeness:—'Most dear Lady,—For Your Ma-'jesty's high and precious favours . . . . but above all other, for 'Your Majesty bestowing on me that fair angel which you sent 'to guard me; for these, I say, I neither can write words to 'express my humble thankfulness, nor perform service fit to 'acknowledge such duty as for these I owe. Sandwich, June '25th.' (Vol. i. p. 414.) And again: 'If I could express my 'soul's humble, infinite, and perfect thankfulness for so high 'favours as Your Majesty's five dear tokens, both the watch, 'the thorn, and, above all, the angel which you sent to guard 'me, for Your Majesty's sweet letters indited by the spirit of 'spirits; if for this, I say, I could express my thankfulness, I 'would strain my wits to perform it. Portland Road, 6th July.' (Vol. i. p. 419.)

At the time of Essex's disgrace, after the proceedings in the Star Chamber, and when still under restraint at Essex House, he again alludes to this precious gift from the Queen:—

'To mediate for me to Your Majesty, I neither have nor would have any; but to encourage me to be an unfortunate petitioner for myself, I have a lady, a nymph or an angel, who, when all the world frowns upon me, cannot look with other than gracious eyes, and who, as she resembles Your Majesty most of all creatures, so I know not by what warrant she doth promise more grace from Your Majesty than I without your own warrant dare promise to myself.*

'April 4. 1600.'

* Vol. ii. p. 96.

Had Essex possessed at this time any ring or token which, by presenting, could have entitled him to a restoration to favour, it seems most improbable that he should have kept it back, and yet alluded to this likeness of the Queen, whose gracious eyes encouraged him to be a petitioner for himself. The whole tone of this letter is, in fact, almost conclusive against the possibility of his having in his possession any gift of hers endowed with such rights as that of the ring which the Countess of Nottingham is supposed to have withheld.

The space allotted to the biography of the third Earl of Essex seems hardly sufficient to do justice to a life so replete with domestic misfortunes, with military employment abroad, and with active participation both in military and civil affairs at home.

Robert, third Earl of Essex, was born in 1591; and was, therefore, about ten years old at the time of his father's execution. He was educated at Eton and at Merton College, Oxford. James appeared anxious to acknowledge the obligation of the services tendered to him by the late Earl by bestowing particular notice on his son. He was sent for immediately on the King being proclaimed to come to Essex House, and was placed about the young Prince of Wales as a sharer both in his studies and his amusements. According to the custom of those times, at the very early age of fifteen he was married to Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, a young lady of great beauty, and about a year or two younger than himself. The crimes and misfortunes that attended this ill-fated marriage must have tended to create in his mind an early distaste for the Court, and probably occasioned much of his time to be spent in foreign service, or at his family seat at Chartley. Some years later (1629–30) he married Miss Elizabeth Paulet, daughter of Sir William Paulet, of Edington; but that marriage also ended unhappily. There is not sufficient evidence to determine whether the circumstances connected with his former union had rendered him morbidly suspicious on the subject of female virtue, or that he had really cause to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Lady Essex; but at the end of five or six years they were separated, the lady having given birth to one son, who died an infant. Family ties brought Essex into close connexion with those who saw, with uneasiness and disapprobation, the dangerous exercise of arbitrary power which Charles I. struggled to maintain against the growing demands of his Parliament. The Earl of Southampton was his near relation, the Earl of Hertford had married his sister; and it is supposed that till shortly before the civil dissensions between Charles and his Parliament broke out

into actual warfare, Lord Essex's political views were much in accordance with theirs. Lord Essex's skill and activity as a commander, and his straightforward conduct throughout that splendid failure, Charles' invasion of Scotland, have been faithfully commemorated by Clarendon. 'The Earl of Essex merited 'well,' he says, 'throughout the whole affair, and had never 'made a false step in action or counsel.'* Nor, indeed, was his conduct on that occasion by any means the only instance in which the great historian has taken delight in dwelling on the praises of Lord Essex and the errors of the King in neglecting his services. Clarendon has been often reproached with blindness to the merits of all who did not espouse the royal cause; but his estimate of Lord Essex's merits and character affords a striking instance of candour towards an adversary whom he regarded as a most effective enemy to the King's success. Indeed, it is to be questioned whether the reader might not draw from the perusal of his works a more favourable opinion of Lord Essex's conduct and abilities than from the biography now published. The political bias of Captain Devereux's mind, without making him unjust to the parliamentarian commander, has chilled all enthusiasm for his subject; he apologises for the side he espoused, he feels but little satisfaction in his faithful adherence to those from whom he accepted an important trust, and he takes no pride in his successes. In the cold and meagre account of the famous relief of Gloucester, we hardly recognise the brilliant exploit which Clarendon has given in greater detail, and which he has commemorated as 'an action performed by 'him with incomparable conduct and courage; in every part 'whereof very much was to be imputed to his own personal 'virtue; and it may be well reckoned among the most soldierly 'actions of this unhappy war.'† Lord Essex's distrust of the King rendered him implacable towards Strafford. The Earl of Bedford, Lord Hertford, and Mr. Hyde had in vain represented to him that it would be more expedient not to press to the last extremity against Strafford; and in Essex's reply, 'that stone-'dead hath no fellow,' we see the first symptom of a division of opinion between him and those with whom he had hitherto thought and acted. When the King wisely sought for a while to conciliate by office those who, in the language of the present day, might be termed the leaders of opposition, Lord Essex became Chamberlain in place of Lord Pemberton; 'and it was 'thought,' says Clarendon, 'this extraordinary grace to the

* Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 238.

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 361.

'most popular person of the kingdom would have had a notable 'influence upon the whole party.'*

The manner in which that staff was afterwards rudely taken from him, and the evil consequences of the King's conduct, are thus estimated by Clarendon. 'There is great reason to be- 'lieve,' he says, 'that if that resolution the King had taken had 'not been too obstinately pursued at that time, many of the 'mischiefs which afterwards fell out would have been prevented; 'and without doubt, if the staff had remained still in the hands of 'the Earl of Essex, by which he was charged with the defence 'and security of the King's person, he would never have been 'prevailed with to have taken upon him the command of that 'army which was afterwards raised against the King, and with 'which so many battles were fought. And there can be as little 'doubt in any man who knew well the nature and temper of that 'time, that it had been very difficult, if not utterly impossible, 'for the two Houses of Parliament to have raised an army then, 'if the Earl of Essex had not consented to be the general of that 'army.'

On the 12th of July, 1642, it was resolved that an army should be raised, and that the Earl of Essex should be their general, with whom they would live and die; and that a petition should be sent to his Majesty, of which the object was to be reconciliation and the prevention of civil war. The King replied by a proclamation to suppress the rebellion of Robert Earl of Essex, and an offer of pardon to such as laid down their arms within six days. Lord Essex accepted the command of the Parliamentary army; and on the 9th of September set out from Essex House, 'attended with great solemnity, to the outskirts 'of the city, by the trained bands and by many members of both 'Houses.'†

Before passing judgment upon Lord Essex's decision in favour of the party he espoused, every candid man will be inclined to ask himself what he would have done under similar circumstances? Lord Essex fought to limit but yet to retain the monarchical form of government; he made war upon the undue prerogatives of the Crown, but not upon its existence; he looked upon war as the last resource for determining constitutional differences, not as the means of obtaining power and victory over a foe that was to be humiliated; his position was rendered the more difficult during his command by the change of opinion

* Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ii. pp. 330, 331.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 345.

in some, and the insincerity of others of his party, as to the real objects to be obtained by force of arms; but whatever may be the judgment passed upon Lord Essex's decision in accepting the post of command, he is entitled on all sides to the respect due to the strictest honour and fidelity to the trust he had accepted: his alliance was courted by the King when smarting under the intrigues of his secret foes in Parliament; he was blamed for want of success when feebly supported or maliciously interfered with by aspiring rivals to power; but neither respect for the office of the King, nor resentment against his treacherous friends and covert enemies, ever made him swerve from his duty to the trust imposed upon him. The successful measures of Cromwell for the advancement of himself and his own immediate party, finally drove him into the resignation of his command; and on the 2nd of April, 1645, he delivered his commission 'into those hands that gave it,' seeing, as he said, 'that by the now coming up of these ordinances that it is 'the desire of the House of Commons it may be vacated.' The resignation was accepted; but the two Houses waited on him the next day, at Essex House, to thank him for his patriotism with the highest encomiums on his conduct, and the 'strongest expression of their sense of his past services.' (Vol. ii. p. 455.)

The soldiers who had served under his immediate command resented the change of Generals: their devotion to Essex was so well known that precautions were adopted to prevent danger arising from their dissatisfaction; and the Horse, quartered in Hertfordshire, having shown symptoms of resistance, Essex nobly interposed the authority of his wishes to beg they would submit to the ordinance, and serve the newly appointed officers as faithfully as those who had been removed. Thus closed his military career, chequered at various times by such reverses and successes as attended the arms of the opposing parties during the civil war, but adorned throughout its course by the order and discipline maintained in the army under his immediate command.

Lord Essex died, Sept. 14. 1646, of a fever, brought on by over exertion in a stag-hunt in Windsor Forest; his remains were honoured by a public funeral, for the expenses of which no less a sum than 5000*l.* was voted by Parliament to his executors. With him the title of Essex became extinct in the Devereux family, his cousin Sir Walter Devereux of Castle Bromwich succeeded him as Viscount Hereford.

Captain Devereux has completed his task of the 'Lives of the 'Devereux Earls of Essex;' and though we may think he has

been too favourable in his estimate of the second Earl of Essex's character, and has scarcely appreciated the great merits of the third Earl, yet full credit must be awarded to him for the pains he has bestowed, and the ability he has evinced in this work.

It bears the mark of great industry and of an honest desire to ascertain the truth, and when ascertained, to state it fairly. Amongst the minor excellencies of the book, we must not omit to remark on the good sense which has prompted him to adopt the modern spelling for the original letters, and thus remove a decided obstacle to their perusal.

There are faults of arrangement, and some inelegancies which a more practised writer would have avoided, but the style is simple, straightforward, and manly; it is neither highly finished, nor very forcible, nor eloquently persuasive; but it has the merit of being perfectly unaffected and entirely free from the mannerism and commonplace ornament which pervades the style of hacknied authors—it is the work of an honest English gentleman, who having had the patience and industry to collect materials fit to be published, wrote his book that others might read and acquire with ease the information he had collected and arranged with considerable labour. It is to be hoped that Captain Devereux will be tempted to make further research in the hidden stores of original MSS. and again repeat his efforts in the field of historical biography.

ART. VI.—1. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Education; together with the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston, Massachusetts: 1852.

2. *Revised Statutes of Massachusetts.* 1837.

3. *Report of the Cambridge School Committee.* 1852.

4. *Report on the Organisation of the Primary and Grammar School Committee.* Boston: 1852.

5. *Annual Report of the Superintendant of Common Schools of the State of New York.* 1851.

6. *Report of Committee of the Board of Education on the System of Popular Education in the City of New York, May* 28. 1851.

7. *Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York.* 1851.

8. *Seventeenth Annual Report of Superintendant of Common Schools of Pennsylvania for year ending June,* 1850.

9. *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Controllers of Public Schools of the City and County of Philadelphia.* 1851.
10. *Biennial Report of the Superintendant of Public Instruction for the State of Iowa, printed for the use of the General Assembly.* 1850.
11. *Report on the Public Libraries of the United States of America, January* 1. 1850. By CHARLES C. JEWETT, Librarian of the Smithsonian Institute.
12. *The Educational Institutions of the United States; their Character and Organisation.* Translated from the Swedish of P. A. SIBJESTRÖM, M. A., by FREDERICA ROWAN. In 1 vol. 12mo. London: 1853.

THE man still lives who can remember the United States of America as the humble dependencies of Great Britain. A few remote colonies fringing the shores of the Atlantic hemmed in by mountains and forests, had made little impression on the wilderness. Almost without roads, a mere bridle path sufficed for their weekly mail. No banks nor monied institutions gave aid to commerce. Agriculture resorted to the rudest tools. A small class of vessels confined to the coasting trade, the fisheries, or an occasional voyage to the West Indies or Europe, formed their shipping. Manufactures and the mechanic arts were in their cradle. A little molasses was distilled into rum. A few coarse cloths were made in the hand loom, and so inferior were the sheep that a traveller predicted broadcloth could never be manufactured.

Some iron had been melted with charcoal, but furnaces and forges languished under jealous governors. The vast beds of coal which underlie the Middle States were unknown, and cotton, the great basis of modern manufactures, had not blossomed in the Colonies. The policy of the mother country was to make marts for her merchants, and to restrict the Colonies to the cultivation of tobacco, indigo, rice, and to bread stuffs, and the shipment of these staples, with staves, lumber, and naval stores, to the mother country. These articles were dispensed by England to the residue of Europe.

The population of these Colonies was less than 3,000,000; and their chief sea-ports, Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia, contained each from ten to twenty thousand inhabitants.

But the colonists, although poor, and indebted to the British merchants, had carried with them from their native land an inalienable love of freedom; were tenacious of their rights, and resolute in their opposition to excise and stamp acts. They

spurned the idea of taxation without representation. England was sadly misguided; a seven years' war ensued. The British arms, often victorious, achieved no permanent success, and were finally foiled by an endurance never surpassed. The colonists prevailed, but their success was almost ruinous. At the close of a protracted war they found their country impoverished, their Union dissolving, their sea-ports desolate, their ships decayed, and the flower of their youth withered in the field or in the prison-ship. From this period of gloom and exhaustion little progress was made until the adoption of the Constitution in 1788, and the funding of the public debt under the wise administration of Washington.

We now begin a new era. Let us consider what advance the United States have made from this dawn of the nation in the sixty years which have ensued. The country has shown a renovating power. The flood of population has swept over the Alleghanies, crossed the blue Ohio and Father of Waters, followed the shores of the great lakes, and is rolling up the Missouri of the West. Its advancing tide has already enlivened the coasts of Florida and Texas, and reached the shores of Oregon and California. The thirteen States have swelled to thirty-one, and the national territory now covers 3,000,000 of square miles, mostly adapted to cultivation.

A prolific and almost exhaustless soil invites the Western husbandman.

The implements of husbandry, improved by thousands of patents, have adapted themselves to a country in which land is cheap and labour dear, and some of them compete successfully with English tools in foreign markets.

Cotton has been acclimated, and gives yearly its 3,000,000 of bales. Tobacco yields its 170,000 hogsheads, and sugar, of recent introduction, a similar amount. Such is the capacity of the country for bread stuffs, that the failure of a crop in Europe draws out a supply not only sufficient to check the march of famine, but to baffle all previous calculation. Manufactures have become firmly rooted. The manufacture of iron annually reaches to 600,000 tons. Not less than 700,000 bales of cotton also are consumed in the country, if we may rely on the late census.

Not only do short-horn Durhams graze on the plains of the Ohio, but the Spanish and French merinoes and Saxon flocks have been imported, and the native race been gradually improved.

The home manufacture now consumes 52,000,000 of pounds of native wool, besides large imports of foreign from Turkey, Buenos Ayres, and Africa. A single State manufactures boots

and shoes to the yearly value of 6,000,000*l.* sterling, and exports glass-wares, cotton goods, and wooden ware to India, South America, and the Mediterranean. Singular as it may appear, the United States now draw some of their raw materials from Great Britain. Large shipments of skins and hides are often made from London and Liverpool, to be tanned into leather by cheap and expeditious processes in the hemlock forests of New York.

Before the Revolution an American book was a rarity; but now rags are imported from England and Italy, converted into paper by patented machines, and circulated in books and journals through North America. Some of these journals issue 50,000 copies daily, and there are publishers who find an annual vent for 150,000 copies of geographies and arithmetics. It is doubtless true that less attention is given in the States to more costly and delicate products of art than in Europe; but it is also well understood, that many of the most expert manufacturers declined to send their goods to the London Exhibition, for they preferred the home market to the European, and wished to invite no rivalry in goods suited to the States.

The late census exhibits the rapid progress of the mechanic arts throughout the Union. In other departments the United States have not been dormant. While Mexico has for sixty years either receded or remained stationary in the population of its states and cities, the United States have increased from 3,000,000 to 26,000,000, and now exhibit an annual accession of 1,100,000 people.

The city of New York, with its suburbs, presents 700,000 inhabitants; Philadelphia, 500,000; Boston, with its environs 300,000; and Baltimore nearly 200,000 in one compact body. Cincinnati and New Orleans respectively exceed 100,000; and St. Louis, Louisville, Pittsburg, Albany, and Buffalo follow close in their rear.

The country is threaded by numerous post roads, interlaced by 13,000 miles of railway, and still more closely united by a greater length of telegraph wires. By means of these, a message can be sent hundreds of miles for a shilling, and the merchant at New Orleans can in the same day charter ships at New York or Boston, and order their cargoes from St. Louis or Cincinnati; while the orator addresses in the same hour audiences in all the large cities of the Union.

The mails, accelerated by steam, bear letters from Savannah to Eastport for a stamp costing little more than the penny postage of England. The foreign trade exhibits an aggregate of 80,000,000*l.* sterling of imports and exports. The inland commerce exceeds the foreign, while the shipping at this moment,

December 1852, amounts to 4,000,000 of tonnage, and is annually growing at the rate of 300,000 tons.*

Banking houses and insurance companies are established throughout the Union. Steamers throng the coast and rivers to the amount of 400,000 tons, and are claimed as an American invention. In other respects, the advance of this nation is interesting to England. The United States, not content with the vast emigration they annually absorb, have borrowed at least one third of the sailors of the British nation, and placing them before the mast, officer their ships with young Americans. They then navigate them with half the crews employed by other nations, viz., with two or three men only to the 100 tons, command high freights, and perform their voyages with certainty and despatch.

They have copied, too, the railway, almost as soon as England had invented it; and have not only given it a wide diffusion, but import from England a large part of their rails, and then manage their iron ways with less expense, with more profit, and with lower charges than are customary in England. By what appliances has this nation, in a little more than half a century, thus emerged from poverty and weakness, absorbed and civilised the outcasts of Europe, and been able to achieve such remarkable changes?

The inquiry is one of no common interest to the world. Should the population of the United States progress for one century more as it has done for the past sixty years, and the Union continue, the number of its inhabitants would exceed 300,000,000. Such a people, fronting on two oceans with a temperate climate and vast expanse of country, must exert, under any circumstances, an increasing influence over the globe. What agencies are at work to shape and temper that influence? The progress of the United States of America is often ascribed to their form of government; this combines many features of the English, and is borrowed in part from the institutions of England. It has doubtless aided their growth, although it does not uniformly draw into the public service the highest order of

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* 'Registered, enrolled, and licensed tonnage of United States, June 30th, 1850 - - - 3,535,454$\frac{28}{100}$
ditto June 30th, 1851 - - - 3,772,439$\frac{43}{100}$
Vessels built in United States, year ending June 30th,
1850, 1360: tonnage - - - 272,218$\frac{54}{100}$
ditto June 30th, 1851, 1367: tonnage - 298,203$\frac{60}{100}$
ditto ditto 1852, 1448: tonnage - 351,494
See U. S. documents, Commerce and Navigation, 1852 and 1853.'

character. But republics have neither stability nor safety, unless founded on virtue and intelligence. We have seen the republics of Mexico and La Plata alternating with despotism; and the republic of France revolutionised in a night. We must look behind the constitution of the United States at the knowledge and virtue which characterise their citizens, at the culture and training which foster those indispensable requisites.

Education is not indissolubly connected with any frame of government. It may be cherished and flourish under a limited monarchy or a republic. It is requisite for the full development of each. And while efforts are made to extend it in England, it may not be amiss to inquire how far it has been cultivated, and what shape it is assuming, on the other side of the Atlantic. If the plant shows a novel hue or more vigorous growth West of the Atlantic, the system of the Western gardener demands attention. And if we find there unprecedented results from the action of mind on matter, we may well ask what has roused that mind to action? what has given an impulse and direction to its movements? Let us take a brief view of Education in the United States.

Many of the early settlers of New England and the Middle States were men of letters: they carried with them a love for learning to the wilderness. They considered it essential to their progress, and founded schools and colleges as soon as they had gained a foot-hold in the country. Schools soon multiplied; colleges were established in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey. The fame of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton reached the mother country before the Revolution, and found many benefactors in the British Isles. In these colleges were reared some of the prominent leaders in the Revolution, and many of the statesmen who framed the Constitution.

The State of Massachusetts, one of the oldest of the original thirteen, was particularly active in the cause of letters. As early as 1635 the public Latin school was founded in Boston, and soon after, every town containing 100 families was required to maintain a school, with a teacher competent to fit youth for the University. Three colleges were subsequently founded in Massachusetts.

The deep-seated respect for learning is evinced by the Constitution and laws adopted by this State. By its constitution (chap. v. sect. 2.) it is made the duty of the magistrates and legislatures, 'To cherish the interests of literature and science, 'and all seminaries of them, and to countenance and inculcate the 'principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and 'private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality

'in their dealings, sincerity and good humour, all social affections 'and generous sentiments among the people.'

In accordance with the Constitution, the revised statutes provide for a school, to be opened at least six months annually, in each town containing fifty householders; for similar schools, and instruction in book-keeping, surveying, geometry and algebra, in all towns containing 500 householders; and in towns containing 4000 inhabitants, for the continuance of such schools for at least ten months, with masters competent to teach rhetoric, logic, history, and the Greek and Latin languages.

By such statutes (chap. xxiii. sect. 7.) provision is expressly made for instruction in morals; and all teachers are required to 'impress on the minds of the children and youth committed to 'their care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and 'sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity and 'universal benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, chastity, 'moderation and benevolence, and those other virtues which are 'the ornament of human society.'

By sect. 8. of the same chapter it is provided that 'It 'shall be the duty of the resident ministers of the Gospel, the 'select men and school committee in the several towns, to exert 'their influence, and use their best endeavours that the youth 'of their town shall regularly attend the schools established for 'their instruction.'

To defray the expenses of education no specified tax is imposed, and it remains optional with each town to raise any amount found requisite. But a school fund has been formed, and no town can participate in the income of the fund unless it raises by tax at least one dollar and a half for every child within its limits, between the age of five and fifteen years; and the spirit of the citizens is evinced by the fact, that the average sum raised by voluntary tax for each child within the age for education, is nearly threefold the amount prescribed by statute.

Boston, the ancient capital of this State, has ever taken a distinguished part in the culture of learning. Its Latin school and other institutions stood high before the Revolution, but have made great progress since.

Before this period, females did not participate in the benefits of the public schools; but in 1789 they were permitted to attend. Down to 1817 pupils were not admitted to the public schools until they had learned to read; but in that year primary schools were opened for both sexes. In 1821 a public high school was established in Boston, which now contains nearly 200 pupils, under four highly educated teachers, and gives instruction in drawing, book-keeping, elocution, the higher mathematics,

logic, philosophy, the French and Spanish languages. The public Latin school, with five able masters, and 195 pupils, prepares youth for the Universities.

A normal school accommodating 200 girls, who have completed with success the course of studies in the grammar schools, under the instruction of five accomplished teachers, qualifies every year nearly 100 graduates to perform the duties of teacher in the schools for the younger children.

Reading, spelling, arithmetic, and music are taught in all the primary schools, and to these branches are added in the grammar schools, writing, geography, English grammar, history, and exercises in writing the English language for all the pupils and declamation for the boys. In proportion to her population, Boston expends annually a larger amount of money for public schools than any city in the United States. Boston has now more than 1,200,000 dollars invested in schoolhouses; and with a population of 138,000, has 22,000 in her public schools, employs 350 teachers, and expends annually more than 300,000 dollars for the education of the people. All these schools are free, and three officers are employed to look after truant and idle children, and to induce their parents to send them to school. And yet Boston is aiming at a still higher standard of popular education, and in order to attain it employs a superintendent who, in the language of the law defining his duties, 'shall 'devote himself to the study of the school system, and of the 'condition of the schools, and shall keep himself acquainted with 'the progress of instruction and discipline in other places, in order 'to suggest appropriate means for the advancement of the public 'schools in this city.'

Under these heavy disbursements for education, the city has made rapid progress in wealth, commerce, and population,—has taken the lead in manufactures, railways, the India trade, and the improvement of naval architecture.* Its progress will appear in the following table based upon official documents:—

	1840.	1850.
Population of Boston - - -	83,979	138,788
Population of Boston and suburbs -	158,546	269,874
Assessors' valuation of Boston -	$94,581,600	$210,000,000
Tonnage of Boston per returns of 1842 and 1851 - - -	193,502	343,308

While the capital of the State has been active in the advance-

* The Boston clipper, 'Sovereign of the Sea,' a ship of 2200 tons, with a crew of 35 men, is reported in the New York Journal of May last, to have made her passage from the Sandwich Islands, around Cape Horn, to New York, in 80 days; and in one day to have run

ment of letters, the State government has not been unmindful of its duties under the constitution and laws. Aid has been given by liberal grants to the university and colleges; three normal schools for the education of teachers have been established at the public expense. A Board of Education has been created, composed of the principal officers of State, with a working secretary and two agents who traverse the State, and draw attention by addresses and conference with teachers to school architecture, the best modes of teaching, and the importance of a higher standard of education.

Institutes, or meetings of teachers and friends of education, are held in various parts of the State, under the sanction of the Board of Education, and a corps of professors employed to address them on the best mode of imparting knowledge, and to lecture on grammar, elocution, arithmetic, music, and drawing. Professors Guyot and Agassiz are now engaged in that duty. Four or five days are devoted to each of these institutes, and so popular and useful are these meetings, that the cities and villages where they are held, provide lodgings for the teachers at their own expense, and are clamorous for their turns.

Under the stimulus thus given to education, we are not surprised to learn, from the report of the Board, that in this small State, with a harsh climate and sterile soil, with but 7,600 square miles of surface, and 1,000,000 of people, there were, in 1851, 3,987 schools, or one for 2 square miles of surface, and an annual expenditure on schools, including buildings, not far from 1,500,000 dollars, or to learn the facts condensed in the following table:—

RETURNS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

	1837.	1851.
Number of children in the State from 4 to 16	184,896	
Number of children in the State from 5 to 15		196,536
Number of children in public free schools in summer		179,497
Number of same in winter of all ages		199,429
Average attendance in winter		152,564
Number of teachers	5,961	8,694
Average length of school term	6 mo. 25 days	7 mo. 14 days.
Wages of male teachers per month	$25 44/100	$36 22/100
Wages of female teachers per month	$11 38/100	$15 25/100

430 miles, or 18 miles per hour. Another clipper, of 4000 tons, to carry four masts, was in May last on the stocks at Boston.

Average tax per child of educational age, assessed principally on property	$2 59/100	$4 71/100
Amount raised for wages, fuel, and books, exclusive of repairs and new structures	$387,184	$915,389
Population of State per census of 1840 and 1850	737,699	992,499
Assessors' valuation of taxable property in the State for returns of 1840 and 1850	$299,878,329	$597,936,995
Whole amount expended in public and private schools in Massachusetts —exclusive of buildings, in 1851		$1,353,70063
Amount of public school fund		$1,000,000

It is easy to draw the inference from this table, that the standard of education has been raised, the quality of teachers and teaching improved, while the State has continued to increase to a remarkable extent in population, and still more rapidly in wealth.

During the period in question, this State, which is devoted in a great measure to manufactures, has absorbed between one and two hundred thousand illiterate emigrants from Ireland.

In the schools of Massachusetts, no instruction is given in the tenets of any religious denomination. The schools usually are opened with reading a chapter of the Bible, and a brief prayer, or address, from the master; but the duty of the master and the committee to inculcate morals is by no means forgotten. It is prescribed by the fundamental laws, and the attention paid to it may be inferred from the following passages, which we cite from the report of a school committee to their constituents, in the little town of Winchendown, in Worcester county.

'The object of education is not merely to teach the pupil to read, to learn the news of the day, to write, to cypher, to keep his accounts, but to receive that thorough mental discipline which may prepare him for any sphere in which he may be called to move; that development of the mind which will elevate, and ennoble his aspirations; that cultivation of the faculties which will awaken a quenchless thirst for knowledge; that influence on the mental powers which will incline them to the truth, as delicately as the needle seeks the pole. Its object is to make strong minds, courageous hearts, prompt, active, and energetic men.'

'In relation to obedience, diligence, stillness, decorum, manliness of manners, respect to superiors, the pupil should be disciplined most thoroughly.'

The committee conclude with this earnest appeal, as applicable to England as to America—

'Shall not we, the moral guardians, the foster-fathers of the children of the ignorant and dependent, see that our wards, whom Heaven has put into our hands, are provided for.'

The report of the town of Cambridge in Massachusetts takes the ground that,—

'Our wealth is in the mines of the intellect that lie hidden in the popular body, and not in gold or silver coin.' 'To make this wealth available, we must labour not only to extend some education to all, but to put the best education within the reach of those who can turn it to the best account.' 'No wastefulness is so mischievous as this, to leave the high faculties to run to waste.'

'Our duty is "to awake a just conception of what is exalted in feeling and conduct, and an inextinguishable love of moral purity and intellectual culture." The great objects of school education are to give children such habits, tastes, and ideas, as will strengthen them against the temptations to which they are exposed, and form their characters for further progress.'

When such sentiments and views guide the managers of the schools, may not the Catechism be safely left to the religious instructor?

One more extract must suffice. A Boston committee gives us some light on the effect of schools on the population of the city, one half of which now consists of emigrants from Ireland and their children. 'By these schools much has been done to 'convert the stagnant pools of ignorance and vice into pure and 'healthful fountains of knowledge, whose life-giving power per-'vades and penetrates all portions of society.'

A noble library, just founded in Boston by Mr. Bates of London of the house of Baring Brothers, and a native of Massachusetts, will aid and extend the influence of the schools.

The great State of New York, the most populous in the Union, has since 1825, when the Erie canal was built, paid marked attention to education.

De Witt Clinton gave an impulse to both. New York has gradually been accumulating large funds for the advancement of letters, and annually increasing its appropriations for that object. Under the auspices of the State, several colleges and universities have been founded, eleven of which report to the State in 1851, that 1801 students are in attendance. One hundred and sixty academies also report their pupils as 15,947, their permanent endowments at $1,694,660. They give the salaries of their teachers as $247,341, and their libraries as containing 72,568 volumes.

The superintendent of the common free schools reports the entire number of school districts as 11,297, and the entire expenditure for 1849, on the free schools of the State, as

$1,766,668. We have condensed from several reports the following summary.

Population of the State in 1850 - - -	3,097,394
ditto 1840 - - -	2,428,941
Number of children between the ages of five and sixteen years in the State, 1850 - - - -	735,188
Number of children of all ages taught during the year	794,500
Whole amount of money expended in common schools, including buildings, salaries, fuel, and books in 1849	$1,766,668
Amount paid for buildings, fuel, &c., included in sum above - - - - - -	$398,097
Amount contributed by State from general tax and income of lands - - - - -	$906,822
Income of school funds, 1849 - - - -	$302,524
Number of volumes in district school libraries -	1,449,950
Average length of school term, 1849, eight months.	
Whole amount received and expended in common schools in 1825, but - - - -	$265,720

The State of New York, as will appear from the above, is fast increasing its outlay on schools, and has liberally provided a library for each district. The State has also established normal schools, which are tending to improve the teachers, and raise the standard of qualification for office throughout the State.

Teachers' institutes have been authorised, and will soon be commenced. A school journal has also been established, which serves as the official channel of communication between the superintendent and the officers of the district, and contributes to the improvement of the system of public instruction. The library and journal, as appendages of the common school, are apparently peculiar to New York.

With respect to new sites and structures for school-houses, the superintendent reports that an increased regard to the comfort, convenience, and health both of pupils and teachers and to refined taste, have been manifested. He recommends enlarged sites for school-houses, the introduction of tasteful shrubbery, useful and ornamental plants, and, while providing for wholesome exercise, would make some provision for developing those higher faculties of our nature, which can appreciate the beautiful, tasteful, and ornamental.

The city of New York, the commercial centre of the New World, is making progress in her schools. A few years since they were inferior to those of New England; but of late years its most able and influential citizens have taken them in charge, and rapid improvement has been made. Normal schools have been established, evening schools have begun to instruct the adult emigrants, who land there from Ireland and Germany with-

out the rudiments of knowledge, and a free academy has been opened to teach the higher branches and the ancient languages to the most distinguished graduates of the grammar schools. The following table gives the statistics of the schools. We would remark, however, that some deduction must be made from the aggregate number of scholars on the registers of the city and state of New York, as those who remove from district to district during the year are sometimes twice entered on the register.

Whole number of children in the city between five and fifteen years of age, January, 1850	90,145
Whole number entered on register in schools during the year 1849 of all ages	102,974
Number in free academy	382
Number in evening schools	3,450
Number in private, church, and other schools	18,250
Amount paid for teachers' salaries, 1850	$274,794
New buildings	$32,000
Repairs	$15,660
Sites	$41,680
Cost of evening schools	$16,621
Cost of free academy	$16,270
Entire cost of free schools	$400,029
Population of city proper, 1850	515,347
ditto 1840	312,710

In the schools of the city and state of New York, the exercises are usually begun by reading a passage from the Bible; but no favour is shown to any religious denomination. The degree of moral culture afforded by these schools—their influence over the community, and the favour with which they are regarded, may be inferred from the extract we subjoin from the annual report of the superintendent of common schools to the legislature for 1850, page 19.

'The idea of universal education is the grand central idea of the age. Upon this broad and comprehensive basis all the experience of the past, all the crowding phenomena of the present, and all our hopes and aspirations for the future, must rest. Our forefathers have transmitted to us a noble inheritance of national, intellectual, moral, and religious freedom. They have confided our destiny as a people to our own hands. Upon our individual and combined intelligence, virtue, and patriotism rest the solution of the great problem of self-government. We should be untrue to ourselves, untrue to the memory of our statesmen and patriots, untrue to the cause of liberty, of civilisation and humanity, if we neglected the assiduous cultivation of those means by which alone we can secure the realisation of the hopes we have excited. Those means are the universal education of our future citizens without discrimination or distinction. Wherever in our midst a human being exists with capacities and

faculties to be developed, improved, cultivated, and directed, the avenues of knowledge should be freely opened, and every facility afforded to their unrestricted entrance. Ignorance should no more be countenanced than vice and crime. The one leads almost inevitably to the other. Banish ignorance, and in its stead introduce intelligence, science, knowledge, and increasing wisdom and enlightenment, and you remove in most cases all those incentives to idleness, vice, and crime, which produce such frightful harvests of retribution, misery, and wretchedness. Educate every child "to the top of his "faculties," and you not only secure the community against the depredations of the ignorant and the criminal, but you bestow upon it instead, productive artisans, good citizens, upright jurors and magistrates, enlightened statesmen, scientific discoverers and inventors, and the dispensers of a pervading influence in favour of honesty, virtue, and true goodness. Educate every child physically, morally, and intellectually, from the age of four to twenty-one, and many of your prisons, penitentiaries, and almshouses will be converted into schools of industry and temples of science; and the amount now contributed for their maintenance and support will be diverted into far more profitable channels. Educate every child not superficially, not partially, but thoroughly: develope equally and healthfully every faculty of his nature, every capability of his being, and you infuse a new and invigorating element into the very life-blood of civilisation, an element which will diffuse itself throughout every vein and artery of the social and political system, purifying, strengthening, and regenerating all its impulses, elevating its aspirations, and clothing it with a power equal to every demand upon its vast energies and resources.

'These are some of the results which must follow in the train of a wisely matured and judiciously organised system of universal education. They are not imaginary but sober deductions from well authenticated facts, deliberate conclusions, and sanctioned by the concurrent testimony of experienced educators and eminent statesmen and philanthropists. If names are needed to enforce the lesson they teach, those of Washington, and Franklin, and Hamilton, and Jefferson, and Clinton, with a long array of patriots and statesmen, may be cited. If facts are required to illustrate the connexion between ignorance and crime, let the officer's return of convictions in the several courts of the State for the last ten years be examined, and the instructive lessons be heeded. Out of nearly 28,000 persons convicted of crime, but 128 had enjoyed the benefits of a good common school education.'

The influence of education in New York is still further illustrated in a report of the Board of Education of the city of New York on the system of popular education, May 28. 1851. The report appears to have been in answer to a message of the mayor on the increase of expense in the police, almshouse, and school departments, which may be ascribed doubtless to the great influx of foreign emigrants. The report is a most able defence

of a system which has been found in New York to give increased elevation to morals, additional value to property, and higher respectability and safety to the city.

'The mayor has associated the department of common schools with those of the almshouse and police. There are near and interesting relations existing between these several departments. So intimate indeed are these relations, and so immediate and strong are the reciprocal influences springing out of them, that the more you cherish and sustain the one, the more you relieve the other, and the more liberal and diffusive your system of education, and the more you contribute for its improvement and extension, the less you will have to pay for the maintenance of the other two departments.

'The more you subject all to the elevating, refining, and conservative influences of a wholesome, moral, intellectual, and industrial training, the more you relieve your almshouses and police. Extend education, and you diminish pauperism and crime. Increase the number of schools, and you diminish in more than a corresponding degree the number of those who are otherwise to become the recipients of your charity, or the subjects of your penal code. Between these alternatives you must decide. Can the choice in a civilised and Christian community be either difficult or doubtful, I will not say to the philanthropist merely, but even to the taxpayer?'

The city of New York continues to increase its appropriations for schools; and its progress in the arts, commerce, wealth, and population attest their value.

The splendid library recently founded with a bequest of half a million of dollars by Astor, originally a poor German emigrant, will find many readers in New York, and add much to the attraction of the city.

On the southwest, New York borders on Pennsylvania, a rich, central, agricultural State, early settled by the Swedes, Germans, and English Quakers. In 1682 William Penn formed the first constitution of the colony, and incorporated this clause into his frame of government. 'Wisdom and virtue are qualities which, 'because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be 'carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth.' Although the value of education was thus recognised by the first lawgiver of the colony, his successors appear to have forgotten the policy enjoined by their ancestors, and paid little regard to it until the year 1831, when the system of popular instruction was established in the State.

At the outset, great difficulties were encountered in the apathy of the German population, and the want of competent teachers. These were increased by the pecuniary embarrassments in which the State was involved by the failure of its banks, and the management of the public works: but gradually these ob-

stacles have been surmounted. The State has recovered from its depression, resumed the payment of the interest, and, since 1844, annually appropriates 200,000 dollars in aid of the public schools. The value of normal schools has also been recognised, and several are now established.

The State has been divided into districts, and each is required to assess taxes sufficient, with its proportion of the public fund, to provide instruction for three or four months yearly. We subjoin a condensed table of the population, schools, and school expenses of the State:—

Population of the State, 1850 - - - -	2,311,786
ditto 1840 - - - -	1,724,033
Number of children registered in schools in 1851 -	424,344
ditto ditto 1835 -	32,544
Average length of short term, 1835 - - -	3 mo. 12 d.
ditto 1851 - - -	5 mo. 1 day
Average salaries of male teachers per month - -	$17 ·20
ditto female ditto - - -	$10 ·15
Number of schools in 1851 - - - -	8,510
ditto still required - - -	674
Entire expense of schools - - -	$926,447·65
Amount in above items for structures - -	$253,741·06

In the brief period of sixteen years the pupils have increased thirteen fold. The term of instruction has been extended nearly fifty per cent., and provision made to qualify a superior class of teachers in normal schools.

Pennsylvania has not only secured its schools, but has ascertained, by its experience, that the most efficacious plan to educate a community is to train the teachers, enabling them to acquire knowledge, and the most improved modes of imparting what they acquire. The whole State is alive to the importance of institutions affording ample means for teachers to learn their duties before attempting to perform them; and those who have questioned the value of such institutions are now their most ardent friends.

The superintendent of the schools, after dilating on the importance of having good teachers, and giving testimony to the value and popularity of the normal schools, submits to the State a plan for an agricultural college, for the gratuitous instruction of the most promising youth, and estimates the annual cost at 45,300 dollars.

Philadelphia, the commercial capital of the State, and the second city in the Union, anticipated the action of the State, but did not commence its common school system until 1818, or open its schools to the whole community until 1836. In the

last fifteen years, however, it has laid the foundations deep and wide, and is now making progress in its free schools. No improvement escapes its notice. The form, size, and classification of its schools are subjects of study. The most liberal provision is made for preparing teachers in normal institutions.

Females are very generally employed in the primary and grammar schools, with favourable results. This furnishes a most appropriate occupation for women, besides reducing the cost of tuition. A high school has been formed to receive the *élite* pupils of the grammar schools, and the qualifications for admissions have been gradually raised, and the studies advanced, until a collegiate education is now given at the public expense, and degrees of bachelors and masters of arts are conferred on the graduates.

In this high school are employed ten professors and two assistants. Five hundred and five students are on the register. The course is four years, and instruction is given in the classics, French, Spanish and the higher mathematics, logic, elocution, and philosophy in all its branches; chemistry, navigation and phonetics; and all who enter are obliged to pass a severe examination in reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, algebra, and geometry. The principal reporters of Congress are phonographic reporters from this institution. We subjoin, in tabular form, a brief view of the state of education in Philadelphia:—

	1840.	1850.
Population of Philadelphia - - -	228,691	408,766
Number of schoolhouses - - -	16	60
ditto teachers - - -	190	928
ditto scholars - - -	19,000	48,000
Expenditures for schools - - -	$190,000	$336,000

The rapid growth of the State and its metropolis in manufactures, commerce, buildings, population and the useful arts, show that education has not checked their career; while the popular feeling which has been awakened in its behalf where apathy formerly prevailed, attests its beneficial influence.

We have thus cited three of the leading States, and three of the principal cities of the Union, to illustrate what progress the United States have made, and are still making, in education. But let it not be supposed that the subject is disregarded in other sections of the Union; although in some of the southern States, where the population is sparse and slavery exists, less zeal is evinced. Even there the influence of the leading States is widely felt, and a spirit of inquiry and rivalry is awakened.

In Richmond and New Orleans measures are in progress to

improve their system of free schools. In most of the western and south-western States, large reservations of land have been made by Congress for the purposes of education, which will soon be, or already are, productive. The remote city of St. Louis, in the border State of Missouri, appropriates yearly 100,000 dollars to the public schools,—a sum greater in proportion than the disbursement of New York; and even in Texas, where a few years since the bowie-knife and revolver were used to settle all difficult questions, the Journal of Commerce apprises us that schools exist in every county, and nearly 200 churches are in progress. So many States are now embarked in education, and such is the current in its favour, that none can resist the force of public opinion. The school rises in the forest, and is but the precursor of the spire and belfry of the village church. Religion, if it may not guide, is a close attendant upon the schools of America.

On the western frontier of the Union on the bank of the Mississippi lies the frontier State of Iowa, one of the youngest members of the confederacy. The adventurous settlers have but just built their cabins and marked out their shire towns and villages, but they have carried with them the love for learning; and on those prairies where the Indian but yesterday figured in the war-dance, or chased the buffalo, the philosopher now plans a system of moral and intellectual culture.

A superintendent of schools has already been appointed, and education provided for by an organic law. The central government here, with wise liberality, reserved for education a million and a half acres of land, valued at two to three millions of dollars. A portion is already productive. Public provision has been made for the instruction of the deaf and dumb. A treatise by Mr. Barnard on school architecture is circulated at the public expense. Three colleges have been founded. Two normal schools have been instituted; district schools have been commenced; the old theory that the parent and schoolmaster were responsible for the education of the child has been exploded, and the *State* is held responsible for the education of its youth.

Such are the state and prospects of education on the very verge of the wilderness, more than 1200 miles from tide water, in a State which numbered but 43,000 people in 1840, and but 192,000 souls by the late census.

After this glance at particular states and cities, the reader will not be surprised at the results which we condense from Mitchell into the following summary. The returns embrace States containing more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Union. The others have not yet published their returns:

Number of children in States making returns of educational age - - - - -	3,723,756
Number of children attending public schools in same	2,967,741
Annual expenditure on public schools ditto -	$7,086,693
Number of students in colleges, law, and medical schools - - - - - -	18,260
Number of volumes in public libraries of the United States - - - - - -	3,954,375
ditto college libraries - -	846,455
Amount of public school funds beside land - -	$17,957,652
Population of the United States, 1850 - -	23,256,972
Estimated population, December, 1852 - -	26,000,000

The zeal for education in the United States has passed their borders, already animates Upper Canada, and is gradually penetrating the provinces of Lower Canada and Nova Scotia. Normal schools have been for some time in progress in Upper Canada, and will soon find countenance in the other provinces. The comparative progress of these colonies may be inferred from the annexed table:

Canada, West, 1849,			population - - -	803,566
„	„	„	children in public schools - -	151,891
„	„	„	paid for salaries - - -	$330,720
„	East	„	population - - -	768,344
„	„	„	children in public schools - -	73,551
„	„	„	public grant - - -	$50,772
Nova Scotia		„	population - - -	300,000
„	„	„	children in public schools - -	30,631
„	„	„	annual expense for same - -	$136,286

While the upper province of Canada readily adopts the school which has borrowed from the improved system of Ireland, the French inhabitants of the lower province cling more tenaciously to their ancient usages and habits. Railways, however, are fast invading the provinces, and will soon bring them in contact with their more mercurial neighbours, and obliterate their prejudices.

Our glance at education in the Transatlantic States leads us to some important results. We glean from it, not only the facts that more than 3,000,000 of pupils attend the public free schools and that large funds are accumulating for the purposes of education, but we deduce more interesting conclusions. It is obvious that the system of public instruction has taken firm hold of the public mind, and is eminently popular and progressive; that it is pervading the entire country, and assuming a higher tone and character.

There is a determination in America to unite the thinking head with the working hand, and to elicit all the talent of the

country. The system of public schools drew Daniel Webster from obscurity to guide and enlighten his country; and more Websters are required. The respect for education displays itself in the embellishment of the grounds of the country schools. In place of the low and comfortless school-room, brick structures are now reared in the large towns, seventy feet in length by sixty in width, and four stories high, well ventilated, and warmed by furnaces. The books are improved, and libraries provided. The local committees give place to able superintendents and boards of control. Music is added to the studies, —schools of design are established,—normal schools to prepare teachers, are provided. Institutions are started to educate the deaf, dumb, blind, and idiotic: all these are at the public charge. Academies and colleges follow, and schools for arts, law, medicine, and divinity succeed; and to stimulate the whole, teachers' institutes, school journals, and agents are employed by the State to disseminate information, and fan the public enthusiasm. Appeals are constantly made to the public to suffer no waste of talent or intellect; to give the luxury of learning to the class doomed to toil, and to counteract the bad influences of the home of the illiterate emigrant by the attractions of the school.

Under these incentives the taxes for schools are cheerfully paid, and education progresses. What are its effects? Do we not see them in the quickened action of the American mind, in its more rapid adaptation of means to ends; in the application of steam and the great water power of the country, as a substitute for labour; in teaching it to move the spindles, the loom, the saw, drill, stone-cutter, and the planing, polishing, and sewing machines; in replacing the living man and woman by steam carpet looms and artificial reapers; in teaching the locomotive and car to surmount steep acclivities, and wind round sharp curves at trifling expense; in designing new models and new modes of constructing, rigging, and steering ships upon the sea, diminishing the crews while doubling the speed and size of the vessel; inventing new processes for spinning and bleaching; new furnaces for the steam engine, and new presses for the printer?

A few years since, the question was asked by a distinguished divine, 'Who reads an American work?' The question now is, 'Who does not read an American book, journal, or news-'paper?' The trained soldier can effect more than the raw recruit, and the skilled artisan more than the rude plough-boy. Disciplined America can entrust the guidance of her mechanism and the teaching of her children to the trained female, and devote the strength and talent of the male to agriculture, navigation,

construction, and invention. Temperance seems to follow in the train of education. Thirty years since spirits were used to excess in many of the States. A marked change has occurred as education has advanced, and now in some States the sale of spirits is almost discontinued. The saving thus effected more than counterbalances the whole cost of education.

The effect of education on morals is well illustrated by the progress of Massachusetts in one branch of manufactures, that of boots and shoes. While in some countries the manufacturer dares not entrust the materials to the workmen at their houses, in this State the artisans are scattered in their rural homes, the materials sent to them with entire confidence, and returned weekly ready for the market. Among other great branches of industry, this now amounts annually, in this little State, to 6,000,000*l.* sterling.

In this same State, in the face of a large immigration of labourers from Ireland, and liberal outlay for their shelter, pauperism has been virtually receding. We learn from Hunt's Merchant's Magazine for June, 1851, that in the twelve years preceding, in that State, population had increased 40 per cent., wealth 120 per cent., and the cost of pauperism but 38 per cent., although 2,880 foreigners were aided in 1837, and 12,334 received assistance in 1850. 'Thus, in twelve years,' the writer remarks, 'the cost of maintaining the poor, distributed *per capita* 'upon the population, has fallen from 44 cents. per head to 43, 'and the percentage on property has been actually reduced one-'third. Native pauperism is comparatively diminished, and the 'principal draft on the charity of Massachusetts is the temporary 'aid given to the foreign emigrant.'

We learn by the census returns lately published, that in 1850 the whole number of churches and meeting-houses in the United States was 36,011, containing 13,849,896 seats, or room for three-fifths of the existing population. In this growing country nearly one-fifth of the inhabitants are under the age of six; and if we deduct those who from sickness, extreme youth, old age, or domestic duties are unable to worship together, this must be a very liberal provision. By the same returns we find the whole number of foreigners in the county was 2,210,828, or less than one-tenth the entire population; and while the annual expense for paupers was but 600,000*l.*, the permanent foreign paupers were 13,437, and the native 36,947 only. With respect to crime the ratio is still more striking. Of 27,000 crimes in the United States during 1850, no less than 14,000 were committed by foreigners. In a country whose natives are educated, more

than half the crimes are traced to illiterate foreigners, forming less than one-tenth of the whole population.

It seems, then, to be established in America, that general education increases the efficiency of a nation, promotes temperance, aids religion, and checks pauperism; while all concede that it diminishes crime. Why should its effects be different in England, and why should we not find, in education, a cheap and most admirable substitute for prisons and penal colonies? If in America, holders of property sustain education, because they insure their own safety, and the security of their fortunes, by the instruction of the masses, why should not the same results attend education in England?

Again, if America with all her accessions from natural growth and immigration, cannot afford to lose the mines of intellect hidden in the popular masses; if she is not rich enough in intellect to suffer their faculties to run to waste, can England, comparatively stationary in growth and population, afford such loss?

The future contests of nations will not be confined to warlike encounters. They will be in the field of science and arts, and that nation will attain to the highest distinction which shall excel in the arts of peace. If other nations are cultivating and developing the human intellect, let not England be distanced in the course. She can appreciate the effective force of the skilled artisan, the disciplined soldier, and trained athlete. Will she not appreciate the value of disciplined mind, of educated labour? Do not her position, climate, and wealth enable her to wield them with the most advantage. If the humble citizen of a village in America considers himself the foster father of the children of the poor, the natural guardian of those Heaven has intrusted to him, and under moral obligations to educate his wards, will the philanthropists of England exhibit less benevolence? And is there any country in which the natural powers of the mind offer a more favourable field for cultivation—in which education is likely to yield a more plentiful harvest—than England? We have so lately given a full consideration to the subject of popular education in this country, that we need not here dwell upon its importance: we will only add our conviction, that whenever the conflicting religious views which now impede its extension shall have been reconciled, no difficulties of a merely economical character will prove insuperable.

ART. VII.—1. *Thirty-second Annual Report of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.* Manchester: 1853.

2. *Report of the Central Board of Health of Jamaica.* Printed for the Honourable House of Assembly. Spanish Town: 1852.

3. *Report by Dr. Sutherland to the General Board of Health on Cases of Fever on board the Steamers 'La Plata' and 'Medway.'* December, 1852.

4. *The Fever at Boa Vista in* 1845-46, *unconnected with the Visit of the 'Eclair' to that Island.* By GILBERT KING, M.D. R.N., Inspector of Hospitals and Fleets. London: 1852.

5. *Some Account of the last Yellow Fever Epidemic of British Guiana.* By DANIEL BLAIR, M.D., Surgeon-General of British Guiana. Edited by JOHN DAVY, M.D., F.R.S., London and Edinburgh, Inspector-General of Army Hospitals. London: 1850.

6. *General Board of Health.—Second Report on Quarantine. Yellow Fever.* London: 1852.

7. *Report on the present Mode of conveying Small Pox and other Fever Patients to the Hospitals in Public Vehicles.* By R. D. GRAINGER, Esq. London: 1852.

THAT very useful and vigilant association, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in their succinct review of the several mercantile questions to which their attention had been directed during the year 1852, pronounce the quarantine regulations, as enforced in this country and in others, to be cumbersome, cruel, and costly, and ineffectual towards securing the end for which they are established. We fear that this opinion, however sound, will find little favour in the eyes of philosophers of the school of Dr. Copland, who reveres these regulations as 'measures which alone can protect the lives of thou-'sands, however they may for a time affect the pecuniary 'interests of the few,—of the speculator and the capitalist, 'the modern curses of the general community.'* Under this denunciation, it may be some consolation to Manchester to learn that a body very different from their own—the Central Board of Health of Jamaica,—an island where, by sad experience, the attributes of yellow fever and other epidemic diseases are but too familiarly known,—has condemned the same regula-

* Dictionary of Medicine, Pestilence, Hæmagastric, p. 163.

tions, in language even more emphatic: 'The Board,' say they, 'are of opinion that Quarantine Laws, as at present conducted in this island, are an irksome encumbrance, interrupting commerce, obstructing national intercourse, perilling life, fostering and engendering disease, and squandering large sums of public revenue.'

Bearing in mind that the real impediment to the progress of human improvement consists in the opposition it must encounter from all persons who may be interested* in perpetuating the reign of ignorance and error, we proceed to consider the principles upon which quarantine is conducted with reference to two very different diseases, — small pox and yellow fever.

On the 14th of February, 1852, her Majesty's frigate 'Arethusa' arrived at Plymouth, having on board several patients suffering from small pox, of which disease some deaths had occurred during the voyage. This is a malady propagable, as we all know, by the lancet, and which no man denies to be communicable by contagion; but instead of placing the frigate in quarantine until a certain number of days should have elapsed after the sacrifice of the latest victim, and thus confining the healthy, for an indefinite term of imprisonment, in the same vitiated atmosphere with the sick and the dying, the authorities wisely admitted the 'Arethusa' to free pratique; the sick, twelve in number, were immediately landed, and received into the Royal Naval Hospital, where two of them died. But no epidemic of small pox broke out at Plymouth in consequence of the humane course pursued on this occasion. The disease was one which, when appearing epidemically, has repeatedly devastated whole communities, in Great Britain as well as in other countries: it is not, like yellow fever, limited

* We fear there is too much truth in the following remarks of a scientific contemporary on this subject: — 'The administration of the 'laws relating to quarantine is entrusted to a set of persons whose 'ignorance can be equalled by nothing but their obstinacy. To these 'persons offices of rank, authority, and considerable emolument are 'assigned; and indeed their authority rests upon, and their emoluments are derived from, maintaining the opinion and the principle 'that yellow fever is a contagious disease, and can be imported from 'the West Indies and the South of Spain. So long as these gentlemen are in the receipt of large sums of money for maintaining these 'opinions, it is altogether unreasonable to expect that they will ever 'relinquish these opinions, or be made to admit that yellow fever is 'not contagious and cannot be imported. To expect such a concession 'is to require too much from such frail materials as those of which 'men and physicians are composed.' (*Edinburgh Med. and Surg. Journal*, April, 1852, p. 498.)

to climates and degrees; while, in the present instance, the malignity of its type is sufficiently indicated by the fact that of twelve cases two terminated in death. If, then, the infliction of quarantine be ever justifiable as a preservative against the invasion of epidemic diseases, this appears to have been precisely the occasion on which it ought to have been enforced. But a system which is founded in error and administered by caprice, presents, at every point which is not concealed from public scrutiny, some inherent absurdity, inconsistency, or contradiction.

Properly speaking, contagion implies actual contact, being quite independent of atmospheric agency; while the influence of infection, as far, at least, as regards the diffusion of exhalations from the sick,—in contradistinction to the wide-spread morbific action of a malarious atmosphere,—is confined within extremely narrow limits. Dr. Carmichael Smith says:—'The 'sphere of deleterious power is in general so extremely limited 'that there have been and still are some physicians who believe 'they are only propagated by contact.' On the faith of his own experience, Dr. Haygarth, in 1796, first ventured to open fever wards in a common hospital, 'numerous facts having 'proved that a person liable to receive the small pox was not 'infected by a patient in the distemper when placed at a very 'little distance.'

In truth, the evidence proving the narrowness of the sphere of even the most virulent contagion, shows the groundlessness of the alarm respecting this dreaded agent, and points to the certain means of destroying it.

'At the first rise or outbreak of an epidemic pestilence,' say the Jamaica Board of Health, 'the proportional mortality is always greatest; and, on the contrary, at the decline, whether a few months or weeks only comprise the whole career, the disease loses much of its fatal character, putting entirely out of view the interference of medical art in either case. The circumstances attending the spread, period of violence, and decline of epidemic disease, cannot be accounted for by the laws of contagion. Experience has fully proved that sanitary measures will mitigate the violence and prevent the origin of epidemic diseases. It matters little whether the disease is contagious or not. The contagion of any disease—small pox itself—can do but little harm at any time in any country, unless there be a strong predisposition of body, concurring with a pestilential season. The signs or indications of this pestilential season (for they do exist), and the way to remove this predisposition or remote cause of disease, is of far more consequence than the prevention against a foreign contagion. The history of epidemics all over the world, the observations of the most enlightened inquirers, seem all to prove that the whole

apparatus of an epidemic pestilence, from beginning to end, is the production of the country where it rages.'

There is reason to believe that miasms connected with the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter,—as, for instance, the miasms which produce remittent and intermittent fever,—are, under certain meteorological conditions, capable of prolonged suspension in the air. But philosophical inquirers and careful observers deny that exhalations from the living body possess the same property, or that they can be conveyed unchanged through the atmosphere. They consider it to be established by indubitable evidence that the moment these exhalations reach the external atmosphere, they are merged in it, their injurious properties are thereby destroyed, and though, when pent up in a close unventilated room, they may acquire such concentration and virulence as to produce a partial or domestic malaria, locally infectious within the limits of the apartment in which it is generated, yet, when they once pass into the ocean of air, they disappear, as drops of rain are lost in the ocean of water. The property thus possessed by air to neutralise and destroy these exhalations, reveals to us a wise provision of nature for the welfare of mankind. The admission of the 'Arethusa' to pratique, and the immediate removal of the sick who were suffering under a malignant contagious disease from the 'sick bay' of that frigate to a well-ventilated hospital, were, therefore, measures not less consonant to the dictates of reason than to those of humanity.

The very different proceedings recently adopted by the quarantine authorities at another port in the Channel on the arrival of successive West India steam-packets, on board of which yellow fever had occurred during the voyage, and the great importance of the subject in a sanitary as well as in a commercial point of view, provoke an inquiry into the wisdom of those proceedings, into the attributes of that disease, and into the merits of quarantine as a preventive against its introduction into this or any other country. Of these proceedings we collect the following particulars from the public journals. Yellow fever having broken out in the mail steamer 'La Plata,' on her voyage from St. Thomas, she was, on arriving at Southampton, placed in quarantine. The mails were put into a boat, and towed to the quarantine brig, near Ryde. The mail bags, loose letters, ship's papers, and newspapers were thrown from the boat into the brig, and by means of tongs, each letter, newspaper, and bag was held and smoked over a lighted stove, in which the charmed drugs were burning. These rites, which lasted an hour, being concluded, the mails were landed; but

'——— hæ nugæ seria ducunt
In mala;'

and the Governments of Southern Europe, upon which, for sixteen years, we have been urging the abandonment of quarantine, as a relic of barbarism, may fairly retort upon us our own revival of its most absurd mummeries.

On the following day, Lord St. Germans, in the House of Lords, and Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons, put questions to the Government as to the care of the sick and the release of the healthy. Lord Lonsdale, being, as President of the Council, responsible for the administration of quarantine, though professing his adherence to the doctrine upon which it is founded, stated unreservedly and without any qualification, that 'he had given orders that the parties should be relieved 'from quarantine;' adding that 'he had sent down the physi-'cian to the Board to give the proper directions.' On the next morning the Superintendent-General of Quarantine, accompanied by the quarantine officer of the port, proceeded on board 'La Plata,' and, certain formalities having been gone through, the following certificate was issued by them: —

'Custom House, Southampton.

'This is to certify that we have this day been on board the Royal Mail steam ship "La Plata," and have most carefully examined the crew and convalescents of the said vessel, and find that the latter are progressing most favourably; and having ascertained that there have not been any fresh cases of yellow fever for the last seven days, we are of opinion that the interior of the "La Plata" is in a most healthy state, and have *consequently* released her from quarantine.

'William Pym,
'Superintendent-General of Quarantine.

'John Wiblin, F.R.C.S.,
'Quarantine Officer, Port of Southampton.'

This certificate, which was as little creditable to our fair dealing as the performances with the tongs had been to our science, was issued, and the inspection of the steamer was made on the 20th of November, the day after Lord Lonsdale had assured the House of Lords that he had given orders that the parties should be unconditionally released from quarantine, and had sent down Sir W. Pym to give the proper directions. Mr. Napier, one of the engineers of the steamer, now took a lodging in the town, where he slept every night, working by day in the engine-room, the very lowest part of the ship*; he was taken

* 'And, as I was informed, attributed his illness to his having worked there.' (*Dr. Sutherland's Report*, p. 3.)

ill on the 28th of November, and died of unequivocal yellow fever on the 5th of December, fifteen days after the ship had been released by the quarantine officers for the reasons assigned by them in the foregoing certificate. Four days after the death of Mr. Napier the mail steamer 'Medway' arrived at Southampton, having also had several cases of yellow fever and some deaths during the voyage; her passengers, luggage, mails, &c. were landed immediately without any of the ceremonials observed in the former case, nor was yellow fever communicated to any one by Mr. Napier, or by any other person who landed from either ship.

Ten days afterwards the 'Orinoco' mail steamer arrived at Southampton under similar circumstances. On the following day she was visited by the Superintendent-General of Quarantine, the local officer of quarantine, and the marine superintendent of the Company, who all went on board, and remained considerably more than an hour conversing with the captain, officers, and passengers. At this time not a man was confined to his bed, yet the ship was placed in quarantine, her visitors returning to the town. While in quarantine a gentleman who incautiously visited and kissed his sister, a passenger in the steamer, was in consequence forbidden to leave the ship by the medical officer of quarantine, who himself was accustomed to go on board and return home every day, generally taking his luncheon with the officers of the ship.

On the 8th of January the steamer 'Magdelena' arrived at Southampton, having been very unhealthy during the voyage, ten persons having died of yellow fever. The last case of yellow fever occurred on the 26th, and the last death on the 28th of December; pratique was instantly granted. The 'Times' report thus quaintly concludes: 'We regret to learn that 'another death took place this evening since the vessel has been 'granted pratique, the chief steward having just breathed his 'last; his malady has been a bilious or yellow fever.' The mail steamer 'Parana' arrived at Southampton on the 18th of January, and was kept in quarantine till the 22nd. The newspapers relate the sufferings of the anxious relatives of those who were imprisoned in this ship by quarantine, and the Captain says,— 'Dr. Barton, surgeon of the ship and myself, informed the 'Health Officers that we had but one person ill out of 150 'souls, and that he was ill from the effects of yellow fever, but 'without any, and convalescent, although not able to leave his 'bed at that time; but could he have been landed then, and 'received proper comforts, nursing, &c. (which are impossible 'to have on board the best of ships) the chances were in favour

'of his recovery. As it is, from the cold and damp caused by 'the heavy rains of last night, combined with the disappoint-'ment of not seeing his family, he has relapsed into a state 'from which there is little hope of his recovery.' The newspaper of the following day announces the death of the man, adding, that his wife was allowed to go on board to attend him in his last moments. Such is quarantine as practised in England in the latter half of the nineteenth century!

At the very same time that these performances were enacting at Southampton, our own colonies were opportunely exhibiting to the world successful examples of the true policy to be adopted by an enlightened Government in such an emergency. The homeward-bound mail packets were not the only steamers which departed from St. Thomas during the epidemic of 1852. We have authentic accounts of several steamers, all of which coaled at the same wharf there*, in all of which the epidemic broke out shortly after leaving it, all of which received free pratique on arriving at their several destinations with persons suffering under the severest form of the disease, and none of which communicated the epidemic to a single individual at either of the numerous ports within the yellow fever zone, at which their several crews and passengers, sick as well as healthy, were landed.

The yellow fever broke out in H. M. ship 'Dauntless' twenty-one hours after leaving St. Thomas; at Barbados she received pratique on the 17th of November, the fever still raging on board with intense malignity. During upwards of six weeks 157 yellow fever patients (of whom 65 died) were admitted from the ship into the general hospital, where they were intermingled with other patients affected with various complaints, none of whom or of the hospital attendants caught the disease,

* Mr. Bacon Phillips, surgeon of 'La Plata,' in his interesting account of the fever in that ship, says that he never left this wharf (and he has done so some twenty times) without finding some few sporadic cases of fever a few days after going to sea. In the whole of the West Indies it would be impossible to find a situation where the localising conditions of miasma are so apparent as at this spot. An engineer of ten years' experience in the West Indies told Mr. Phillips that he always dreads taking in coal that has been wetted by rain, for he invariably noticed that it was followed by sickness among the men in the engine department. Mr. Schuyler, the very intelligent surgeon of the 'Orinoco,' also observed that after coaling some form of fever was sure to show itself among the crew a few hours after leaving the wharf at either of the company's depôts. In the 'Orinoco' the malady was almost exclusively confined to the firemen, coal trimmers, and servants. This subject deserves further careful investigation.

and 'without the occurrence of a single case of fever,' writes the Governor, 'either in the garrison or the city, which can 'be traced to the ship or to her crew.' This great experiment, or rather series of experiments, carried on daily for so long a period, is the more honourable to Sir W. Colebrooke, the Governor, to the leading practitioners, and to the other influential persons by whom he was steadily supported on this occasion, inasmuch as they were all fully aware of the prejudices and fears prevailing, in countries where the disease is unknown, respecting the supposed communicability of yellow fever by contagion. H. M. S. 'Highflier' arrived at Jamaica from St. Thomas on the 23rd of December under exactly the same circumstances as the 'Dauntless' at Barbados, and received free pratique immediately. Dr. Watson, the able physician of the hospital at Port Royal, fortified in the opinion at which he had arrived by the results of many similar experiments in that place, recommended that there should be no interruption to the 'Highflier's' people communicating with the shore, but intimated that it would be dangerous for strangers to be exposed to the atmosphere of the ship so long as the disease continued in her. The sick were accordingly received into the hospital at Port Royal, where they were mingled with the other patients; and the officers and crew enjoyed free communication with the shore. 'The result of 'this experiment,' says Dr. Watson, 'of exposing so many 'persons (who may fairly be presumed to be susceptible) to the 'contagion of yellow fever—to direct communication with the 'disease—has been, as far as it goes, highly adverse to the 'imposition of quarantine in such cases, for no single instance 'of any kind of fever followed the landing of the "Highflier's" 'sick or the free intercourse of her officers and people with the 'town, either in the hospital or in the town.' 'It has excited 'considerable surprise here that the "La Plata" was subjected 'to quarantine on her arrival in England, because she had 'yellow fever on board, after quarantine measures had been 'denounced as inefficient by the Central Board of Health. 'Reflecting on the rapid and constant intercourse which now 'takes place between England and the countries where yel-'low fever is endemic,—bearing in mind, too, the atrocity of con-'fining people in a pest ship, in places where no proper houses 'are prepared for their reception, and the manifold annoyances 'which must accompany necessary or unnecessary quarantine, 'I have made the above representation, which proves that in 'the instance of the "Highflier" no harm resulted from landing 'persons who were in the worst stages of the malady; such

'examples will encourage the advocates of the more humane 'system of dealing with such epidemics as furnishing evidence 'of the uselessness of quarantine.' According to Dr. Chamberlaine, who had been health officer at Kingston for twenty-five years, yellow fever patients were frequently landed from the mail steamers and received into lodging-houses at Kingston, but the disease did not extend to a single individual there; some yellow fever patients from the 'Orinoco' also were received into the Kingston Hospital, and placed in beds adjoining those in which were patients suffering from other diseases, which is the common practice in the West Indian hospitals, so convinced are the medical men there of the non-contagious character of this disease. In consequence of the Report of the General Board of Health, which by direction of Lord Palmerston had been furnished to the authorities at Cartagena (New Granada), the quarantine regulations formerly enforced there against yellow fever had been rescinded, and patients were continually landed from the West Indian mail steamers during the epidemic season of 1852, without in any instance communicating the disease to others. And we learn from our consul there, that the cases of yellow fever at Cartagena 'were exclusively confined 'to persons landed from the Steam Packet Company's ships, and 'in no way affected the health of the town.' Two officers and ten men from the 'Dee' were received into the general hospital, and with the exception of two who were in the last stage of the disease all returned to their ship convalescent, but the disease was not communicated to any other person. The mail steamer 'Esk,' from St. Thomas, arrived in November at Nassau with eight yellow fever patients on board; she received free pratique, six of the patients were landed and distributed in three different houses in the town, two remained on board; all had free intercourse with their friends and attendants, and the disease did not attack any other person, though it had theretofore prevailed and proved very fatal at Nassau.

Yellow fever being a disease alien to our soil, our sole knowledge of it must be obtained from other climes. But before giving credence to narratives of the rise and progress of yellow fever epidemics, we must be satisfied not only that our informants had the desire, the perseverance, the leisure, and the ability to elicit, but that they actually elicited the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. In a well-educated highly civilised community, with free discussion, and a numerous body of scientific men to observe and compare facts, and the time, order, and manner of their occurrence, this security may be obtained, but it cannot be obtained elsewhere. We must have all the facts

before us; not the inferences or presumptions of a partisan expecting preferment if he can—by presenting us with fortuitous coincidences in the guise of cause and effect—fabricate a plausible case to prop a falling superstition, by whom what is hoped is readily believed, and what is believed is confidently told. What he asserts confidently he is bound to prove clearly; if the evidence be defective, the deficiency cannot be supplied by conjecture, the failure is fatal; we must have proof, not surmises; if the evidence be not complete in all its parts, *cadit quæstio.*

From very early times,—from the days of Sir Thomas Brown, upon whose evidence that natural diseases 'were heightened to 'a great excess by the subtilty of the devil co-operating with 'the malice of these we term witches, at whose instance he doth 'these villanies,' Sir Matthew Hale convicted two poor women of witchcraft,—from the days of Dr. Mead, upon whose advice quarantine was established in Great Britain, and who, as we learn from Sir Henry Ellis, was deceived by De Foe's fabulous 'Journal of the Plague,'—the medical profession has betrayed a remarkable tendency to credulity on the subject of the origin and spread of epidemics, and has from time to time allowed itself to be deluded by fables much less interesting than the novel which beguiled the sagacity of Dr. Mead, and not more truthful than the 'Great Discovery of Witches in Denmark,' upon which the Philosophic Enquirer into Vulgar Errors unwarily founded his opinion, when giving before the devout Lord Hale that evidence* which sent two helpless women to the gallows. Chronologically arranged, the tales of yellow fever epidemics alone would supply materials for an interesting additional chapter in the History of Fiction. The curious in such literature will find them collected with great care in Copland's 'Dictionary of Medicine,' titles 'Pestilence, Hæmagastric,'—'Protection from Foreign Pestilences.'

The phenomena of epidemics—of those diseases which excite alarm by a great number of deaths following the same symptoms in a short space of time—have in all ages excited attention; with the advance of civilisation and knowledge the spirit of enlightened inquiry arose, and the doctrine which ascribes pestilence to local causes, and which is found in many ancient writers, was given to the world. These local causes are not, however, readily acknowledged by persons living within the sphere of their influence, for the doctrine that epidemics, or diseases attacking numerous persons simultaneously, spread by contact of the healthy with the sick is far more acceptable in that state of mind which pestilence engenders:—

* 6 St. Tr. 697.

'In every clime,' observes Humboldt, 'men fancy to derive consolation in the idea that a disease which is considered pestilential has been brought from abroad. This belief flatters the national pride. To inhabit a country which produces epidemics might be deemed a humiliating circumstance; and it is more satisfactory to consider that the malady is a foreign one, and that its breaking out has been merely the effect of an accident against which it will be easy to guard in another instance. The people immediately adopt this explanation of the origin of the disease, because it is easily comprehended. The medical men, on their side, in general rest satisfied with it, because the word importation relieves them from all responsibility, and from the trouble of investigating the nature and real cause of the disorder. From this has arisen that remarkable facility with which the doctrine of importation has been eagerly received by all classes when an epidemic manifests itself in a country, and a vessel, a traveller, or a parcel of goods arrive at the same time. So it is that the Havannah, Vera Cruz, and the seaport towns of the United States, constantly accuse each other of the importation of the yellow fever during the summer months, just as the inhabitants of Egypt refer to the arrival of Greek vessels the appearance of the plague; when in Greece and Constantinople, the disease was attributed to vessels coming from Alexandria and Rosetta.'

Let an epidemic rage, and to a mind overpowered by alarm, 'that takes the reason prisoner,' the doctrine that the pestilence spreads by contact is the most satisfactory, and therefore the most easily believed; it requires no exercise of the reason from a mind which has for the time been abandoned by its reasoning powers. To a mind of which the perceptive powers are deadened, it apparently appeals to facts; and to a mind possessed by fear, it offers the consolation of safety, by withdrawal from the sick and the dying, and thus escaping the dreaded phenomena altogether. This doctrine of the spread of epidemics by contagion, though apparently originating with the vulgar, gradually insinuated itself into medical literature in a dark and superstitious age. But no one in our times has ventured to assert that he ever personally traced the course of an epidemic, from its source, by contagion; for no man has himself personally seen the introduction of an epidemic, and traced its progress from person to person through an entire locality; and this supposed personal observation of the rise and progress of an epidemic resolves itself, when closely examined, into the mere adoption at second hand of the reports, or rather the gossip of others, — the ignorant, the prejudiced, and the credulous in a time of panic, — people of the lowest class and dwelling in the vile haunts of fever.

'The epidemics of Jamaica,' say the Board of Health of that island, 'come and go and are forgotten.' Not one single epide-

mic witnessed by the health officers there could be attributed to importation.*

Correct observation has established that for a considerable time before the disease has seized a number of persons sufficient to strike alarm by showing that its presence epidemically is no longer doubtful, it has at intervals of time attacked individuals apart from each other, presenting all the symptoms and attributes of the disease, even the most malignant. These early cases of the epidemic are identical not only with the great mass of cases which prevail when the disease is at its height, but also with the ordinary scattered (or sporadic) cases of the same disease which appear in the sickly season of the year in the climates appropriate to yellow fever, and which sporadic cases are also occasionally characterised by the same malignant symptoms as mark the disease when the state of the atmosphere causes it to prevail so extensively as to become epidemic. These sporadic cases, in themselves indisputably proving the local origin of the pestilence, having been always known and observed, render the disease familiar to the practitioners of the place, and the occurrence of a few such cases excites of course no alarm; but when the atmosphere becoming pestilential produces an epidemic of the disease, the few first straggling cases of yellow fever, which of themselves have created neither surprise nor apprehension, are ere long followed by a great number of similar attacks close together in space, almost simultaneous in time, and of high mortality, and the maximum is now soon attained which is vulgarly considered to be the epidemic, and the causation of which is then diligently sought for in contagion from some foreign source, — the real beginning of the epidemic having passed unheeded.

The uncertainty of the period of incubation is a favourite instrument for tracing an epidemic to importation. When a swarm of cases, nearly simultaneous, announces the outbreak of an epidemic, if any one of them can be connected, however remotely, with a low lodging frequented by seamen, or with a bag of foul clothes or an old jacket from a ship, this convenient 'period of incubation' will remove all difficulties. Though the disease may not have manifested itself in this chosen instance until some days after it had appeared in several others, this single case is antedated by such a prolongation of the incubative period as may be necessary to make it precede its predecessors. This is accomplished, by the process of self-deception, in the fol-

* Yellow fever patients constantly arrive at Kingston, and for the last twenty-five years have never been put in quarantine. (*Jamaica Report*, p. 41.)

lowing manner:—The epidemic was derived from a foreign source by contagion; this is the only case which can be connected with a foreign source; this, therefore, *must* have been the first case of actual seizure; but through some peculiarity in the constitution of the patient, which we must assume to have existed, though it cannot be discovered or explained, and which gave him the power of retarding the development of the disease, the period of incubation was in this instance some days longer than in those in which the disease was first manifested, and in which, moreover, the symptoms do not appear to have been so satisfactorily marked.

In describing the characteristics of yellow fever we shall confine ourselves to well-examined and well-authenticated cases. Reports from small, distant, or semi-barbarous communities, where no intelligent public opinion, no press, nor any independent impartial critic is present to watch the investigation, and expose the mistakes or omissions of an inaccurate reporter, we shall discard. The memorable and strongly attested vision of the sea serpent by H. M. S. 'Dædalus,' furnishes a remarkable warning not to place implicit reliance on statements proceeding from small bodies of men even where there is no intention or motive on the part of the witnesses to practise any deception.

The Report of the Central Board of Health of Jamaica is a valuable document, presenting us with a very accurate and circumstantial statement of the sanitary and social condition of that colony; it furnishes us with all the details of the employments, customs, dwellings, clothing, food, and prevailing diseases of the population, and describes minutely every branch of their sanitary and social economy. The whole tenor of the Report teaches us that yellow fever originates in local causes; that it does not arise from importation, or spread by contact even in a climate most favourable to its dissemination, yellow fever patients being continually landed on the island without extending the disease; and that intermittent, remittent, and yellow fever are all one and the same disease, arising from the same causes, produced by the same poison, but varying only in degree.

'Epidemics of fever in this island are often confined to certain districts; showing that the local causes are then and there in force. Thus, at this very time, severe fevers are prevalent in St. Thomas in the East and St. Thomas in the Vale, places wide apart and unconnected; at other times the cause is more general and it rages over the whole island; months and years sometimes pass without the disease occurring either in a sporadic or epidemic form, and then suddenly it

bursts out with all its force. These fevers are common to all classes: some, however, deny that the black race can suffer from yellow fever; instances however do occur, though rarely. The prevalent opinion that one attack of yellow fever defends the person from another is decidedly fallacious.' (*Jamaica Report,* p. 153).

Though such an authority on such a subject is decisive*, it may be useful to add the results of experience elsewhere, as given to us from trustworthy sources. Epidemic yellow fever confines itself to those regions where, for several successive weeks, the thermometer ranges from 76° to 86° of Fahrenheit; and without the Tropics, it never prevails before the summer solstice. It appears incapable of being produced in a cool country, or even in its own region during the prevalence of a cold wind. Thus at Gibraltar, in 1810, an incipient epidemic, which was indicated by an unusual number of sporadic cases, was suddenly checked by the setting in of a north wind. Yellow fever (typhus icterodes) breaks out where there is no ground for supposing that it is derived from a foreign origin, and even where communication with infected persons or articles is impossible, as at Medina Sidonia, a town thirty miles distant from the coast, at a time when every place in the neighbourhood enjoyed perfect health, and at Barcelona and Gibraltar, where individuals, under the influence of fear and ignorance, vainly sought to secure themselves from the pestilence by isolation in their own dwellings. Thus during the epidemic in Brazil, in the autumn of 1849, the disease broke out in ships as they neared the coast, and came within the influence of the vitiated atmosphere, although they had come direct from Europe and communicated with no vessel on the passage. So, when the yellow fever broke out in George Town, Demerara, towards the end of 1851, cases of the malady had occurred in the town before any appearance of it among the shipping; but as the epidemic influence extended its sphere of action, seamen from Europe were attacked with the disease on nearing the coast who had had no communication with aught but the skies and sea and their own ship.† Again in the Gibraltar epidemic of 1828 great

* The Report is signed by J. Gayleard, President of the Council, and President of the Central Board of Health; J. Wingate Johnston, M.D., Senior Medical Officer of the Royal Naval Hospital at Port Royal; L. Q. Bowerbank, M.D., President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Jamaica; P. Yule, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding Royal Engineers; C. M. Morales, Speaker of the House of Assembly; and J. M'Grath, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London.

† Many similar instances of spontaneous outbreaks on shipboard

numbers of the troops were attacked who could not possibly have come in contact with any infected individual.* Of 282 women and children of the 12th regiment, who were not allowed to enter the fortress, but remained in the camp, not one had the fever, though several of them slept in the same beds with their husbands labouring under the epidemic (which they had caught while on duty in the fortress), and continued, with their children, to use the same bedding after the husbands were removed into hospital. 'Where the wife,' says Mr. Amiel, 'in the same 'bed came in contact with the patient, scorched by febrile heat 'or bedewed with copious perspiration,—when she inhaled under 'the same tent the effluvia of his breath,—how could the air 'sufficiently interpose to prevent the process of contagion and 'its fatal consequences?' The same immunity was observed by the surgeons of the five other regiments forming the garrison, to be enjoyed by the wives and children of the soldiers of those regiments in precisely similar circumstances.

At the commencement of the same epidemic, about 4000 of the civil population abandoned the districts first infected, and encamped on the neutral ground, with their bedding and household furniture. They took with them their sick, and the families of the sick; but the disease, instead of spreading through the camp, was immediately arrested. These facts, proved by hundreds of instances, occurring day by day during the three months of the epidemic under the eyes of a host of army surgeons charged with the health of the troops, and of which facts all the officers of the several regiments were equally witnesses, would of themselves suffice to satisfy any reasonable man of the malarious origin of the disease, of the consequent impotence of quarantine to arrest its progress within the sphere of the malarious influence, and of its incommunicability by contagion.

Dr. W. Ferguson, Inspector-General of Hospitals, who had great experience of the disease in the West Indies, gives us from that quarter of the world evidence of the same facts:—

'These things were known to every person in the army whether medical, civilian, or military, and amongst them all there was not to be found a single person who had the smallest belief in contagion, provided always he had been a year in the country, and possessed opportunity of seeing with his own eyes: all, I may say, came out

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are detailed in the American Journal of the Medical Sciences for April, 1853, pp. 316—55.

* See the able and elaborate monograph of Dr. Gillkrest, in the 'Report of the General Board of Health,' and the conclusive evidence of Mr. Amiel (Edin. Med. and Surg. Journ., April, 1831).

contagionists, myself amongst the number, — none remained so. It was impossible that we could, in face of the every day experience of our lives; and if we had, the very women and drummers of the army would have laughed us to scorn, because they had long discovered there was not the smallest danger to be apprehended from the closest proximity of the sick. The woman knew that when she slept with and attended her dying husband she had not been infected, and all were sensible that no safer duty could be imposed than that of attending the sick bed.'

Soon after the outbreak of the epidemic at Leghorn, in 1804, 6000 persons left that city for Pisa; the French army moved at the same time to the same place, taking with them 180 men, sick of the disease. Yet there was no propagation of it at Pisa. Humboldt tells us that the same facts are observed at Vera Cruz, where it is the practice to remove the sick as extensively as possible from the city into healthy districts. 'Not only at 'Xalapa, and higher up in the interior,' says this great authority, 'but at the farm of Encero, a short distance from Vera 'Cruz, the disease is found to confine itself to the persons of 'those who may arrive with it in their systems, notwithstanding the freest intercourse with others.' During the recent epidemic at Rio de Janeiro, many of the residents fled to the town of Petropolis, in order to escape the disease, which, however, attacked several of them after their arrival, but in every instance within three or four days from their departure from Rio; and no inhabitant of Petropolis who had not been to Rio is known to have suffered, though several who did go there had the disease and died. 'The disease,' as one of the witnesses, with great *naïveté*, remarks, 'was contagious only within Rio 'itself!'

To precisely the same purport is the evidence of Dr. Blair, a very accurate and trustworthy observer, in his excellent account of the Yellow Fever Epidemic of British Guiana. Writing in that colony, he tells us: — 'There was no difference of opinion 'to excite discussion here; for there was not a single person, 'professional or non-professional, in the length and breadth of 'the colony, who, in 1838, after the first alarm had subsided, 'had the least suspicion of contagion in our yellow fever.' . . . 'During the epidemic, the yellow fever cases in their worst 'forms were never separated from other patients in our hospital 'wards. Such a thing was not deemed necessary, and never 'thought of. They were classified with acute cases. Our 'hospital nurses never got infected, although in the closest connexion with the sick, and often smeared with their ejections; 'and these nurses were chiefly German and Portuguese immigrants.' . . . . 'In December, 1843, the mate of the

'"Matilda Luckie" was admitted with the gravior form of the 'disease, and of a low type, of which he died. His bed was in 'a sheltered corner of No. 2., and had mosquito netting all 'round. Into this bed a seaman named Bruton, who was ad- 'mitted for disease other than yellow fever,—slight indisposi- 'tion,—was put for several days, without any infection of any 'kind following. Neither was such an experiment deemed 'hazardous to the subject, nor objectionable, except on the 'score of cleanliness.' The same experiments elsewhere again and again repeated invariably gave the same results.

That the most rigid quarantine or seclusion afforded no protection from an attack of the epidemic was proved, not only in the case of Fort Canje, at Berbice, narrated by Dr. Blair, but also in the army at San Domingo and in the isolated families at Barcelona and Gibraltar. On the other hand, the history of every yellow fever epidemic abounds with instances of the sudden cessation of the pestilence by removing the people, whether sick or healthy, from the infected localities, instead of confining them to those localities upon the system of isolation or quarantine. Passing over the innumerable examples which prove the predilection of yellow fever, as of our own homebred milder typhus, for crowded, ill-ventilated, and filthy abodes, and its propensity to revisit the vicinities of foul drains, offensive sewerage, and the other congenial sources of malarious pestilence, we proceed to consider the claims which quarantine puts forward to our confidence. These claims have been founded upon hardy assertions that the earliest case of an epidemic has been imported by some ship; but whenever it has been possible to make a searching inquiry into the truth of these assertions—wherever the scene has been laid in a populous, civilised, and intelligent community, with free institutions, a scientific body of professional men, and the control of an enlightened public opinion, the assertion has always proved to be at variance with the fact. Of this a signal example is afforded by the suicidal endeavour, by means of false witnesses, to derive the Gibraltar epidemic of 1828 from the Swedish ship 'Dygden,' for the twofold purpose of supporting the doctrine of quarantine, and of averting from the local Government the censures to which it had justly exposed itself, and which it eventually received from the Secretary of State, for its culpable neglect of proper sanitary measures within the fortress. And, in truth, we find that, as regards this disease, quarantine practically rests its pretensions upon the single case of the African island of Boa Vista *v.* H. M. S. 'Eclair,' the merits of which we proceed to examine.

This ill-fated vessel* appears to have left England in November, 1844, for the Coast of Africa, where, becoming very sickly, she went from place to place, till at last, on the 20th August, 1845, she arrived at the small island of Boa Vista, one of the Cape de Verdes, in the yellow fever zone. From the prevalence of sickness on board, Captain Estcourt declined pratique until the case had been inquired into. Mr. Kenny, the only regular practitioner on the island, visited the ship, and on his report she received pratique. Partial leave was given to the petty officers, who went into the town, and the officers took a house for themselves and their servants, holding free intercourse with everybody. Some of the officers and servants were attacked with fever while in the town; the captain was taken ill while residing in the house of an English family, and the purser in that of Mr. Kenny. On August 31. the crew were transferred to a ruinous fort on a small islet near the town, where the sick were separated from the others. The place was much over-crowded: had the whole interior been in good repair, which it was not, nor had been for many years, there was not sufficient accommodation for half the number who were crowded into it during that, the hottest part of the year. The actual condition of the place is thus described by Dr. King†: — 'The open privies within the four walls of the building, which 'had been the common receptacles of all the impurities and 'filthy abominations of the place, probably for years, were re-'ceiving, during the time the crew of the 'Eclair' were in the 'fort, a quantity of fresh fermentable soil that must have ren-'dered them doubly active as sources of insalubrity. The 'greater part of the men were unavoidably exposed to the 'powerful influence of the sun during the day, and the equally 'noxious effects of the chilling winds of the night.' The water for cooking and drinking was of the worst description. The meat supplied to the ship and fort was diseased and unwholesome. The cattle on the island were dying in great numbers — one of the recognised premonitory signs of an impending epidemic. Lastly, in the early part of September, rains had begun to fall. On the 12th of that month, matters having become worse, it was determined that the 'Eclair' should proceed to Madeira, and, if the fever were not checked, to England. At Madeira she was refused pratique, and she anchored at the Mother-bank on the 28th of September, when she was placed in quarantine.

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* Commons Papers, Sess. 1846, No. 83.

† King's 'Fever at Boa Vista,' 75.

The next day Dr. Richardson, who had gone off to her, reported that, notwithstanding her extraordinary mortality, he entertained no fear that she could introduce epidemic disease into this country: were the sick placed in well-ventilated wards, with fresh bedding and other means of cleanliness afforded by an hospital, he anticipated no risk to the attendants, and recommended that the sick should be removed to a wing of Haslar Hospital. Sir William Burnett thus decisively expressed himself on the same subject: — 'I have no hesitation in declaring 'my firm belief that the sick men of the "Eclair," when that 'ship arrived at the Motherbank, might have been landed at 'Haslar Hospital, and placed in the well-ventilated wards of 'the establishment, without the public health suffering in the 'smallest degree. It is a fact well known, and of the truth of 'which I can give the most satisfactory proof, that during the 'autumn of every year merchant ships arrive in our harbours, 'loaded with the produce of the coast of Africa, having, per-'haps, lost great part, — nay, in some instances, the whole of 'their crew, by the fever of the country; or some are still 'labouring under fever when the ship arrives in the Thames, 'and are sent to the hospital in that state. Yet no instance is 'known of any infection having been produced by such proce-'dure; in fact, I am perfectly certain that it never did take 'place.'* The advice that the sick should be received into Haslar Hospital was rejected by the Superintendent-General of Quarantine, who ordered the ship, with her crew, to proceed to Stangate Creek, which place she did not reach until the afternoon of the 2d of October, — four days after their arrival at the Motherbank. Here they remained six days more before their removal into another vessel. Thus were all detained close prisoners in a pestilential atmosphere on the shores of their native land; their anticipations that at length they should escape from the scene of so many horrors, their hopes of life and health, destroyed. During these ten days' imprisonment, five deaths took place; nor was it until the Admiralty declared that the only means of preserving the lives of the survivors would be the entire removal of every individual from this ill-fated ship, that they were permitted to quit her. This took place on the 8th of October, after which event two more deaths occurred, one of the victims being the pilot whom it had been necessary to take on board at Portsmouth, in order to navigate the ship to Stangate Creek. 'Had the vessel,' as Dr. Bryson justly remarked, 'remained at Portsmouth, his ser-

* Eclair Correspondence, p. 73.

'vices would not have been required: surely it will not be 'denied that his life, at all events, was sacrificed by the adop- 'tion of these precautionary measures: this no twisting of the 'doctrines of contagion, nor any amount of tergiversation, can 'either excuse or conceal.'* The official inquiries carefully made by Dr. Stewart and Sir W. Burnett proved that there was nothing peculiar in the disease itself. The medical and other officers of the ship, as well as those at Boa Vista, and the several medical officers who, after the deaths of the surgeon and assistant-surgeon, supplied their places, — in fact, all competent witnesses who actually saw the disease, state that it was nothing more than an aggravated form of the common endemic fever of the African coast; — a fact which is borne out by the medical journal of the ship and by the *post mortem* examinations.

These proceedings produced their natural effect at Boa Vista, and on the 22nd of December the British consul announced to the Secretary of State that the island had been and continued to be afflicted with a bad fever, to which 250 persons had already fallen a sacrifice, and that the belief was general that the fever was introduced by the 'Eclair'; and he quotes the Report of the quarantine officers in England, for the purpose of proving that the fever on board the 'Eclair' was of a more malignant type than had been suspected at Boa Vista where, however, as she had remained twenty-four days, there had been abundant means for detecting any difference between her fever and the fevers of the place. The consul admits that, up to the 9th of October, (when he says the fever began to show itself), extraordinary heat and the fall of a large quantity of rain had been experienced; 'events which were surprising to the oldest inhabit- 'ant'; that two Portuguese surgeons maintained that the fever arose from stagnant water, and held the same opinion until the 20th of November, when they pronounced it to be a fever of the worst description, and of a most contagious nature; but by this time there was ample opportunity for intelligence of the 'Eclair' having been put in quarantine in England, and for the alarming Report of the English quarantine officers to have reached Boa Vista. The consul states that, on the 20th of November, clean bills of health were for the first time refused, and vessels leaving Boa Vista were subjected to a quarantine of thirty days by the neighbouring islands; and he concludes with deploring the great pecuniary losses which had been thereby caused to the Island.

The presence of a contagious epidemic was not found out

* Bryson on 'Epidemic Fevers of Sierra Leone,' p. 140.

until the 20th of November, whereupon the principal inhabitants, with the Governor, quitted the island. The appearance of the earlier cases of fever had excited neither surprise nor alarm, because they could not be distinguished from the ordinary autumnal fevers of the island; and the contagious nature of the disease is first noticed in the despatch, which quotes the authority of the quarantine officers in England for this discovery. Until November 20th free intercourse with the other islands had subsisted without any communication of the disease to them; and even so late as the 27th of January, 1846, the Governor informed the Portuguese Consul at Gibraltar, that 'the disease 'was perfectly endemic, for not one of those who emigrated to 'the different islands of the Archipelago had the disease or 'communicated it to others.'

The little trade of Boa Vista was destroyed by the quarantine which cut off its intercourse with the other islands, and the people being reduced to extreme distress, sought compensation from Great Britain, whose authorities, by placing the 'Eclair' in quarantine when she came home had, in fact, invited and laid the foundation for such a demand. Dr. M'William, a surgeon in the navy, was sent to Boa Vista, to inquire into the origin of the epidemic, and its connexion with the visit of the 'Eclair.' He appears to have left England in February, 1846; but his very jejune report does not even state when he arrived at Boa Vista. The examinations of the witnesses whom he interrogated, are dated generally, 'April, 1846,' seven months after the departure of the 'Eclair.' We have already shown the enormous difficulty of tracing the progress of an epidemic from person to person (supposing it to be propagable in that way) even at the very moment of its outbreak, and under the most favourable circumstances; but it is hardly possible to imagine conditions more unfavourable to the elucidation of the whole truth and nothing but the truth than those under which Dr. M'William's inquiry was conducted. The Central Board of Health of Jamaica has shown how enlightened and philosophical inquirers deal with such subjects. 'It would have been desirable,' say they, 'here to have ap-'pended at least a short distinct statement of this epidemic; 'but unfortunately, the material does not exist. Beyond the 'facts which came under one's own observation, all is uncer-'tainty. No official records exist; and to judge from present 'appearances, there is little doubt that ere a very short time has 'elapsed, Jamaica will be as if cholera had never been.' On this miserable African island there had originally been eighty-six Europeans, of whom at the time of Dr. M'William's visit

thirty-two had died, and many others had left the island. The rest of the population were the most ignorant, wretched, and debased of the human race, numbering in all, slaves included, about 3000, and scattered in hamlets over this barren, half-civilised, misgoverned Portuguese dependency. The only regularly educated medical man was dead. There was no register of deaths, burials, or other occurrences; in fact, no record of any kind upon which an able inquirer after truth could rely with certainty, and by which he could test the credibility of statements made to him by the illiterate semi-barbarous inhabitants several months after the occurrences had taken place—people, who had one and all a strong personal interest in making out such a case as would further their common object of securing ample damages from Great Britain. A clear-headed and candid inquirer would, under such circumstances, have reported like the Board at Jamaica, 'All is uncertainty: unfortunately, the materials for a history of this epidemic do not exist; no facts came under my own observation; even my meteorological and other observations, carefully made during the healthy months of April, May, and June in the year 1846, are utterly valueless for the purposes of this inquiry; candour obliges me to warn the reader that they furnish no criteria whereby to judge of the meteorological or other causes of pestilence which may have existed during the sickly season of 1845.' But this gentleman laboured under still greater disadvantages: he was a perfect stranger to the place, ignorant alike of the habits, character, and peculiarities of the people. Witnesses of the vilest class, prostitutes, negro slaves, and other ignorant people, deposed to, or rather guessed at, the occurrence, duration, and character of alleged attacks of sickness several months previously to their examinations, and its progress from house to house, as well as the nature and symptoms of the malady. The stories told by them were not, as they ought to have been, probed by a searching cross-examination; but the loosest possible evidence was collected in the loosest possible way, presenting to us not a single well-proved fact or date, but a mere quicksand where truth can find no anchorage. To this was added, the only medical man being dead, the testimony of a person who kept a general store, where, among other commodities, he sold a few simple drugs, and gave advice gratis*, and who, as the 'Dr. Hypolito José Xavier d'Almeida' of Dr. M'William's Report, contributes the scientific portion of the evidence. Such were the witnesses who convinced Dr. M'Wil-

* Second Report of the General Board of Health, Appendix, p. 238.

liam, that the epidemic which broke out at Boa Vista on Nov. 20th, 1845, had been brought thither by the 'Eclair' in the preceding August. The manner in which the evidence was collected and reported, betrays the inexperience of a well-meaning man unskilled in the examination of witnesses, unequal to the sifting of evidence, and consequently eminently unfitted for the task he had undertaken to perform; and his Report was very leniently dealt with by the mild censure passed upon it by the Director-General of the Medical Department of the Navy, in these words:—'Dr. M'William appears to have taken con-'siderable pains to gain information; but after a careful perusal 'of the papers he has sent, I am compelled to say, that I cannot 'conscientiously arrive at the conclusion the Doctor has done, 'viz., that the fever was caused by the intercourse with the '"Eclair."'

Having succeeded in obtaining from Great Britain a grant of money, and supplies of different kinds (in the distribution of which Dr. M'William appears to have played the popular part of almoner) in compensation for the losses inflicted upon them by the 'Eclair,' the people of Boa Vista were encouraged to repeat an experiment which on its first trial had proved so successful, when the sickly season returned after the departure of Dr. M'William in the following year. This gentleman being in England, addressed, in Nov. 1846, to Sir W. Burnett a letter, announcing the reappearance of the yellow fever at Boa Vista, on the authority of 'a most respectable 'and intelligent merchant' at the neighbouring island of San Nicolao, who had written to inform Dr. M'William that some persons had died, and others were sick of the disease; that those on the island must, in case of need, be perfectly destitute of the assistance of any English medical man, as Dr. Kenny died last year; and that the English as well as the Portuguese residents were in a very serious and lamentable condition. Dr. M'William suggested that the Director-General might possibly deem the case sufficiently urgent to recommend assistance being immediately sent to Boa Vista, and offered his own services on the occasion, which Sir William Burnett declined. But the case was so strongly urged, and the emergency seemed to be so pressing, that he advised the Admiralty to send Dr. Gilbert King as medical inspector to Boa Vista. Touching at Madeira on the 10th of December, Dr. King received from the English Consul a full confirmation of all he had previously heard respecting the sad condition of Boa Vista. At San Nicolao, on the 21st he was informed that from fever and famine the island of Boa Vista was nothing less than a great

charnel house. On the 23rd, the 'Sphynx' man-of-war, with Dr. King on board anchored at Boa Vista: two boats approaching from the shore, were ordered to 'lie off,' and when questioned as to the sanitary condition of the island, 'The answer,' says Dr. King, 'which was given in plain English, and heard by 'every man and officer in the ship, fully confirmed the previous 'reports, and seemed to justify the worst anticipations. The 'fever (the second epidemic) had carried off a great number of 'persons, some of them of respectable station: the disease was 'raging in Port Sal Rey and the different villages throughout 'the island, and numbers were then dying every day. Such 'was the information communicated to Commander Cragg, of 'the "Sphynx," by John Jamieson, the Consul's storekeeper, 'who was in one of the boats, and replied to the Captain's 'questions.' (*King*, p. 90.) Nothing daunted, however, by these dismal tidings, and prepared for the worst, Dr. King immediately entered one of the boats; the *dénouement* must be given in his own words:—'Within a couple of hours after 'landing, I ascertained beyond doubt, that there was, besides 'a case of rheumatic fever, *only one case of endemic fever* in 'Port Sal Rey,—that of a poor slave, lying in a wretched hovel, 'who had been ill about twenty days. A few days after, I had 'sufficient reasons for believing that *every other part of the 'island was equally healthy.*'

Dr. King has done good service, though somewhat tardily, by the publication of his Volume, which enables the reader to see through the transparent deceptions which were successfully practised upon his too confiding predecessor in this very foul field of inquiry. We should not have devoted so much time to exposing this contemptible imposture had not the London College of Physicians* exalted it to undeserved importance by unwarily avowing the opinion that it affords conclusive proof that yellow fever can be imported: the value of their opinion would have been greater had the question been one of physic and not of evidence.

The unfortunate 'Eclair' received the new name of 'Rosa-'mond,' but retained her old character; for no sooner had she returned to the tropics in 1847, than yellow fever reappeared in her off San Nicolao, almost in sight of Boa Vista; and on her return home from foreign service in 1852, she was again found to have been very unhealthy. Her example with that of the 'Dauntless,' 'Highflier,' 'La Plata,' and other steamers, warns us that the general employment of steam in the Royal

* In a Report to the Privy Council dated 31st December, 1850.

as well as mercantile marine, while it brings us in close connection with the tropics, at the same time by the great heat which it generates, and the space which it fills in the hold of a ship, requires that regulations should be enforced for the adequate ventilation of steamers in all weathers in the tropics. Not the least evil of quarantine is, that it deceives us with a false show of security, and blinds us to the true preventives of disease.

Since, then, there is no trustworthy evidence to prove that a yellow fever epidemic ever has been imported; but overwhelming evidence to prove that it is incapable of transmission by removing the sick from an infected to a healthy locality, even under circumstances most favourable to its propagation, and that in an infected locality, no quarantine, however rigid, no seclusion, however strict, will afford security; let us not stultify ourselves in the eyes of our own children by enforcing quarantine in this climate as a safeguard against a tropical disease. Let us follow the enlightened example of our own colonies, Jamaica and Barbadoes: they see and feel epidemics of which we only hear and read; deriving their knowledge of these diseases from personal observation and experience, their physicians have proved to the world, by numberless successful examples, that instant removal from an unhealthy ship to an elevated and airy situation on shore is the only true course for restoring health to the sick and preventing the propagation of disease.

Art. VIII.—*The Private Journal of* F. S. Larpent, Esq., *Judge Advocate of the British Forces in the Peninsula.* Three Volumes: 1853.

The death of the Duke of Wellington produced an effect on literature unparalleled in any age or country. When the flag of England, half-mast high, telegraphed the catastrophe, the broad sheet proved too small for extemporaneous effusions, long prepared by provident editors, and the press, with all its steam powers of authors and type, could not satiate public curiosity, taken aback by the close of a life prolonged far beyond the allotted three score years and ten. Dead stock rose from the warehouse; reams of recollections reappeared, rehatched to the woeful times. *Non ragionam di lor,* — the occasion called forth spirits worthy to raise a fitter monument, and eulogy so exhausted itself in the pulpit and parliament, in poetry and in prose, that we come too late in the field either to bury or praise Cæsar. The solemn ceremonial of the 18th of November was the unbought homage of a practical nation, not lavish in

such honours, not prone to theatrical representations or morbid sentimentalities; and when England, all tears, laid Wellington alongside Nelson, a seal was set alike to the greatness of the hero, and to the sorrow of his country at his loss.

We have selected this work out of the many under which our table groans, and in offering a few remarks, request our readers to bear in mind how nearly hopeless any attempt must be to 'book something new' on a subject so exhausted. We touch the threadbare topic from the very peculiar position of Mr. Larpent, and the period when this journal was kept. It contains the verbatim report of a case martial made by a civilian transported from the circuit to the camp, and admitted behind the scenes in the last act of the martial tragedy, and placed in the immediate contact with the *Deus ex machinâ*, 'the Duke,' as it will be convenient to us to call Wellington; and no one can close this evidence without feeling that the witness is credible, and has told the truth to the best of his belief and knowledge, nor will require a better certificate of character than the confidence entertained by his sagacious chief for this 'most valuable 'addition to the staff of this army.' (*Desp.* March 16. 1813.)

Few barristers of three years' standing can have united to Coke-upon-Littleton lore more of those accomplishments which grace the leisure of the gentleman than Mr. Larpent. We collect in every page intimations of the ways and idiosyncracies of the lawyer, the scholar, the artist, the botanist, the musician, and last not least, the boon companion. A recruit who worked so well at his desk, was gallant as a grenadier in the field, and a gastronome of the first order, was naturally welcomed in cabinet and camp. Mr. Larpent loved to see everything and be everywhere, and his Paul Pry propensities led him into sundry dangers and indigestions, as he has pleasantly recorded; indeed, his self-portraiture forms a charm of his book second only to his graphic sketches of the Duke, the sun and centre of the campaign. This journal, really private, was written to a near and dear female relative, with entire artlessness, and with no attempt at book-making or fine writing. The plain tale is put down like a drawing made out of doors, unvarnished and full of daylight, with just such a dash of danger and gunpowder added as gives dignity: 'good,' as the Duke said of Allan's battle picture, 'and 'not too much smoke.' The journal, moreover, possesses the singular attraction, that it was composed in the full tide of affairs, on the scenes themselves, at head-quarters, and by one living among the most intelligent and best informed; accordingly it conveys the hopes, fears, and feelings of the moment as put down every week, nay, almost every day, and is the moral barometer

as it were of the army. 'A few lines pencilled at the time,' says Gray, 'are worth a cartload of recollections;' and in this respect no work written after the event had come off can compete, since authors, however unconsciously, cannot escape from some embroidery of their subject, or from some drawing upon subsequent knowledge for opinions and even incidents, which they think they remember as accurately as when they happened.

While a true image is presented in these pages of the spirit-stirring scene, the pomp and circumstance of glorious war,— the joys of the conflict and victory, — the pleasures of soldier life chequered with privations, and the miseries entailed on the country and combatants, are no less faithfully detailed. In these private letters the personal adventures of the writer, and many incidents of the highest interest to a home circle, but which public history passes as beneath her notice, abound; yet by these the individual is realised, and the reader sympathises with the sayings and doings of one like themselves. This Journal, again, is printed as it was written, without tamperings or interpolations of the editor, processes unfair alike to author and reader, and to be tolerated neither by men, gods, or booksellers.

The editor, Sir George Larpent, felt 'forbidden by motives 'of delicacy from offering to the world during his Grace's life-'time the many personal anecdotes and opinions with which this 'Journal abounds,' and it has thus reposed in the sacred confidence of the family desk four times the *nonum prematur in annum* of Horace; and well it is that a decent time should elapse ere heroes are unrolled, as poor Nelson was by Dr. Pettigrew. The ashes of the illustrious dead are not lightly to be disturbed, or the foibles of their days of nature torn from the tomb for daws to peck at. When or whether at all confidential communications, never destined by the writers to be made public, are to be published, is not now the question; and, at least if ever there were a hero in the eyes of his valet, or one to whom, so far as he himself was concerned — state and social reasons apart — every thing he said or did might be published at Charing Cross, the Duke was that man; while it was most repugnant to all his notions of a gentleman, that notes should be taken of private conversations, he in truth has been his own best commentator, in the publication of his own Despatches. *Le style est l'homme;* yet in giving this treasure to the present as to posterity, he trusted to no one the difficult and delicate duty of editor. Every printed page passed under his own review, and bears marks of his revising pen drawn through all names and facts by which unnecessary pain might be occasioned to any one. So extensive

were his excisions, that twelve volumes only were published out of eighteen printed; and of those one entire copy only is preserved, — that revised by himself.

It was chiefly by the publication of these Despatches — the greatest monument ever raised by the pen to military genius — that a true estimate of their author was arrived at in England; and we may here be permitted to allude to the charge frequently brought against the Whigs for their marked opposition to the war carried on in Spain by the Duke, and their non-appreciation of his full worth, which we admit was pushed too far and too long by some who, like Byron,

> 'Greatly venerated our recent glories,
> But wished they were not owing to the Tories.'

The lengths to which party views and moves may be pushed, and which, at the actual time, appear natural and justifiable, often seem strange and blameable, when the cause and crisis is over. We, in 1853, must remember that half a century ago the great issue had been joined on the Peace or War question; the Tories in office knew failure to be loss of place and power, while the Whigs, who really believed themselves better capable of governing for the interests of the country, thought a temporary reverse not too dearly bought if it led to the putting the helm into their hands. Party and its spirit, often the bane and reproach of England, is one of the conditions of Parliamentary Government; consistency and fidelity are essential, and traditionary influences unavoidable; and although much has been given to particular parties, which might have been better bestowed on mankind in general, on the whole the system has worked well for England, and now can neither be ignored nor abolished. And if, in the life and death struggle, some temporary injustice may have been done to the Duke, how nobly has it been atoned for, when all differences merged into one national unanimity of respectful esteem and admiration? Few, either, of England's politicians caught an earlier glimpse than Lord Lansdowne of his value and of the great school for future captains founding by him in the Peninsula; nor of the many homages paid to the illustrious deceased have any been more graceful than that delivered in Scotland by Lord John Russell.

It is easy to become a prophet after events have come off; but the case can only be fairly tested by a recurrence to the period and by plunging again into the vortex when, some fifty years ago, Sir Arthur Wellesley came home from India with much local glory and little wealth or European prestige. If the brightness of the star that had risen in the distant East had

reached the darkling West, none had calculated the true orbit and proportions of a planet before which the meteors of the revolution were doomed to 'pale their ineffectual fires.' The victor of battles romantically glorious as those of Alexander the Great, the governor of kingdoms larger than Spain, descended, on his return, to command a brigade of infantry stationed in Sussex; nor had he quitted the East without leaving a record of unrequited conscious merit. 'I know,' wrote he, in one of his last letters ere he sailed, 'that all classes of the *people* look up to me, 'and it will be difficult for another officer to take my place. I 'have served the Company in important situations for many 'years, and have never received anything but *injury* from the 'Court of Directors; and the King's Ministers have as little 'claim upon me as the Court of Directors: this is perfectly 'well known in the *army*.' (*Desp.* Jan. 4. 1805.)

The moment when he returned was one of difficulty and despondency in England, who trusted to her sailors when the heights of Boulogne sparkled with the bayonets of invaders, to whom the dominion of the land seemed conceded. In 1807, when the secret treaty of Tilsit revealed the designs of Napoleon on the Danish fleet, the scheme was anticipated by Castlereagh, the first to see the coming greatness of the Duke; and Wellesley did his duty and the deed on the same spot, where Nelson had done his six years before. In 1808, the insurrection in Spain offered a fitting arena for a war of giants, the duel between France and England; then Castlereagh named Sir Arthur Wellesley, only a Lieutenant-General, as the commander, to the displeasure of George III., who exclaimed, 'Have I then no 'General in my service?'

The system of seniority, which had given a Whitelock to Buenos Ayres as it did a Chatham to Walcheren, prevailed; and Wellesley's career of victory at Vimiero was nipped in the bud by a Burrard, a Dalrymple, and a Cintra Convention. Oh lame and impotent conclusion! Soon when poor Moore fell at Corunna, a panic spread over Spain and England, the voice of the people, in tones that could not be misunderstood, conferred the chief command on Sir Arthur, who now unfettered by inferior superiors, landed at Lisbon, and halted not until the banner of St. George waved over the walls of Paris. Alone he did it; for from the beginning to the end his merits, says M. Maurel*, were

* This truthful essay on Wellington is prohibited in France, where a Mons. Gagemont has just put forth, as a rejoinder, a pamphlet *rechauffé* of all the old 'inventions of the enemy.' So is history written for our lively neighbours.

disputed alike at home and abroad with puerile virulence. 'Mais 'personne, ni amis ni ennemis, personne ne soupçonnoit alors 'ce que c'était que Wellington: L'Angleterre elle même ne l'a 'connu que très tard, et il y a une portion considérable du peu- 'ple Anglais que ne sait pas bien au juste tout ce qu'il lui doit. 'A la rigueur on peut pardonner aux Anglais, de n'avoir pas 'compris Wellington. Mais l'histoire le pardonnera plus diffi- 'cilement à Bonaparte.' To him, at least, the simple geographical strategic positions of the English and French armies should have revealed the great fact, that Europe would find in Wellington what it wanted, a General and his rival; yet instead of devoting every energy to crush the infant Hercules, he entrusted the task to his subalterns, who comprehended their opponent no better than their master; thus the Massenas and Marmonts began by pushing rashly at this 'stolid general of 'defences,' when they ought to have paused, and the Jourdans and Soults ended in hesitating when they ought to have pounced boldly on him; nor to this day do their Bory St. Vincents write otherwise: 'de ce nouveau Fabius, qu'on a pre- 'tendu métamorphoser en moderne Alexandre.'

Neither was he better understood in Downing Street than in the Tuileries, in Paris or the City. 'You see,' wrote he (Desp. July 2. 1810), 'the dash which the Common Council of London 'have made at me: I act with a sword hanging over me; but 'they may do what they please, I shall not give up the game so 'long as it can be played.' Before (March 31. 1810) he had felt it necessary to administer a cordial to even the fainting Horseguards:—'I am in a situation in which no mischief can 'be done to the army, or to any part of it. I am prepared for 'all events, and if I am in a scrape, as appears from the general 'belief of England, although certainly not my own, I'll get out 'of it.'

In every page of his Despatches, those who run may read his replies to the timid, doubting, and vacillating Ministers whom he was dragging through the sloughs of their mediocrity by the wheels of his triumphal car, and who repaid their friend in need in stinting the service by sea and land, by weakening his forces in the critical moment,—nay, by endeavouring to remove him, a conqueror on the Pyrenees, from the scenes of his glory to play the part of a subaltern in Germany.

The Duke, who, however crippled by them, continued the conflict to the end, might indeed, in the milk of kindness of his nature and his remarkable repugnance to give pain, throw his broad egis over their nakedness, and proclaim in his magnanimous mercy that all was well that ended well; but many readers

of history will assent to Napier's severe censures of a Ministry which was characterised by Lord Wellesley, as 'timid without 'prudence, narrow without energy, profuse without the fruits 'of expenditure, and slow without the benefits of caution.'

These remarks are due to the memory of the Whig party of the day, who had no access to official documents by which the understanding of their opponents in office might and ought to have been somewhat enlightened. We distinctly disavow the coarse diatribes of Cobbett, who reechoed the lies of the 'Moniteur,' and we eschew all idol worship of Bonaparte. If that 'modern Cæsar' be the perfection of civil and military genius, what must the Man be who cropped all his blushing honours to make a garland for his own crest?—that man who never lost a gun—who never had a *sauve qui peut*,—no Egypt, Leipsig, Russia, or Belgium,—one whose *coup de grace*, Waterloo, annihilated the empire, decided the fate of the world, and gave it a peace for half a century; whose Waterloo is an epic of itself, to which Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena are mere *glorioles* and episodes, full of sound and fury, and signifying nothing? Our past pages best show our exalted estimate of our great General in the fullest acceptation of that species of excellence of which the world has seen so few examples, that they may be numbered on the hand; Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, the Black Prince, Marlborough, Napoleon, Wellington. The Duke was great in all the branches of the art military; in war and in peace, in managing a standing army in the field and at home; and if to our notions he was more an administrator than a statesman,—if he did not fully understand the principles on which a popular government, such as England, ought to be understood,—at least his strong sense of duty and perfect honesty led him to yield when he saw that further resistance must endanger the public peace and the safety of the Crown, in the service of which he concentrated that of his country. He was reared, be it remembered, in troublous ultra-Tory times, and all his notions of loyalty and subordination were opposed to the deplorable outbreaks committed by new-fledged revolution. He shrunk from the crimes committed in the much-abused name of liberty, civil and religious.

Again, it is important in estimating the conduct of the Whig party during the Peninsular Campaigns, to consider whether the first downfall of Napoleon was as mainly occasioned by the events in Spain as by the ruinous retreat from the Russians, and the loss of the battle of Leipsig. Can we doubt the different consequences had the Duke been commander at Walcheren, instead of the pigmy son of the Great Commoner? Many circumstances combined to justify those who took the oppo-

sition view of the war policy, and advocated one of peace; since Fontenoy, the reputation of English armies had been reduced to the lowest scale by Burgoyne in America, and by the Duke of York in Holland. The French, in possession of the language of Europe, had so talked and written us down, that we ourselves looked to our wooden walls for safety, and to our idolised Nelson for glory; we ceded any pretensions to the *land*, in an admitted superiority by *sea*, as if forsooth the men that made such sailors changed sex on touching the shore. On the other side, the French, better patriots, elevated Napoleon to the demi-Godhead, and pronounced their armies led by him to be invincible; a boast which his career of victory seemed to justify. Meanwhile, the revolutionary volcano of France, which had it been unopposed must have burnt itself out, poured a consuming lava over Europe, which sickened by defeats, and weary of the vast and fruitless expenditure of blood and treasure, beheld utter ruin if the contest were continued, and the peace party in England advocated the policy of husbanding our resources for the moment of self-defence and the protection of our own hearths and altars, or at best, disheartened and ignorant of her real strength, appeared on the Continent rather as an auxiliary than a principal, and her military forces were frittered away in sugar island expeditions, in paltry pedling little wars unworthy of a first-rate Power.

Those only who turn back to the files, and consult the spirit of the press of that period, can rightly understand the national *malaise* then prevalent in this country. The times were out of joint, and the public mind was soured with French successes and English reverses. Many other elements of discord were fermenting: the Regent's change of policy, discontent in the City, a clamour for Reform in the country, and the tone of home pamphlets and debates came echoed back from the camp itself over which the desponding spirit of Moore seemed to brood, and was heightened by croakers—the worst guests an army camp can have, whose letters, printed in the newspapers, chilled English enthusiasm, and cheered the French by giving them intelligence of the Duke's numbers, condition, and plans; so truly were 'our correspondents' the real agents—the best coadjutors of Bonaparte.

Moore, it must be remembered, was of opinion that Portugal could *not* be defended successfully, if the French possessed Spain, while the Duke thought it could; but his deep plans developed themselves slowly—nor, if his Majesty's Ministers despaired, could his Majesty's opposition be well expected to feel confident, when they had no cognisance of the schemes of

the One Man, who did a deed, which it is not too much to say, no one else could have accomplished. Neither have his warmest supporters rendered adequate justice to the moral revolution effected by this one man, who restored to English soldiers the prestige of Richard Cœur de Lion and Marlborough. Our Indian campaigns had indeed been successful, but so little glory was to be gained in combat with Orientals, that when Wellesley landed in Lisbon, the Sepoy General was the scoff of the Gaul; the European campaigns under Wellington settled that question: and now the English *soldier* advances to the charge with the same confidence as the English *sailor* grasps the boarding pike, and both feel that the day of battle is the day of victory. There never was a time when the popular feeling of England was more thoroughly pacific, or when there was less wish to invade the territory of France or any other friendly State. But if, after some new turn of her political wheel, France were to provoke a war with this country, no English Minister who should now talk of a march to Paris 'would be sneered at,' so much are the heart and arms of England again in their right place. This is the Duke's doing, and his alone; nay, his sword metamorphosed not merely those who failed in Holland and at Walcheren, but has acted upon their triumphant opponents also. Nor can it be sufficiently stated, how much this change, this feeling of a moral and physical superiority of the British army, and its *character* established by the Duke, which now pervades the Continent, has contributed to preserve the peace of Europe by strengthening the ascendancy of England, whose policy is essentially pacific. Viewed even as a question of money, this fact has done more for our national defences than rows of Martello towers and miles of fortress; it has produced a reluctance to attack us, the savings of which can only be estimated by billions,—this the Duke effected by his improved strategetical principles, and efficiency in the mechanical organisation of his army, in both of which, widely distinct as they are, he was preeminently excellent.

It will conduce to the better understanding of Mr. Larpent's Journal if a brief sketch be given of the position of affairs in Spain when the author joined the army. The crisis had produced the Man, for whom, from the beginning, the name of Napoleon had possessed no palsying spell, no terrors even at the moment when his star was in its apogee and Europe at his feet trembled, when no check had arrested his career of victory or disputed his claim to be invincible. The Duke, before he left London, intuitively discovered the weaknesses of the clay-footed colossus and his own strength; while never, even to the end, did the French

discover the error of their tactics and the wisdom of his, so little was he understood by friend or foe. In 1809 he landed at Lisbon, surprised Soult at Oporto, and drove him out of Portugal. At Talavera he next would have crushed Victor, and Soult after him, had a single promise of the Spaniards been kept. The year 1810 opened gloomily: England wasted her strength in the marshes of Walcheren, and Spain, whose 'mania was to 'fight pitched battles,' saw army after army annihilated by the French. Now Massena attempted the third invasion of Portugal, and pressed rashly on, hunting lions whom he fancied deer; failing to take the hint of Busaco, he only found out, when stunned by the barrier of Torres Vedras, the jaws into which he had thrust his head. Before this barrier, long secretly prepared by the Duke, he wasted away, until the spoilt child of victory, grown to be a man of defeat, retreated with the loss of 40,000 noble soldiers. In 1811, when Fuentes de Onoro cleared the Portuguese frontier of the French, the Fabian policy was changed, and Ciudad Rodrigo was captured in eleven days, and Badajoz soon after; although 'the stinted service' was left with 'no means of carrying on a siege,' and the sins of the Ministers at home were washed out in the best and bravest blood. June, in 1812, found Wellington on the plains of Salamanca, when Marmont, who did not understand him, made a false move; it was fixed with a thunderbolt — in forty minutes forty thousand Frenchmen were routed: 'I never saw an army 'receive such a beating.' Salamanca delivered Madrid, and the Duke turned on Burgos, when Ballesteros, by refusing to obey a foreign generalissimo, opened the road to the common enemy. On the French advance, the siege was raised, and the victory of Salamanca was neutralised by an ally; — call ye that backing your friends? The Duke fell back; 'no troops were ever less pressed;' nay, Caffarelli at Rueda declined with 45,000 men to attack 20,000 weary English and Portuguese: 'when I saw,' wrote the Duke, 'the whole of the enemy's army, it was very clear to 'me that they ought to eat me up.'

Mr. Larpent joined him at this critical moment, and helped to bear some portion of a burden 'twould sink a navy.' 'I certainly 'feel every day more and more the difficulty of the situation in 'which I am employed; I am obliged to be everywhere; and '*if* absent from any operation, something goes wrong.' (May 15. 1811.) 'I am slaving like a negro — there is not another 'officer in the service who would go through what I daily 'endure to keep the machine together — and it cannot last. I 'have really more to do than I can manage.' (April 10. 1812.)

'To win victories was the least of his labours,' says Napier,

'so enormous was the political, financial, and military pressure he 'sustained.' The Duke himself, who always thought figures and finance more his forte than war, welcomed Mr. Larpent with his cases and quillets, and looked, as an intellectual gladiator, to the sort of relaxation produced by a change of labour — *πονου μεταβολη.* 'Last night,' says the new comer, 'I dined at head-'quarters. Lord Wellington got into a long talk with me for '*near two hours*, about the Poor Laws and the price of bread, '&c. &c., just as if he had nothing else on his mind.' (Vol. ii. p. 146.) 'Sometimes the Duke sat up until twelve o'clock at night 'or one in the morning, reading courts-martial, which, however, 'he really liked. Send me, therefore,' writes Mr. Larpent home, 'some law news, for Lord Wellington expects me to tell 'him who all the new judges are to be, &c., and is very fond of 'discussing legal subjects.' (Vol. ii. p. 172.) Yet he was then so overwhelmed 'with complaints from all quarters and in all 'languages, that he swore and said he should be nothing but a 'general of court-martials.' (Vol. i. p. 101.) He soon carved out work for Mr. Larpent, 'whose fingers and brains were so 'fatigued that he knew not where to turn;' for like the military, the legal service was so stinted that the Judge Advocate of the army, 'so far from having a clerk, had not even a soldier.' The Duke, who never spared himself, was pleased with his active assistant, and said, 'If your friends knew what was going on 'here, they would think you had no sinecure; and how do you 'suppose I was plagued when I had to do it nearly all myself?' (Vol. i. p. 84.) At first, Mr. Larpent could not escape the awe of the Captain's presence, and felt, when bringing up his papers, 'something like a boy going to school.' Soon, however, his kind and sagacious chief found the value of one willing and able to do his duty; and now says, 'How are you? so we get on more 'easily.' (Vol. i. p. 127.)

The Duke was 'chief' alike in his court and camp. 'I suppose 'people think I have some weight in Lord Wellington's deci-'sions, but that is by no means the case — he thinks and acts 'quite for himself — *with* me, if he thinks I am right, but not 'otherwise.' (Vol. i. p. 92.) Sometimes he 'ruled' wrongly, from being 'a little hasty' in ordering trials, when, from technical reasons, an acquittal resulted, but even then he did not like to be in the wrong; and while Mr. Larpent in his heart was 'very 'glad when he is so' (vol. i. p. 120.), he prudently, although a wrangler at Cambridge, bethought himself of the scholar who declined to criticise the poetry of Adrian, 'a man who com-'manded thirty legions,' and kept his counsel. Nor was the Duke easily overruled; and when even Mr. Manners Sutton

decided against him, would not surrender his opinion without an 'official answer.' In the end, arms yielded to the gown, and this, in their very clash, when laws usually are silent, and cases are cut by the sword, the last argument of kings. The Duke's 'great difficulty' was the getting a sufficiency of evidence for the artificial niceties of Westminster Hall, and meeting those paper pellets of the brain and wig so easily evaded at the Old Bailey, and so laughed at in Spain by regiments of rogues. Discipline once relaxed, all forces soon become banditti, and the very worst; for the men are picked for strength, youth, and courage; they have arms in the hands, know how to use them, and face death and danger daily. If such an army be not kept in order by an iron hand, it ere long ceases to be one at all. The Duke laboured, but much in vain, to induce the home authorities to mend both the spirit and letter of the law by which his hand was manacled, and every impediment thrown by technicalities in the way of punishment of crime: on the whole, therefore, Mr. Larpent may honestly boast of his good practice. 'We have, however, hung six within this month, broken several officers '(at least their cases are gone home with that sentence), and 'flogged about sixteen or eighteen (pretty well this); and we 'are still at work. I have now twenty-two cases left on hand, 'about thirty-six tried, about two or three new ones every 'week, yet I hope that we are getting on better now.' (Vol. i. p. 110.) The good results were soon evident of a system which marked the whole career of the Duke. 'Never lose sight,' was his parting advice in India, 'of the great principles of the mili-'tary service — *to preserve the discipline of the troops*, and to 'encourage the spirit of gentlemen and soldiers.' 'When lenity 'and cruelty play,' said Henry V., 'for kingdoms, the gentlest 'gamester is the soonest winner,' and in proof the English invaders met in France with 'ten times the civility ever shown 'them in Spain:' while the French peasants fled from their own 'troops as from brigands, the advent of the Duke was looked for 'as that of the Messiah by the Jews.' Then, as in India, he was hailed as a friend, not a foe, and all the well disposed felt safe under the shadow of his power, mercy, and good faith. Rather than convert France into a hornet's nest, he diminished his advancing army, by sending the plundering undisciplined Spaniards back, who, burning for revenge, naked and hungry, thirsted for retaliation on the invaders, by whom their country had been made a charnel house.

Mr. Larpent, who certainly eat all his commons before he was called to the Bar, constantly keeps up the legitimate connexion between the law and the kitchen; and if he be here and there a

trifle too cibacious, too commemorative of culinary creature comforts, the scene was laid in Spain, a larderless land, where no man takes his 'comfort in mine inn,' where in peace the rich are sent empty away, and stones are given the poor instead of bread. 'Few deceptions in England,' writes he on landing, 'are like 'that about life in Spain;' and when he finds that 'no port is to 'be had' in arid rugged Iberia, he remembers his sweet Argos, the gravel walk in 'Lincoln's Inn garden,' and sighs for the learned Benchers' butler. In Spain, 'attend to the provend' is the traveller's first text; and the chief thought of every campaigner is to 'victual himself with vivers,' and our Judge-advocate soon reckons as the third worthy in the army Mr. Commissary-General Kennedy, without whom even Wellington could not have done what he did. (Vol. i. p. 288.) So immemorially has Spain been a land which cannot be conquered by a small army, and where a large one is starved. The church militant omitted no precautions to stave off this calamitous chance. The good Archbishop of Burgos travelled, in Madame d'Aunoy's time, with his orthodox *olla* in a silver safe, of which he kept the key himself. Nothing pained the Duke more on the retreat from Burgos than the vicious *cuisine* of his soldiers. Lord Peterborough, it will be remembered, turned cook himself in Spain; and we now look forward to an improved system, — to some *cotelettes à la Chobham.*

We sincerely sympathise with our honest cockney when he hails the arrival of 'prog-laden' convoys, and smile at the bills of fare with which his pages are somewhat over-larded. 'I am 'too much occupied,' writes he, 'to think much of the picturesque; 'in the towns our time is chiefly occupied in keeping life and 'soul together, by providing our provision for the future, as 'well as getting food for the day.' (Vol. i. p. 22.) This dire necessity militates against the romantic and sentimental, in the journals of soldiers on service. An empty stomach has other appetites than those for the sublime and beautiful — so said the Deipnosophist 2000 years ago: —

Ἐν κενῇ γὰρ γαστρὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔρως οὔκ ἐστι.

To one so circumstanced few prospects in Spain are equal to that of a supper, a cigar, and a siesta, nor is there less truth in the modern axiom, 'La destinée des nations depend de la manière 'dont elles se nourissent;' for General Foy attributed the victories of the English chiefly to 'beef and rum;' and be that as it may, by halting near Baylen, to convert a flock of goats into soup, 20,000 Frenchmen were sold for a mess of pottage. 'Tripas llevan à pies,' say the Spaniards, 'the feet are carried

by the stomach.' 'The Portuguese are now,' writes the Duke, 'the fighting cocks of the army. I believe we owe their merits 'more to the care we have taken of their pockets and *bellies* than 'to the instruction we have given them. As for the French 'troops, it is notorious that they will do nothing unless regu-'larly paid and fed.' (*Desp.* x. 569.) And here, while on the subject of 'prog,' we find the origin of the Duke's Waterloo banquet:—'June 22. To-day Lord Wellington celebrates 'Salamanca by a great dinner; his victories and successes will 'soon ruin him in wine and eating; and if he goes on as he 'has, he had better keep open house at once; and his calendar 'of feasts will be as full as the Romish one with red letter 'days.' (Vol. ii. p. 4.) Finally, as the minor rods of Pharaoh's magicians were swallowed by that of Aaron, the hundred victories concentrated in the commemoration of the 18th of June.

Naturally the Judge Advocate considered it part of his duty to dine with the Duke whenever he could, and his host—an epicure in rice and iced water—recognised his judgment, and when a previous engagement was pleaded, said, 'Very well; 'but I advise you to come to me nevertheless, as you will get a 'much better dinner, for General Hill gives the worst dinners 'going' (vol. ii. p. 242.); his 'just now were so very good that 'Mr. Larpent feared for the aides-de-camp, who will be ill of 'excess.' (Vol. ii. p. 181.) The Duke had, however, provided even for that risk, 'and had a notion that exercise made head-quarters 'so healthy, and that hounds were the great cause' (vol. ii. p. 168.); hence he encouraged fox-hunting, a sure remedy for the *otium castrense*, and as the best bracer up of mind, body, and nerve, for those the first to take a Spanish fence are never the last to break a French square. The chase—mimic war—was what of all things on earth the Duke really loved the most during every period of his life, and in which he indulged the earliest and continued to the last. He placed his 'meets' on a par with his victories; thus, the 'Vine Hunt' hangs up in the gallery of Strathfieldsaye with 'Salamanca,' as 'Melton Hunt' does with 'Waterloo' at Apsley House; and both runs were capital. Hunting was ever his favourite metaphor. In India, he talks of '*giving chase*' to the tiger Dhoondiah, as in Spain he desires 'no better *sport* than to meet 'Buonaparte's *columns with his lines.*' The first time he ever signed his name, Wellington Sept. 16. 1809, asking leave 'to 'have a *chasse*,' marked the ruling passion, as Nelson's first Peer signature addressed to Lady Hamilton, evinced his. When Mr. Larpent joined the Duke in 'his worst scrape' at Rueda, he was no less anxious about his troops than his hounds, and directs

Hill to 'bring them off from Arevalo;' and no sooner were both safe in winter quarters and the temple of Janus shut, than the kennel was opened and out he galloped, 'knowing nothing of the 'sport, though very fond of it in his own way' (vol. i. p. 79.). This sport, however, was never allowed to interfere with duties, and he worked double tides to economise his holiday, saving every spare moment; to the last he often changed his clothes in his carriage while posting up to London to attend cabinets, having had a morning's run. In Spain, 'he hunts every other day 'almost, and then makes up for it by great diligence and decision 'on the intermediate days' (vol. i. p. 85.); 'When he donned 'the Salisbury hunt coat, sky-blue and black cape' (vol. ii. p. 247.), 'and whip in hand was ready to start,' business was, it must be admitted, despatched somewhat briskly, insomuch that some generals went out to get him to answer 'things in a 'hasty way he did not intend, but which they went and acted 'upon; but he soon discovered this dodge. "D—n them," said 'he, "I won't speak to them again when we are hunting."' (Vol. i. p. 150.)

The Duke, in Spain, kept a fine stud, and 'worked them 'well;' he frequently rode 'fifty miles between breakfast and 'dinner,' often outstripped his companions, when the commander of so many thousands was left alone. Although he trusted to the fleetness of his steed, he was nearly taken by a French dragoon 'in a green coat' galloping at Fuentes de Onoro (vol. i. p. 145.). The idea of being waylaid out hunting did not deter him more in the Peninsula than in India, when Dhoondiah planned some such scheme in 1800. The Duke, although he had not a Melton seat, was a bold and hard rider, qualities appreciated by Spaniards, who still boast to 'witch the world with noble horsemanship,' albeit their knights and caballeros are now reduced to the ranks, to the ass and mule. Rapidity of movement has immemorially marked the meteor progress of great men on this soil: Cæsar hurried from Rome to Munda, the Waterloo of antiquity, in twenty-four days, and the first intelligence of his departure was his arrival. Lord Peterborough, who 'almost as quickly con-'quered Spain,' and who had seen more kings and postboys than any man in Europe, was rapid and eccentric as a comet: Savary relates the racing pace of Napoleon 'swift as an arrow,' and details his brigades of horse relays, and his gallop from Bayonne to Vitoria in two days. The Duke when once mounted was indefatigable: at Argaun, in 1803, he was eighteen hours in the saddle, and as many on Copenhagen, at Waterloo, in 1815. He grudged no price for an animal that united blood and bone, endurance and pace. Mr. Larpent

mentions his purchase of this 'good beast for two hundred and 'fifty guineas, a gentleman who has gained some plates in Eng- 'land, and has a name' (vol. i. p. 182.), aye and one that eclipses Bucephalus; the pace was so killing, that the Duke, counting the number he had already lost in 1811, calls the 'Peninsula the 'grave of horses' (Desp. May 23.). They laid down their lives to save his. Larpent gives the Duke's own account of the 'close- 'run thing' at Sorauren, where he pencilled some orders on the bridge, 'the people saying to me all the time, "the French are '"coming, the French are coming!" I looked pretty sharp after 'them, however, every now and then until I had done, and then 'set off, and I saw them just near one end of the village, as I 'went out at the other end' (vol. ii. p. 71.); in fact, he galloped alone up the hill. He gave *written* orders to diminish the chance of misunderstandings, caused by the usual mode of verbal direc- tions: these he usually wrote so very carefully that there might be no 'mistake' on slips of paper, but latterly, at Waterloo for instance, out of a book of prepared skins, as less liable to injury; and his aides-de-camp were directed to bring each leaf back again that he might be sure the message had been delivered.

In these rides, as on most occasions, the Duke, to whom per- sonal fear was unknown, exposed himself, like Lord Peterborough, to risks of all kinds, however much he found fault with other general officers for doing so, 'and with what face I know not,' says Mr. Larpent (vol. ii. p. 204.). It makes one shudder even now to contemplate the extent of the calamity to the world, had this precious life been sacrificed; and it is evident from this Journal that the feeling that 'every thing depended upon him '*individually*,' was general with every class in the army and Spain. This conviction that 'all our hopes would vanish with this *one* '*man*' is ever uppermost on Mr. Larpent's mind, and confirms the axiom of Napoleon, that 'Men are nought in war, it is the 'One Man, the master-mind that sways the multitude.' The Duke in conformation considered the 'presence of Bonaparte 'equal to a reinforcement of 40,000 men,' while the Spaniards estimated his at scarcely less: 'There go thirty thousand men!' cried they as he rode alone up the hill at Sorauren. So it has been of old: *εἷς ἐμοὶ μύριοι*, wrote Cicero to Atticus. The Duke felt his name to be a tower of strength, and he knew the reason why. 'When I come myself, the soldiers think what 'they have to do the most important, as I am there, and that 'all will depend on their exertions; these are increased in pro- 'portion, and they will do for me what, perhaps, no one else 'can make them do.' 'Another advantage Bonaparte possessed, 'and which he made so much use of, was,' Lord Wellington said,

'his full latitude of *lying;* that, if so disposed,' he said, 'he 'could not do.' (Vol. ii. p. 49.) He felt a solemn conviction, like Joan of Arc, that he had an appointed mission to perform, and was an instrument 'in God's hands, brother, not our own;' and, although thousands fell at his side and ten thousand at his right hand, a still small voice within told him that no bullet was cast for him, and thus, fearing neither the arrow that struck by day or night, he passed unscathed alike from the fire of the column as from that of the sneaking assassin; nor was he ever touched but by a spent ball at Orthez; when 'Hit at last' was all he said. And as they jest at scars who never felt a wound, when Colonel Waters was shot in the head, but not much hurt and out the next day, the Duke told him 'his head must be like a 'rock' (vol. ii. p. 22.). 'Again at dinner, yesterday,' says Mr. Larpent, 'he was laughing at General Alava having had a 'knock, and telling him it was all nonsense, and that he was not 'hurt, when he received this blow and a worse one in the same 'place himself: Alava said it was to punish him for laughing at 'him.' (Vol. iii. p. 41.) This hit and hurt at Orthez, which made him limp a little and pull up for a day, saved Soult from annihilation. Another exposure, and often alluded to by Mr. Larpent, arose from his constantly 'losing his way' from despising 'guides,' &c. (vol. ii. pp. 125—228.). From some phrenological peculiarity of the organ of locality, and a marked desire to find a shorter cut, and save time and distance, the Duke constantly mistook the regular way; thus down to his last hunt in his own neighbourhood, and even when near home, he expected to be shown the way. He considered this being out of it as a matter of course. 'The other night,' writes Mr. Larpent (vol. i. p. 299.), 'when he lost his way in a fog, and young Fitz-'clarence pointed it out, "How do you know that?" said the 'Duke; "By that cherry tree," was the answer, in which he 'had once been up, after taking an order to charge. It amused 'the Duke much, and yesterday he called to him with a very 'grave face and desired him to go and get some cherries, as if 'it were an important order.' (Vol. i. p. 279.) This fruitful freak of the Fitzclarence carries us back to Don John of Austria, son of Charles V., who was pelted by the churlish peasants of Cuacos for picking the cherries ripe, his imperial father had paid for. However the Duke's instinct of localities might be at fault, his military eye never overlooked a position nor did his memory forget the feature,—the hill, the river, the house, or whatever formed the key.

It is pretty well ascertained that his uncertainty as to localities saved his life in France, when a band of assassins—trecenti

juravimus—had leagued to murder one from whom they fled in the field. They were baffled by his seldom finding his way back by the same route.

Many were the other hair-breadth escapes by field and flood, from the Duke's habit of reconnoitring personally. Thus in front of Toulouse he crossed the river, 'concealing his 'general's hat with an oilskin, and got into conversation with 'the French vidette, dismounted, got down to the waterside, 'saw all he wished, and came away. I think,' says Larpent, and many will think rightly, 'this was risking too much; 'but no French soldier would have any idea of the Com-'mander-in-chief of the allied forces going about thus with 'two attendants; yesterday, he went over alone on foot.' (Vol. iii. p. 121.) Touching disguises of dress, we have some graphic full-lengths by Mr. Larpent, of the state and grand costume of the French Marshals, which contrast curiously with the simplicity of the Duke. He is either walking about solus in his 'grey great coat,' or opening his bedroom door at the French hotel, with just one sentinel in the corridor, while Soult and Suchet, all cocked hat and gold lace, kept court in inner shrines, approached only through antechambers crowded with officers in waiting. Suchet is particularly sketched, bearded like a pard, with his 'head, cheeks, and chin overgrown with hair like a 'wild man of the woods, and his dress more splendid than the 'drum major of one of our Guards' bands on a birthday.' (Vol. iii. p. 175.) The Duke meantime crosses the great square, after his grand reception as conqueror, in 'his blue coat and round 'hat, almost unknown and unnoticed.' Mr. Larpent recurs to the Duke's wardrobe: — 'In one instance he is not like Frederick 'the Great: he is remarkably neat and most particular in his 'dress, considering his situation: he is well made, knows it, and 'is willing to set off to the best what nature has bestowed: in 'short, like every great man, present or past, almost without 'exception, he is vain. He cuts the skirts of his coats shorter 'to make them look smarter; and only a short time since I 'found him discussing the cut of his half boots, and suggesting 'alterations to his servant when I went in upon business; the 'vanity of great men shows itself in different ways, but I 'believe always exists in some shape or another.' (Vol. iii. p. 7.) This discussion led no doubt to the invention of wellingtons, a calceatory variety no less comfortable than that of bluchers, and destined to a popularity coequal with the sauce devised by the Marshal Soubise, or the convenient spencers which bear the name of their noble and ingenious originator. Wellington himself, we may add, went into battle at Waterloo in white pan-

taloons and Hessians, the fashion of the day, and of which a solitary pair, a relic of the glories of Hoby, still gladden the shady side of Pall Mall. The Duke on that memorable 18th was up long before daybreak, shaved himself by candlelight, and went forth trimly dressed as a bridegroom from his chamber, and as little resembling the bearded illote Gaul as his heart could desire, for to be as unlike the 'French in the field as 'possible' was his main point. He scouted all the fancy-ball paraphernalia, and tourniquets of lace of the Prince Regent, who played at soldiers, and 'thought it indifferent how a soldier is 'clothed, provided it is in a uniform manner, and that he is 'forced to keep himself clean and smart as a soldier ought to be.' 'L'habit ne fait pas le moine,' nor the man of war: 'Believe 'me that every one you see in a military uniform is not a hero.' So wrote one who was one, to Mr. Croker.

Simplex munditiis himself, he carried the coquetry of costume contrast so far, that he attended (says Mr. Larpent) the allied review at Paris in his usual blue coat and white neckcloth, and thus became,—like Lord Castlereagh, the only one without star in the galaxy of the Vienna Congress,—at once the most distinguished. We must notice another of his methods to make himself the observed of all observers, — his 'white cloak' (vol. iii. p. 46.): this he wore invariably on the days of battle, and before it commenced, in order that he might be recognised at once, and no time lost in bringing him communications. 'Rally round my white plume,' was the cry of Henry IV., and there is much virtue in cloaks in Spain, as to what they reveal and conceal. Our younger readers well know that Cato and Virgil were laughed at for their awkward togas, and that Cicero espoused the cause of Pompey because he inferred from Cæsar's clumsy cloak arrangements that he never could turn out to be anything great. The Dictator improved, and nothing at last fidgetted him more than disturbing the *sinus* of the mantle, 'the 'same he wore the day he overcame the Nervii,' and which he arranged when dying as if it had been his last testament. This 'white cloak' of the Duke, which braved so many a battle and breeze, worthily might have formed his shroud, as the Moor Almanzor, who overran Spain, arrayed himself in every combat with a Bernous, and when each day was gained, shook out the dust into a chest, to form a glorious grave when his course was run.

The Duke, we may whisper, was from early life a dandy in his way, and not singular,—witness his veteran comrades Lords Anglesea and Combermere, than whom two braver and better dressed officers do not exist. The Duke's, the best known man

in London, soldierlike regulation look, is familiar as household words; his white trowsers appeared as regularly as May blossoms. Napoleon, it may be observed, was no less vain of his *redingote grise* than the Duke was of his 'grey coat,' which distinguished the master from the men, the Emperor from the melodramatic gilt gingerbread Murats. It must not, however, be inferred that the plain and neat Duke was insensible to decorations won in fair fight. He accepted them without false modesty, and wore them without ostentation, as the natural recognition of good service; yet, had he died young, like Alexander the Great, history might have pronounced him no less vain. 'We have,' says Mr. Larpent, 'three Spanish songs (not exactly by Dryden) in 'honour of Wellington; one, the Retreat of Marmont, "Ahe '"Marmont, onde vai Marmont," ["Ay de Marmont, donde vas '"Marmont,"] composed at Cadiz, when he was there. Lord 'Wellington sits and hears his own praises in Spanish with con-'siderable coolness, and calls for it himself, at times.' (Vol. i. p. 97.) He was, in truth, always pleased with Salamanca, where he out-generalled that Marshal, and considered his best of battles; and he liked praise—*αξιος ων*. He well knew his own worth, and constantly, when he gave advice, would add, 'All 'must *now* go right,' and when did Nelson ever doubt or hesitate, in his prescriptions of the 'Nelsonic touch'?

The Duke, satiated at last, grew callous to compliment. It is interesting to compare him at Toulouse and Oxford. Mr. Larpent describes the former scene, and the post-prandial enthusiasm: — When Alava proposed his health in his presence, as the '*Liberator of Spain*,' a toast followed by a cheering, 'all 'in confusion, for nearly ten minutes, when Lord Wellington 'bowed, confused, and immediately called for coffee.' (Vol. iii. p. 138.) Look on that picture, and then on this, of the Installation, drawn by Lord Ellesmere: — As the whole theatre rose to the fever height of hexameters and pentameters at the climax, Napoleon 'bowed to thy genius, Prince of Waterloo,' 'the Duke 'sat stern, immovable; retaining a grave complacency of his 'features.'

And here, having quoted the Marmont version of *Malbrok s'en va-t-en guerre* song, some notice must be made of the multitudinous misprints, mistakes, and mis-spellings which occur throughout these volumes in everything appertaining to 'the 'things of Spain.' Neither language nor nomenclature, grammar nor geography, things nor persons, escape, from the king, *El Rey Pepe*,—or, as he is here called, '*ré papé*,'—downwards. Sorauren, celebrated site, turns up as Sahaugen three times in one page; and when we learn that the French rob

and destroy to a man, this Spanish truism, 'Los Franceses 'roban y rompen todos,' runs thus in the pure Larpentian or unknown tongue: '*Francese roben, rompas todas.*' (Vol. ii. p. 129.) But enough of this: the style of these letters, themselves careless and characterised by colloquial expressions barely permissible in the most slippered ease of family privacy, bears the stains of gunpowder, gravy, and oil, certainly not that of the midnight lamp. Yet, as this journal was never destined for the ordeal of print and the public eye, the writer is entitled to an acquittal at our critical bar, and to the honours of a review. Nay, we question, had he survived to 'make a book,' whether it would not have lost much of its great charm,—the genuine expression of facts and feelings written down at the actual moment. Be that as it may, we, who have willingly taken him as he is, for better or worse, cannot part from a companion so pleasant without a brief notice of his Peninsular career from the commencement to the close.

Mr. Larpent embarked in 1812 on board the 'Vulture,' landed at Lisbon, found 'impostors as plentiful as moskitoes,' started for Spain, and had learnt to decline the verb 'rough it,' in every tense, present and future, before he reached thrice-learned Salamanca. He found the country of his route like Bagshot Heath combined with Dartmoor (*minus* the mutton) and strewed with relics of defunct dynasties and religions. The particular line of march was marked, Juggernaut-like, by skeletons of men and horses, whose heads, 'thirteen in a row,' occasionally served as 'stepping-stones' across rivers,—a Spanish variety of the Pons Asinorum. Mr. Larpent details, with graphic good-nature, his Robinson Crusoe life of make-shifts in his wretched quarters; and why should he complain, when the hovel at Frenada of the great Duke himself does not contain 'either so 'much room or as much comfort as the Leg of Mutton and 'Cauliflower Inn at Ashted?' (Vol. i. p. 119.) It was idle, however, to complain. The Duke's maxim was, 'Let 'every one do his duty well, and never let me hear of any diffi-'culties about anything.' (Vol. ii. p. 213.) Those who were good at making excuses were seldom, in his opinion, good for much else: the word 'impossible' was blotted out of his dictionary, and he never required anything beyond the possible. It is the distinguishing this nice point, what can be done and what cannot, which decides the real General, and he was full of resources in himself. Thus, at the passage of the Adour, when the engineers were at fault from want of planks, 'There are 'the platforms of your batteries,' said he, 'which have been 'sent out in case of a siege; cut them all up.' 'What, then,

'when we proceed with the siege, is to be done?' 'Oh, 'work your guns in the sand until you can make new ones out 'of the pine-wood near Bayonne.' (Vol. ii. p. 306.) So the river was crossed. Thus when, at Ciudad Rodrigo, scaling ladders were wanting at the last moment,—'Well,' said the Duke, 'you have brought up your ammunition and stores, 'never mind the waggons, cut them all up directly; they will 'make excellent ladders: there, you see, each side-piece is 'already cut.' (Vol. iii. p. 6.) So the city was won. Everything, great and small alike, came within the power of his grasp. A Spanish kitchen chimney takes fire from his unusual hospitality, and he forthwith is 'out in the rain with his hat off, 'a silk handkerchief on his head, giving directions' to have it extinguished. (Vol. ii. p. 289.)

He delighted in every one who was always in his right place at the right time, and with the right thing;—hence his marked partiality for Colonel Dickson, of the Artillery, the branch of the service at which he 'railed the most' for slowness. He found Dickson's match always 'lighted,' and his 'guns up;' and his commendation of him in the 'Gazette' and out of the 'Gazette' were constant and more courteous than on some other occasions; thus, when Colonel Framingham, a most gallant officer, but slow, started some difficulty, the curt reply of his Grace was, that he 'might go to h—,' a place never named to ears polite; but he recovered his temper, and 'laughed well,' when the Colonel said 'he would apply to the Quartermaster-'General for a route.' (Vol. i. p. 150.)

Our readers have already been told how long Mr. Larpent worked at his desk, and on what short commons. Nevertheless, the winter slipped away, for time and the hour runs through the roughest day. May, 1813, found the army and the Judge-Advocate in high health and spirits, preparing for the glorious campaign which opened at Vittoria and terminated at Toulouse: and here we find mention of an illustrious 'amateur' in the camp, Lord John Russell, who just missed the grand catastrophe, by having started on an excursion to Juste, to the cloister retreat of Charles V., which Mr. Stirling has brought home to all of us. Soon the Duke, rising in his stirrups, bad Portugal adieu for ever, and assumed the aggressive. Meantime, Mr. Larpent was joined to the left wing of the army, which, by crossing the Douro and Ebro, high up and near the sources, at once turned the enemy's strong positions in front, an operation of itself equal to an ordinary campaign. For six days our veterans worked their way through untrodden wilds, until, 'trickling 'from the mountains, they burst like raging streams from

'every defile, and went foaming into the basin of Vittoria.' Mr. Larpent travelled with the cash-chest, and Mr. Commissary Price; and dear 'Mrs. Price gave us one evening a syllabub 'after tea.' (Vol. i. p. 189.) His emotions overflowed at the sight of a country 'like the Wye, with cliffs almost like 'Cheddar, and wooded to the water.' The picturesque scene was heightened by the long lines of horse and foot, whose arms glittered in the sun, whose clarions awoke the echoes, and whose march gave life to the usual solitudes.

Drawing, it seems, was hazardous: our artist no sooner sits down than 'a musket ball whistles by — a second, and a third; 'and when, at last, he considered himself the object, the sketch 'was left, rather in a hasty and unfinished state.' One finished picture, with his pen, must therefore suffice. 'Most of us have 'encamped; Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford are walk-'ing up and down; the military secretary is writing under a 'wall, upon his knees, in a little field: Colonel Scovel, Fitz-'clarence, General Alava, Colonel Waters, the Prince of 'Orange, and your humble servant, all lying upon the ground 'together, round a cold ham and bread, some brandy, and a 'bottle of champagne — and no bad fare either, you will say. 'The Prince and Lord Fitzroy, like two boys, were playing 'together all the time.' (Vol. ii. p. 229.)

Mr. Larpent was present at Vittoria, and had a capital view of the battle, keeping judiciously close to Dr. Macgregor, the head of the hospitals. He describes the martial panorama, and the deed done on a site worthy of it, and of the name of good omen. There the foe was beaten, 'before the town, in the town, and 'out of the town.' We have a sketch, *à la Jansteen*, of their rout, and the wreck of the accumulated pillage of five years' plunder in the Peninsula, when every Frenchman stole, from the marshal to the fraction of the drummer-boy. The soil was strewed with doubloons, monkeys, *pâtés de foie gras*, ladies, and '*very strange things*,' sent, we believe, to the Horseguards, for the especial merriment of the Royal Commander-in-Chief. Our gallant journalist saved Madame Gazan, wife of the French General, and refrained from other temptations, taking for his *spolia opima* only a case of maps, part of Lopez's provincial set, and a horse-cloth, 'which I bought of a 'Portuguese soldier, as a memorial; but I would not meddle 'with the rest, *as not very correct.* Maps, books, &c. were 'thown aside; brandy, &c. drunk.' (Vol. i. p. 246.)

If our conscientious Judge had his lawful share of the joys and fruits of battle, he could not be blind, even in the dazzle of victory, to the dark foil by which it was heightened. The faith-

ful engravings by Callot of the miseries of war are reflected in these pages—and when read in cold blood are truly terrible: much of this feeling 'vanishes,' we are told, in the real dangers and anxieties of the actual scene; and 'when the 'novelty' is over, 'the sameness of starvation wounds,'—*malesuada fames*, and the *plurima mortis imago* harden the most sensitive soul and sentimental stomach. 'We cannot 'ride a few miles without the alternate smells which succeed 'each other of dead horses, dead mules, and dead men. A 'nice judge can tell each by their particular *goût*—and that 'of men is much the strongest.' (Vol. ii. p. 60.) 'We saw 'about a dozen French just killed close to St. Estevan, but 'got comfortable quarters, and went to dinner: so we go on 'you see.' (Vol. ii. p. 29.) *Cosas de España*, where time out of mind the dead are thought to be best off in their grave, and the living at the table: *Los muertos en la huesa, los vivos a la mesa.* The negations endured by our civilian attached to head-quarters and the Commissariat were trifling indeed when compared to the privations suffered by the English army in general, and the Spanish in particular, 'always wanting in 'every thing at the critical moment.' And even our soldiers, as when Henry V. encamped before Agincourt, were so 'shrewdly 'out of beef,' that when the Commissary-General, with tears in his eyes, told the Duke that 'we had eaten nearly all the oxen 'in the country,—"Well then," said he, "we must now set '"about eating all the sheep; and when they are gone I sup-'"pose we must go."' (Vol. i. p. 129.) When Massena was besieged in Genoa, and on shortest commons, he gave a grand dinner to the Austrian envoy, sent to propose surrender, who told him that 'the *cuisine* was excellent, but the horseflesh 'unmistakable.' 'You forget,' said his host, 'that we have the 'mules and monks to fall back on.' Massena, albeit bred of the Shylock tribe, might not deem this pound so estimable or profitable either as flesh of mutton, was not the man easily to be starved out, as the Duke found at Santarem; and he had the highest opinion of his military power of resistance. 'Mons. le 'Maréchal,' said he to him, when they met at Paris, 'do you 'know that I never undressed when you were in my front.' 'My Lord,' was the reply of the swarthy hirsute Italian, 'in 'that campaign you did not leave me one black hair on my 'whole body;' so completely had care bleached the bear into the badger.

Mr. Larpent soon discovered the merits of the pork and pigs of Spain, which, on the whole, he prefers to the local ladies. 'The flesh of the former is far sweeter and richer than ours.'

Of the latter, he paints the Governor's daughter at Almeida as 'a sawney Spanish signora (*señora*) who breakfasted on beef-'steaks, onions, partridges, and wine, and did nothing all day.' (Vol. i. p. 71.) Soon a Portuguese, neice to the principal inhabitant, is pronounced ugly, and said to be perfumed too strongly with oily salt fish (vol. i. p. 146.), was the judgment of our Paris touching the so-called bacalao, this certainly has an ancient fish-like smell. At Guinaldo the signoras 'go about and tie 'strings to the coats of the officers, and even of the general—'dance about, sup and drink with them, and are alive both 'with them and the men.' (Vol. i. p. 102.) Such, alas! it seems, are the degenerate daughters of those 'Spanish Ladies' of old, who, with their 'Loves,' have been so sung in ballads, and so delicately delineated by Lady Dalmeny. There is no disputing about tastes; possibly Mr. Larpent belonged to that juventus—non tantum Veneris quantum studiosa culinæ.

In the midst of all Mr. Larpent's varied bodily privations, his spiritual condition was kept in mind by his English female correspondents. The clerical staff of the church militant in Spain was, it must be confessed, small: 'four or five clergymen,' —'no one now at head-quarters; the one stationed here went 'away ill about a twelvemonth ago.' (Vol. i. p. 121.) This Mr. Briscall—described by the Duke as 'an excellent young 'man, and who never before had been absent from his duty one 'moment,'—came back, be it said, and, having served to the end of the war, became the curate at Strathfieldsaye, and chaplain to his patron, and his temporary vacancy was not filled up, in the hopes of his speedy return, and the fear of any other occupant. The Duke's Despatch (Feb. 6. 1811) exhausts the religious subject. It was most difficult to incline respectable clergymen to remain, not, indeed, in an army of martyrs, but where the dogs of war let slip, had changed a paradise into a pandemonium; the Duke was anxious to secure 'religious instruction,' both for itself, and as 'the greatest support and aid to military discipline and 'order.' Rituals were sadly in abeyance; the sign of the cross was, indeed, made by the Irish soldier, but solely to incline his brother Roman Catholic Spaniards to give him 'more wine.' (*Desp.* Sept. 8. 1809.) Mr. Larpent describes the first time he goes to 'church' for fourteen months, Nov. 6., and much to Dr. Macgregor's displeasure, who prognosticated cramp, agues, and the ills to which flesh is heir. The next drum ecclesiastic was beat on 'the sea-sands' Nov. 29., the Duke—ever regular at early service as a curate—attending at both, 'the guards in white 'trowsers; it was rather cold work.' So much for Protestant ceremonies; meantime the priests and nuns in Spain were

offering prayers—up early at heaven's gate—for the Duke's preservation.

With this and other great facts pages might be filled, did our limited space permit. Ever in the front when the tug of war began, Mr. Larpent's adventurous curiosity led him once too far. He was taken prisoner, and marched into France, soon to be exchanged by the exertions of the Duke, who missed him at court-martials and the mess, when they chatted about the last review 'not quite so good,' or the letters in the 'Times' by Vetus 'not to be compared to Junius.' The army after the capture of Toulouse disbanded, and Mr. Larpent, his occupation gone, killed the enemy, Time, by fiddling duets, copying notes from 'Æschylus,' culling simples, and criticising churches. Those exciting days were over, when gentlemen rode up to generals in front, and as shells burst between them, 'a shell, Sir,—very animating,'—was the only notice, or when civilians sat down to desks, 'the ball passed between pen and 'nose, and where the head had been two seconds before, and 'one cheek was spattered by the door splinters, and the other 'by the wall-plaister where the ball struck.' (Vol. ii. p. 205.) There is a satiety in such delights; and when a legal brother who practised in the Peninsula sent Mr. Larpent, 'out of cu-'riosity,' a history of his latest casualties; 'nine members out 'of fifteen and the judge-advocate killed, and several wounded, 'since the 22nd of May,' our Journalist decided that it was better 'to stay at home, as one fight is much like any other.' Accordingly he returned to taste the blessings of peace, commissionerships, and a pension; and, having fought his battles again and again over his wine and walnuts, died full of years and honours in his comfortable bed.

ART. IX.—*Enquête Parlementaire sur la Situation et l'Organisation des Services de la Marine Militaire ordonnée par la Loi du* 31 *Octobre*, 1849. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. Two vols, 4to. 1852. [Not published.]

THESE volumes are a posthumous work of the National Assembly of France, and the copy of them now before us is one of the few rescued from proscription since Louis Napoleon abrogated this Parliamentary Commission and the legislative body from which it derived its authority. On the 31st of October, 1849, the Legislative Assembly of the French Republic passed a law ordering that an investigation should be instituted into the whole state of the navy by a commission of

fifteen members of the Assembly itself, to be elected by ballot from the whole number. The Commission thus appointed comprised, amongst other eminent men, Admiral Hernoux, Vice-Admiral Lainé, and Captain Charner of the Marine service; the Duke of Montebello, M. Daru, and M. Lacrosse, who had been, or were about to be, Ministers of Marine; and M. Jules de Lasteyrie, M. Lanjuinais, Baron Charles Dupin, and M. Dufaure, of parliamentary celebrity. M. Dufaure was chosen president and reporter of the Commission. In the course of two years, — from November 1849 to November 1851, — the Commission visited all the naval arsenals of France, and held 203 sittings, sometimes at the ports themselves, sometimes in Paris; it examined eighty-nine witnesses, whose depositions were taken down in short-hand. The evidence was, in fact, complete, and M. Dufaure had already made some progress in the preparation of his report, when the *coup-d'état* of the 2nd of December 1851 took place. The Commission and its labours were of course extinguished by the same blow which annihilated the Constitution, the Legislature, and the liberties of the nation. The Minister of Marine, however, who took office under Louis Napoleon, expressed a desire that these important and assiduous labours should not be altogether wasted, and that the Minutes and Evidence collected by the Commission should at least be put upon record. The greater part of this valuable matter was already in type, and more than 1000*l.* had been spent in printing it. Under these circumstances M. Collas, the secretary, was induced to complete his task, upon condition that he was allowed to print the whole evidence and proceedings precisely as the Commission had left it, without alteration or omission to suit the convenience of the Admiralty. The Report by M. Dufaure was to have formed a third volume, but we understand that only about one-fourth part of this Report has been written, and even if it were complete it could no longer receive the assent of the whole Committee. The materials on which this Report was to have been drawn up are, however, wholly before us, and this important evidence has already been more minutely examined, and may become better known, in this country than in France; for although the Government of Louis Napoleon allowed the investigation to be completed and the evidence to be printed, very few copies of this work have been permitted to leave the *Imprimerie Nationale*, and we rejoice that one of them has fallen into our hands. We are therefore enabled to consider this interesting subject of the present condition and future prospects of the French Navy with materials to which few, even of those who have paid most attention to it,

can have had access*; and, without attempting to engage in the conflict of adverse and unsettled opinions on technical points, we shall lay before our readers the most important parts of these curious volumes.

In entering upon this discussion we have no desire to aggravate the apprehensions which have sometimes been excited by a comparison of the land and sea forces of France and England; nor shall we make it any subject of complaint that a Committee of naval officers and politicians, engaged in the consideration of the defensive and offensive resources of their native country, should have spoken amongst themselves of a powerful neighbour and rival in terms which do not imply confidence in the permanent duration of peace. All military and naval preparations assume *ex hypothesi* the possibility of war; and although England is habitually spoken of and alluded to in these volumes as 'the enemy' against whom it is most important to be prepared, the same considerations might be used in a political sense, to demonstrate that England is for that very reason the country with which it is most useful for the French to be at peace. But the subject before us does not necessarily embrace these political considerations. We have merely to consider what the French nation, nearest to ourselves in position, and second only to ourselves in maritime strength, have done, and propose to do, for the maintenance and augmentation of their fleet. It will be found, we think, from this evidence, that the material elements of the French Navy, in ships of all sizes, steam-machinery, stores, and means of construction, are considerably below our own, and in some respects below what they have been at former periods. But it will also be found, that the superiority which we may justly claim in these material conditions of a great naval power belongs rather to the French than to ourselves, in what is of equal importance, — namely, the supply and the instruction of seamen. For in spite of the great disproportion between the maritime population and habits of the two nations, the admirable organisation of the maritime conscription gives France a power of raising men beyond that which we could exercise on a sudden emergency. Such as the French fleet is, it can undoubtedly be manned and sent to sea in a short period of time, whilst our own enormous preparations, in the shape of vessels in ordinary and stores for the navy, have outgrown the power we

* A paper was drawn up for the use of Her Majesty's Government by Sir Howard Douglas from the same materials to which we have had access, and some articles have also appeared in the 'Times' newspaper, containing portions of the same evidence.

possess of providing these wooden bulwarks with their living garrisons and intelligent armament. In short, to express in a single sentence the verdict we should be disposed to give on the evidence we are about to lay before our readers, we entertain no doubt that the *materiel* of the British navy is superior in the proportion of 2 or 3 to 1 to that of France; but the resources of France in the *personnel* of the navy are so much more available and complete than our own, by reason of the absolute command which the State retains over the whole seafaring population, that this advantage in some degree counterbalances the other causes of inferiority in the maritime forces of France. In these, and all similar questions, it will be found that the truth stripped of all disguise is the most valuable lesson and the safest guide. We see no reason to infer from the evidence contained in these volumes that the relative maritime superiority of England is essentially diminished by the present state and strength of the French navy; but, on the other hand, this inquiry demonstrates that our neighbours have fully considered, and deliberately adopted, all that would in case of war be most injurious to the commerce and the territory of Great Britain; that they contemplate a change in the principles of maritime warfare, expressly directed against this country; and that they are not dismayed by the vast outlay and prolonged exertions which can alone give effect to their plans. A more conclusive answer cannot be imagined to the vague declamation of the Peace Society; and though these statements do not materially increase our apprehensions, they ought most unquestionably to silence such objections and to stimulate all our exertions.

The first point to which the attention of the Commission was directed was the actual strength to be given to the navy. 'We 'must first establish,' said M. Collas, the Secretary, 'the number 'of ships of the line that France can and ought to put to sea the 'day that war is declared. On this head, we have a certain 'basis. Our adversary is known. It can only be England.' The ordinance passed in 1846 for the regulation of the French navy, fixed its standard amount at 40 line-of-battle ships, 50 frigates, 40 corvettes, 50 brigs, 16 transports, and 30 light vessels; and in fact, reckoning the vessels now in process of construction and some of those which still figure in the navy list although they are said to be no longer serviceable and seaworthy, this number is considerably exceeded, but of the 27 line-of-battle ships now afloat, not more than half are available for all the purposes of war. We must therefore draw a wide distinction between the establishment of the navy under the ordinance of 1846, as it figures on paper, and the *materiel* of the

fleet which might be sent to sea. But there is some obscurity on this subject. It is a circumstance worthy of remark that the French 'Annuaire de la Marine,' for 1853, no longer contains the information which we find in the preceding annual volumes. It publishes the names and rank of the *personnel* of the navy, but no account of the ships in commission or in ordinary. The important article '*Etat des batimens composant la 'flotte*,' is omitted altogether; and this is the first volume of the 'Annuaire' issued by the Imprimerie *Impériale*. Although, therefore, a considerable portion of the line-of-battle ships and frigates, discussed by the Commission, were doomed to be sold (not broken up) to make way for improved vessels, we are by no means sure that they are as incapable of service as they are represented to be. Some of the vessels above named as condemned, in 1851, are at this moment with Admiral La Susse's squadron in the Turkish waters.

M. Binet, the director of the naval works at Toulon, stated however to the Commission that all the ships in commission at Toulon, except the 'Diadem' and the 'Montebello' were then (1851) ready for sea, and that in two months the 'Ville de Mar-'seille,' the 'Duperré,' the 'Souverain,' the 'Marengo,' and the 'Alger,' could be made ready. These vessels are all classed by M. Collas in the number of ships not worth the application of steam power, and not likely to last more than four years. The 'Fleurus,' the 'Fontenoy,' the 'Sibylle,' and the 'Janus,' are new ships, which might be launched in two months, and equipped in two or three more, but without steam power.

The statements of the strength of the fleet given by different witnesses and members of the Committee differ a good deal, but we take that of M. Daru as the most comprehensive: —

Sailing Fleet.

	Afloat.	Building.	Total.
Ships of the Line	24	22	46
Frigates	38	18	56
Corvettes	30	6	36
Brigs	44	7	51
Transports	38	—	38
Light-vessels	50	—	50
	224	53	277

Steam Fleet.

Ship of the line of 900 horse-power (the 'Napo-'leon')	1
Steam frigates of 650 to 450 horse-power	21
Steam corvettes of 400 to 220 horse-power	29
Avisos of 160 to 120 horse-power	57
	108

Brought forward		385
Vessels with Auxiliary Propellers.		
Ship of the line of 100 guns	1	
„ „ 90 „	2	
Frigate of 40 guns	1	
Corvettes	2	
Aviso	1	
		7
Grand total		392

It will be observed that this list includes 38 sailing transports, and from 15 to 20 paddle-wheel steamers, which can only be regarded as steam transports, for they have no effective armament and have not the means of carrying one. Of ships of the line, 27 are now afloat; but many of them are extremely old ships. The 'Océan,' which figures at the head of the list, is a 120-gun ship, launched at Brest in 1790. The 'Montebello,' another 120-gun ship, to which a screw propeller of 150 horse-power has lately been fitted, was launched in 1811; the 'Souverain,' in 1819. But about a dozen ships of the line have been launched in the last seven years, and the Commission recommended that 15 of the ships in course of construction should severally be so far advanced as to be brought forward at the rate of, at least, two a year in time of peace. It is the custom of the French dockyards to keep a considerable number of vessels on the stocks for a very long period. Thus the 'Louis XIV.' at Rochefort, now advanced to 18-24ths, was laid down in 1811; the 'Fleurus,' now at 22-24ths, was begun in 1825; the 'Ulm,' now at 18-24ths, at the same time; the 'Austerlitz,' just launched at Cherbourg, was laid down in 1832; and only five vessels have been commenced later than 1835. Upon a survey of the fleet, it was unanimously decided by the Commission, that of the 27 ships then afloat, 14 should be fitted with steam propellers, the remaining 13 not being worth that amount of repair and alteration; indeed their average duration was considered in 1851 not to exceed four years: it was further determined that the number of ships of the line afloat should be raised to 30 by launching new vessels all adapted for steam propulsion. Fifteen vessels would still remain in construction, making the whole force of line-of-battle ships 45. The present force of ships of the line provided with steam power in the French fleet is, however, only 4. The 'Napoleon,' a 90-gun ship of great excellence and power; the 'Austerlitz,' a new ship whose performances are not yet known; the 'Charle-

magne,' a 90-gun ship, with a steam power of 450 horses; and the 'Montebello,' with engines of only 150 horse-power, which may serve to direct the ship, but scarcely to propel it. Three of these vessels form part of the French squadron now in the Levant, and without any desire to disparage their qualities, we find that on a late occasion the 'Napoleon' took in so much water that she was twice obliged to touch at friendly ports, on her way from Toulon to Athens*, and the 'Charlemagne' and 'Montebello' had no opportunity of displaying their merits under steam, because, having left Toulon in great haste, an essential portion of their machinery was left on shore; and the latter ship has just been superseded by the 'Friedland.' The 'Desaix' and the 'Arcole,' two 100-gun screw ships, have just been laid down at Cherbourg, but cannot be ready for sea for some years. We do not intend to institute as we proceed a strict comparison between the French navy and our own resources; but, as we have touched on this part of the subject, it will be satisfactory to our readers to learn, that exclusive of our block-ships, the British navy possesses 15 line-of-battle ships fitted with screw propellers, which will all be launched before the close of this summer, a result which is due mainly

* It remains to be ascertained by experience whether the application of the immense steam force necessary to propel such vessels as the 'Napoleon' with great velocity is consistent with the safety and durability of the ship. A screw placed in the deadwood of the ship, and working up to 1500 horse-power against an immense displacement of water and the strain of the ocean, acts with tremendous power on the frame of the vessel; and it is, perhaps, to this cause that the leakage of the 'Napoleon' may be attributed. As this vessel is an experiment of great importance in marine engineering, we subjoin the following particulars of her trial-performances, which we have obtained from the books of her principal engineer: —

'Essai du 1. Sept. 1852, de Toulon à Ajaccio, 119 milles en '9h. 48m.—Vitesse moyenne, 12 nœuds; 14 en calme ou faible brise; 'le nombre des tours de la machine par minute est de 22—64. 'Moyenne du log, 12·51 nœuds par heure. Le batiment a 8 chaudières, 'et brûle avec toute sa puissance de 95 à 100 tons de coal en 24 heures. 'Avec la moitié de l'appareil évaporatoire on obtint 9·5 à 10 nœuds, la 'consommation de charbon par heure etant de 2100 kil.'

The 'Napoleon' had on board at the time of this trial her full armament, stores, and crew. We are informed that she has 40 fires to her 8 boilers, and 120 fire and enginemen. Although her armament is considerably lighter than that of H. M. S. 'Agamemnon,' we apprehend that the 'Napoleon' cannot carry coal for more than nine days, and consequently could not perform a voyage under steam from Toulon to New York.

to the energy and ability of the Surveyor of the Navy, Sir Baldwin Walker.

In the sitting of the Committee of the 12th February 1851, it was resolved unanimously, that 20 frigates of the first class should be built for steam-power *à grande vitesse;* and that as many other frigates as possible should be fitted with auxiliary screw-propellers 'to escort swift sailing vessels which might 'convey troops for disembarkation.' The present force of the French navy in frigates afloat, chiefly of 60 and 50 guns, amounts to no less than 38, of which, however, a small proportion are commissioned in time of peace, only one is fitted with steam power, and 18 according to M. Collas are fit only to be sold. But we suspect a great part of these frigates are useful vessels for purposes to be shortly more minutely described. The corvette force was fixed at 50 vessels to be fitted as far as possible with screw-propellers. Sailing vessels for the transport of troops are to be abolished, and 20 steam-propelled transports of large size, capable of conveying 1000 men each, kept in readiness. Of these transports, which are paddle steamers originally built for another purpose, the 'Descartes' is the best specimen. She has carried 1200 men with all their munitions and baggage, and makes her passages between Toulon and Algiers in forty hours with that force on board at an expense not exceeding 10,000 francs. The 'Labrador,' in the expedition to Rome, carried 110 horses, 700 men, and several field guns at once. The 'Montezuma' carried, on one occasion, 1800 men, 11 horses and baggage. These vessels, however, can only carry coal for six or seven days, though they were built to cross the Atlantic; and they are such bad sailers, that it is in evidence, that if their machinery broke down, they would probably be unable to work off the shore if the wind or sea were at all against them. Several of them have already been lost.

It has been justly remarked by Sir Howard Douglas in his observations on this evidence, that the French do not propose to raise their fleet of line-of-battle ships to the strength it possessed before the Revolution. In 1788 France had 88 ships of the line, and even Napoleon, after the battle of Trafalgar, in 1809, had 32 ships of the line afloat and 21 building. But the nature of the preparations for maritime warfare recommended by this Committee are of a different character. They rely for the success of their flag in future hostilities, especially with this country, on the number and velocity of their smaller vessels, and on the capacity and power of their steam transports. For the objects proposed are to harass the enemy in his foreign trade and on his coasts, carefully avoiding

a general action. And for these purposes swiftness and facility of locomotion under all circumstances are most essential conditions.

In support of this theory of rapid and desultory operations, the following remarks, made to the Committee by M. Maistiat, are of great interest, for they determine the nature of the vessels available for these purposes, and especially adapted to harass this country.

'The perfection of a ship of war would evidently be to unite great force of armament, with great swiftness of motion, and great stores for a cruise: but in the present state of nautical science, it is impossible to combine these three elements, in the highest degree, since each of these requires such an amount of space and tonnage as to be incompatible with the others. I even think that it would be to the disadvantage of France if this problem could be solved, because in that case England would retain all her relative superiority in the means of maritime warfare. Instead, therefore, of attempting to combine these three elements in the highest degree, would it not be better to aim either at the maximum of force or the maximum of velocity in our vessels? We should then have some vessels, 1st., with a maximum of force and all the velocity which could be combined with it, and 2dly, other vessels with a maximum of velocity, as well armed as they could be without prejudice to their swiftness. Such, in my opinion, ought the naval constructions of France to be. On the one hand, a maximum of force is indispensable to engage with success an enemy's ship within broadside range, though an enemy of a superior velocity has nothing to fear even from a stronger vessel from which he can escape. A maximum of velocity, therefore, enables a weaker vessel to brave the superior force of the enemy. Force is of use only in presence of an enemy powerfully armed; velocity enables you to harass and escape his armaments. Velocity is, therefore, the natural weapon against an enemy better armed and more vulnerable on different points. It is the natural and indispensable weapon of the party weakest in resources, least powerful at sea, and *most daring by national character* (?) It is, therefore, the natural weapon of France. . . . .

'In another point of view our geographical position recommends the same selection of the means of maritime warfare. Let us suppose a war breaking out with England in the Mediterranean, or elsewhere, for it would equally be fought out in the Mediterranean. Suppose a fleet at Toulon which can put to sea, — a fleet specially composed of vessels of first-rate power, but with only so much auxiliary steam-power as is necessary to manœuvre in action or to conquer the imperious difficulties of navigation. England must keep her eyes on such a fleet, and must therefore maintain a large share of her maritime resources in the Mediterranean. Her vessels would be far from their stores of coal; our vessels would be near our own. Hence the increased British convoy of supply would be more than ever obliged to pass the Straits of Gibraltar, and to pass our western coasts, and

afterwards between the coasts of southern France and of Algiers. Suppose then a few of our vessels of great velocity laying wait in our Atlantic or Algerine ports! England would be obliged to convoy her supplies on the whole length of passage; and to establish a complete system of defence though not a French cruiser were in sight. If these convoys are in sailing vessels (which they must be as steamers only carry the coal they consume), they will be exposed to continual surprises. They must, therefore, be defended by swift steamers; and France will be enabled to keep up this incessant system of alarm by having recourse only to these inexpensive principles in the structure of her vessels.' (Vol. i. p. 167.)

Hence [the extreme avidity with which the Committee adopted the plan for the creation of a general steam fleet; which would be extremely formidable if it were as easy to launch an entire squadron of vessels as it is to create them in a parliamentary report or a government estimate. But although the whole tendency of the opinions of the Commission was in favour of this increase of the fleet in steam frigates and smaller vessels, we find, from the evidence, that very considerable alterations and additions would be required in the whole existing navy to bring it at all near the views of the Commission and the intentions of the Government. M. Collas gives us a complete estimate of these transformations. For the line-of-battle ships now afloat he reckons the alterations in the hull and the purchase of machinery at 720,000 francs each, which, with the addition of the cost of machinery for the 'Austerlitz,' the 'Jean Bart,' and the 'Turenne,' would expend about ten millions of francs on this point only. But although the French have 38 frigates afloat, only one of them, the 'Pomone,' has been fitted with an auxiliary screw; and there are at present no vessels in the French fleet of the character of our new screw steam frigates the 'Arrogant' and the 'Imperieuse.' Consequently, to effect the change recommended by the Commission, no less than 19 frigates, and at least as many lighter vessels, must be transformed or built, and fitted with steam power. The expense of the frigates alone would be no less than thirty millions of francs. Of the proposed corvettes 8 only exist which can be fitted for steam; 4 others might be adapted for the screw, being now on the slips. But the 36 swift steam corvettes are *all to be built;* and at the lowest computation they would cost 28,440,000 francs. The sum required, therefore, for the first outlay to bring the fleet up to its normal strength is not much short of four millions sterling. Again, the constitution of the fleet as recommended by the Commission would require in the next ten years the construction of

marine engines to the enormous amount of 36,000 horse power, computed at the rate of 5,425 horse power yearly for the first four years, and 2,383 horse power yearly for the last six years; and this, in addition to what is required for the maintenance of the existing fleet. It is evident that such an amount of production would involve an amount of expenditure and mechanical resources superadded to the present charges of the French dockyards, which could only be accomplished by efforts of a very extraordinary character, if at all. With regard to the present establishments of France for the construction of steam machinery in the ports, it is in evidence that Toulon has the means of executing all repairs, but no more, that Rochefort can produce new steam machinery to the amount of 650 horse power per annum, Lorient 500, Brest 650, and Cherbourg 300 —in all, 2,100 horse power. At the present moment the only work in hand in the machinery department of Cherbourg is a pair of screw engines of 200 horse power. Indret, however, the steam establishment in the Loire, two leagues from Nantes, is capable of far greater production; and it is said that 4000 horse power per annum might be constructed there. The present French Government has just added 500 pairs of hands to the workmen employed there. But the Loire at Indret is not ten feet deep, and this important factory has been placed in a position where no large vessels whatever can be completed. The Commission therefore recommended the suppression of Indret altogether, and the transfer of the principal steam workshops to the dockyards and arsenals, especially to Brest, Toulon, and Cherbourg. It is asserted by M. Collas that the private yards of M. Cavè at Paris, M. Schneider at Creusot, M. Benet at La Ciotat, Perrhugues at Toulon, and Mazeline at Havre, could alone suffice to supply the navy with all the steam machinery it requires. But this statement must be taken with considerable abatement, for none of these establishments, except perhaps M. Cavè's, have yet produced machinery of the size and power required for the larger vessels of the navy, and they all have to contend against enormous duties on the metals, and even on coal, which act as a powerful check on the fabrication of machinery in France. It may be added, that the number of slips and dry docks now existing in the French arsenals is so small that these operations could only be carried on very gradually*; whilst the private and public establishments

* The total number of *cales de construction*, or slips for building frigates and corvettes in all the arsenals of France, is but 25; and of these 9 are at Lorient, a port which is of no use for any other pur-

for the construction of powerful marine steam engines in France are still so limited that it would be impossible to obtain this immense quantity of machinery at a short notice without giving large orders abroad, and this resource would be cut off in time of war. To these considerations must be added the important fact, that France has no private or mercantile steam fleet of any importance. The small Mediterranean packets are wholly unfit for military service; the communications with foreign countries are almost entirely kept up by foreign packets; France has no mail packets to America, Australia, or the West Indies, and her own coasting trade is not carried on by steam. Even her rivers are not navigable by steamers of large burden.

Supposing, however, the number of frigates in the French fleet to be fixed at forty-five or fifty, all being eventually provided with steam power, the attention of the Commission were next directed to the mode in which such a force could be most effectually distributed. On this subject all the members of the Commission seem to have concurred in the opinion, that it was desirable to have at all times a large number of frigates so dispersed over the globe, that on the first arrival of news of a declaration of war, they could instantly pounce with the greatest effect on the trading vessels of England. Admiral Hernoux said that 'the only use of frigates henceforth was to harass the 'commerce of the enemy, especially in the Indian seas.' M. Collas, the Secretary of the Commission, proposed a scheme expressly adapted in time of peace, 'to prepare for the moment 'when all the possessions of England might be attacked at 'once, and especially her trade at the outset of the war. To 'strike the trade of England is to compel her to make peace. 'England possesses at this moment the maritime commerce of 'the world with Europe; to ruin this commerce everywhere at 'once, and so to oblige England to maintain peace from the 'dread of immense disasters, is the object of my plan.'

Admiral Lainè added that, 'although the frigates sent for 'this purpose to India might be in jeopardy, yet that was no 'reason to forego harassing the commerce of the enemy, espe- 'cially as they might give support to the native population 'whenever it was disposed to revolt against England.' Another member suggested that a blow might be struck with great effect at Aden. The same weapons might be employed, it was argued, with equal effect on our trade up channel, and to keep our coasts in constant alarm.

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pose, as it has only 17 feet water on the bar. There are, however, 40 slips for line-of-battle ships, which might be used for vessels of a smaller class.

One of the most competent witnesses examined by the Committee was M. Normand, a private shipbuilder at Havre, who said: —

'If I may express an opinion on the maritime warfare to be waged by France, I should say that she can only carry on a *guerre de course* in the Channel and in distant seas. For the Channel we want swift vessels, with screw-propellers and a light draught of water, capable of running into our ports on every part of the coast. They should be real birds of prey, able to fall upon the enemy's vessels where they chose to attack them, and to escape with certainty when they are compelled to retire. Such vessels, which it is not very easy to construct to perfection, ought to be studied and tried in time of peace, and they might be used with advantage to protect the fisheries or to convey the mails. For our distant cruisers we want very large frigates, swift sailers, with an auxiliary screw to enable them to manœuvre in calms or in action. They ought to carry, besides their coal, large supplies of stores, and a heavy armament. We ought also to have *avisos*, the swiftest that can be built, like the British vessel, the "Banshee," which has done fifteen or sixteen knots an hour. But we have nothing beyond twelve knots and a half.'

Perhaps M. Normand expressed the opinion of a builder particularly interested in the construction of vessels of this class. But his evidence on the relative excellence of English and French machinery is of great weight.

'*Q.* You think, then, that English machinery is superior to ours?

'*A.* It is superior in every respect, both in the adaptation of the whole and in the proportion of its parts; superior in design, and superior in execution. I think nothing has been made in our workshops so perfect, for example, as the machines of Mr. Penn or Mr. Miller. Living in a country where an enormous deal is done for the home trade and for abroad, encouraged by the British Admiralty, which deals liberally when it gives these orders, they have made the most perfect machines that exist.'

One of the causes of this marked inferiority is, no doubt, the excessive price of iron in France. Iron plate, such as is used in the construction of vessels, costs just twice as much in France as in England, and the consequence is that the French have not a single iron steamer in the port of Havre engaged in the packet trade to the Channel ports. Another difficulty, with which the whole French marine has to contend, both in trade and in war, is the fact that scarcely any of the French ports on the ocean, except Brest, will admit vessels of the first class; and on this ground the scheme of the transatlantic packets has again been postponed, because it would be necessary to deepen and enlarge the ports at which vessels of such dimensions would arrive.

But on this point of the French harbours, the very ports

which are too small to admit large vessels, are the most convenient for the desultory warfare of small steam cruisers before alluded to; and on this subject we call the most serious attention of our readers to the following facts and judicious observations which we are permitted to quote from a confidential paper by Sir Byam Martin, Admiral of the Fleet:—

'Since the commencement of Louis Philippe's reign no expense has been spared to render Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, each capable of receiving numerous steamers, and these ports are so close together as to admit of combined movements on a scale of which few in this country have any just conception.

'In what I say with respect to these harbours, I have the authority of a respectable and highly intelligent officer in the Queen's service, who, in his official employment, has been in the habit of visiting those ports almost daily for several years, and was continuing to do so at the time when I saw him; he therefore requested that his name might not appear in any public document.

'This officer stated that the three harbours, Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, had been so enlarged and deepened as to be capable of receiving more than 100 large war steamers.

'That Calais can keep 20 constantly afloat in its basin, and the ground in other parts is so soft and level, that any number of steamers and transports (300 he said) can rest upon it without risk or damage, and ready to start when the tide is at half-flood.

'The rise of tide at Calais is eighteen feet, and the entrance has been so deepened that there is now nine feet at low water.

'It adds much to the importance of these three ports, that they have an inland water communication with the coal mines of Mons, and other parts of Belgium, as well as with the great steam-engine factory at Liege.

'On the same authority, Ostend is said to have been greatly enlarged, so that it can now keep afloat 40 of the largest war steamers, and in the event of hostilities with France, Ostend will assuredly have to be reckoned as another French port.

'By means of these improved harbours the French will be able to assemble so great a number of steamers, as may almost fill up the space between Calais and Dover, and always ready to move when the suitable moment arrives for sending forth their invading legions.

'With what view so enormous an expense has been incurred—*who can doubt?*'

In spite of the natural disadvantages we have pointed out, the resources and prospects of the French navy are spoken of with the utmost confidence by those who are best acquainted with its real strength; and in this respect the evidence of Admiral de la Susse is especially valuable and interesting, because that officer has had frequent opportunities of comparing his squadron with our own forces in the Mediterranean, and he was, nearly up to this time, in command of the French fleet in the Levant.

'I am intimately convinced,' said he, 'that France has nothing to dread in a contest with England; and when I compare my recollections of what our vessels were under the Empire with what they are now, I am persuaded that, if it were well managed, England would suffer more than France in such a struggle. But we must be prepared beforehand; for nothing can be done off-hand in maritime affairs; and it is only after having been a year in commission that a ship acquires its maximum of power. From these considerations I infer that France ought always to maintain, in time of peace, a squadron of eight ships of the line ready for sea.

'War being declared, we must, at the same time, carry it on at a distance and concentrate a powerful force in the Ocean and the Mediterranean. But the duty of these two forces is altogether different; for the one is destined to the desultory warfare of cruisers, the other the slow warfare of observation. The cruisers are to attack, pursue, and destroy commerce on all seas; and that should be the object of our frigates on the Ocean. Other vessels of greater power, but all swift and well armed, should assist in this work of destruction. But the war of observation is altogether different. It cannot pursue the event, but must wait patiently for it. Toulon harbour is eminently fitted for this species of war, and it cannot be doubted that, at some time or another, a moment will occur at which the blockaded squadron will be stronger than the blockading one; that opportunity must be seized, for it may decide the fate of the war. As to the forces to be kept in these harbours, I think they ought to be in the proportion of 3 to 2, or 18 at Toulon and 12 at Brest. Our Mediterranean squadron would form the nucleus of this fleet, which might, in a few months after the declaration of war, be raised to 18 ships of the line. But this state of things must be provided for beforehand, by collecting our ships of the line in the two chief ports, and by preparing them for commission. These arrangements are the more important, because they might lead, under certain circumstances, to a cross-movement of the forces;—that is to say, we could transport to Brest a portion of the crews trained at Toulon; this movement would take about ten days, and would infallibly disconcert the plans of the enemy.'

It is worthy of notice that the Committee, and the witnesses before it, are so continually absorbed with the chances of maritime war with England, that they lose sight of their position as the first maritime Power in respect to all other countries. Thus it may be true that a superior British squadron could blockade a fleet of French line-of-battle ships in the harbour of Toulon, and that for hostilities in the Channel, or in other seas, frigates and light vessels would be more useful. But in relation to all the other Powers, and especially Russia, Austria, Turkey, and the other Mediterranean States, the French heavy squadron is the most essential portion of her whole navy, and at the moment at which we are writing, the movements of that fleet in

the Levant are an important element in the policy of France and the state of Europe.

The majority of the witnesses examined, and of the members of the Committee, confine themselves mainly to the contingency of war with England, with a view first to the defence of the French coasts, — secondly, to the destruction of British commerce,—and lastly, to the possibility of invasion.

The language of M. Daru is perfectly explicit on these points, and he presented his plan for the defence of the French coast, and the attack on England, in the following terms:—

'The maritime frontiers of France consist of an immense extent of coast assailable on numberless points by means of steam navigation. It is impossible to fortify and arm with cannon 500 leagues of coast, or to avert an attack which may be made in any part. But applying the principle of Vauban, that *the defence must be framed upon the method of attack*, a former Commission has recommended that, after fortifying our arsenals, trading ports, and stores, so as to protect them from a *coup de main*, the first instrument of defence is the steamer, which must be employed for the double purpose of observation and of action. These swift vessels would keep up a communication between the ports of Dunkirk, Havre, Cherbourg, St. Malo, Brest, Lorient, and St. Nazaire, each of which should contain a small fleet in reserve. The efficiency of this force would depend on its connexion with a force prepared for aggression, which, by constantly menacing the enemy, would keep many a ship in the Thames and the Irish Channel; a whole fleet would thus be paralysed and unable to stir. The number of these light vessels must, of course, remain undetermined. But as for the flotilla in reserve, of sufficient force to make a sudden descent on England, we have a fact which may throw some light on this part of the question. When the expedition to Rome was decided on, ten days after the order was given by telegraph to embark the troops stationed at Toulon, two brigades of infantry, reckoning 7561 men, with 344 horses and two field batteries, with a complete battery of siege, ammunition, material, &c., and provisions for twenty days, were landed at Civita Vecchia, 100 leagues from Toulon, and took the field. Hence it may be reckoned that a corps of 10,000 men, with 1200 horses, might cross the Channel in a few hours, in a squadron consisting of 8 steam frigates; 1 corvette of 320 horse-power; 1 aviso, of 160; and 8 transports—each frigate towing one. And a squadron of three times this force might convey 30,000 men and 3600 horses to Ireland or any other part of the United Kingdom. The principal part of this force would be collected on strategical principles at Dunkirk, if the Eastern coast of England were to be menaced; at Cherbourg or at Brest, if it were the Southern coast, or Ireland. *Cherbourg especially, which faces Great Britain and is nearest to it, is, by its position, the inevitable rendezvous — the head-quarters of steamers intended to operate on the other side the Channel.* Nature has given this place strategical qualities whose value will

be acknowledged when the case occurs, and is already known to our enemies; for Admiral Napier said, in a recent speech, in the words of the Emperor, "Cherbourg is an eye to see across the straits, and "an arm to strike them."'

This allusion to Cherbourg induces us to extract the very important observations made to the Commission on that subject by the Secretary, M. Collas, in a special report. The distance from Cherbourg to the Needles is 63 miles, and has recently been crossed by one of our swift steamers, the 'Valetta,' in 4 hours and 15 minutes:—

'We have yet to speak of the labours of the naval department at Cherbourg. The breakwater (*digue*) may be said to be finished. This enterprise, which is, without exception, the boldest and the finest executed by the hand of man, is accomplished. The sea is imprisoned. Vessels at anchor, sheltered from its fury, find a safe refuge in the roadstead. Even if Cherbourg were not an important creation as a port of war, it would be invaluable as a harbour of refuge. Before the construction of this breakwater there was no harbour of refuge on the French coast of the Channel. The roadstead is finished, but the arsenal and the fortifications of the works are far from being complete. We must not disguise from ourselves that if war now broke out, immense sums of money would be lost. A few steamers of war would rapidly destroy what we have erected with so much difficulty and expense. The Assembly has voted the sums necessary for the defence of the place from the sea; it remains to us to complete, as soon as possible, all that is required for the service of the fleet. The arsenal is still destitute of sufficient means for the repair of ships. Cherbourg has but one dry dock, which is neither long enough nor deep enough to satisfy all the exigencies of the service. When the squadron were in the roads, if one of the vessels had sprung a leak, there were no means by which a three-decker could have been docked.'

'The wealth accumulated at Cherbourg will not be in safety until the port is completely terminated; for, till then, Cherbourg cannot receive a squadron or offer it a safe shelter in time of war. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to concentrate our efforts on this point, and to terminate, as soon as possible, this undertaking, at any cost. At the rate we are now working at, it will take sixty years to finish the floating basin; but the work may easily be done in six years by putting on ten times the number of labourers; for as the whole is excavated in the rock, there is room for any number of labourers. The law of the 25th June fixed the estimates at 26,000,000. The completion of the place, as it is conceived, would require 35,000,000. In the budget of 1852, as in that of 1851, the annual vote was 2,575,000 fr. This sum is too small. The annual vote used to be 5,000,000; but since 1848 it has been diminished. Although the breakwater may be said to be finished, as the works will be wholly completed in 1853, it would be proper to revert to the

vote of 5,000,000, and even to increase it. For wise policy and judicious economy are in favour of large votes, in order to complete the whole work as soon as possible. Let us never forget that the English are preparing at Alderney the means of destroying Cherbourg, and that their works will be finished in 1856. The port of Cherbourg, in the event of war with England, will be the most important. It is necessary, therefore, with a view to this occurrence, that Cherbourg, as well as Toulon, should have at its disposal the means of repairing, and consequently of constructing, the machinery of the fleet. To complete these means of defence and aggression, which will shortly place France in advantageous circumstances for a struggle, it is indispensable that the port of Dunkirk should be adapted to receive a steam flotilla. Our interest compels us to put this port in a condition to render the services which may be expected from its excellent situation ; and on this point it is proper to challenge the attention of the Government.' (Vol. i. p. 427.)

The objects and the solicitude which are clearly expressed in this remarkable passage, seem incessantly to have occupied the Commission, which included within the range of its inquiries the political as well as the administrative questions connected with the state of the navy. Thus on the 29th January, 1851, M. de Montebello, who had held the office of Minister of Marine for a short time, about the close of King Louis Philippe's reign, stated to the Commission that in his opinion,—

'It is difficult to foresee the position in which France might be placed in the event of maritime war. The history of the past can be of no great use in such a case. Circumstances are changed ; the position and the interests of nations are changed ; the scene of operations would be removed. It would be rash to pronounce a decided opinion ; but we may reason on certain hypotheses. If France had England for her enemy, whilst she was engaged in a war with the continent, all her efforts in men and money would be directed to the continental operations, and her navy, reduced to the part it played during the Empire, could only carry on a war of privateers against the English. But in the case that France had allies, there is an idea, which though often put forward, is not the less true, — namely, that the French navy ought to serve as a rallying point to the other fleets of Europe against England, which aspires to the absolute empire of the sea.' (Vol. i. p. 152.)

No doubt that idea has more than once been put forward by France, and adopted, in certain cases, by some of the minor maritime Powers. But it should be added that this maritime alliance with France has invariably proved fatal to the fleets which shared in her defeats. It cost the Spaniards their last fleet, which perished at Trafalgar ; it cost the Dutch a great part of their colonies, and of their maritime resources. To these remarks M. Benoist d'Azy added that,—

'It should never be forgotten that whatever efforts and sacrifices France may make for her navy will always be exceeded by England, for whom it is a question "to be, or not to be," and who would give, in such a case, her last man, whilst she was spending her last shilling. We must revert, therefore, to the question of alliances which are positive and certain. No great hope of assistance, indeed, can be founded on the United States, which are tending to isolate themselves more and more from Europe; but in Russia France may hope to find a *point d'appui* for the day of war with England; — a war which England dreads as much as we do, and which she will not attempt as long as she can carry on, as she does now, more terrible hostilities, by exciting and keeping alive our internal revolutions.' (Vol. i. p. 153.)

It would carry us too far to refute the singular ignorance and perversity which these words convey, but it is instructive to remark that this is the language in which men professing to be statesmen could publicly speak of England and of her foreign relations. A nation convulsed by the recent failure of its constitutional rulers, and the factious blindness of its opposition, rushes into a preposterous revolution; but though England has recognised with undeviating complaisance every form of government which the shifting authorities of the revolution could assume, she is accused of fomenting changes which she can only regard with aversion and dread; and as the last resource, France, under what was in 1851 her Republican Government, reserves to herself the chance of purchasing the alliance of Russia!

In the same strain of feeling towards this country, and of political foresight, Baron Charles Dupin (who had just accepted the office of a Commissioner to the Great Exhibition of 1851) expressed himself in a written document to the following effect:—

'I am extremely grateful to Admiral Lainè for having proposed 45 instead of 40 as the standard number of ships of the line that we ought to possess. Let us never forget that at the close of the Empire France had 73 ships of the line in commission, and more than 30 building. Let us not forget that towards the close of the American war, at the time of the battle of Ushant, France, the France of that day, not larger than she is now, and with two thirds our present population and half our present wealth, had 80 ships of the line at sea. Let us leave the future alone. If, as I hope, it brings us internal peace and the elements of political stability, we may leave the future to develope and complete our scheme. For the present we may be content with a modest naval establishment, but not with one ridiculously small. Several plans have been presented to enable us to sustain even now a contest with the principal naval power; — a power aggrandised by our misfortunes, and preponderating in pro-

portion to the internal discords and revolutions which have for sixty years weakened this country. England, in her turn, as little circumspect in 1850 as we were in 1788, and still more confident, imagines that no internal cause of debility can reach her. For the love of humanity, I should wish to share this confidence and this security. But I am convinced of the contrary, and a few years will suffice, I fear, to demonstrate it. Then will be restored the conditions of equipoise between the maritime forces of France and of her eternal rival. Till then I advise my country to remain faithful to a system of peace, and to organise without ostentation a naval force sufficient to be the basis of our future development, but not so large as to inspire anticipated apprehensions to our rivals, who are watching our proceedings.' (Vol. i. p. 163.)

The geographical position of the French territory on the Mediterranean Sea and on the Atlantic is, in some respects, a cause of maritime weakness, for it is extremely difficult for her to concentrate her fleet in sufficient strength on one of her coasts without leaving the other undefended. Practically, for many years past, the principal squadron of French line-of-battle ships has manœuvred exclusively in the Mediterranean. The stations of the French navy abroad are supplied with small vessels only, and it is many years since anything larger than a frigate has been seen in the American or Asiatic waters under the tri-color flag. The ports in the French colonies are so small or insecure, that larger vessels would find no harbour of their own to frequent, and the protection of trade is accomplished by the presence of very small craft. In 1831, when a squadron was sent into the North Sea to support the operations against Antwerp, it is admitted in this evidence, that 'the French 'crews were so ill acquainted with those latitudes that they had 'to encounter almost insurmountable obstacles in the perform-'ance of that service.' Even the naval members of the Commission, such as Admiral Hernoux, seemed to think that the presence of the fleet in the roadstead of Brest in winter would defeat the necessary evolutions, and that to send a squadron into the North Sea in winter was '*à-peu près impossible.*' M. Daru was of opinion that the squadron was kept in the Mediterranean from a misplaced and scrupulous delicacy towards this country. He added with truth that 'the sea belongs to 'one nation as much as to another, and that the exaggerated 'fear of wounding the jealous sentiments of England was no 'reason to deprive French vessels of that kind of navigation 'which would be most useful to them on the occurrence of 'hostilities.' The true reason was more correctly stated by M. de Montebello, who rejoined that the fleet was kept in the Mediterranean because it was actively employed there, and that

on the Atlantic coast it would have nothing to do. Eventually, however, the Commission adopted a proposition of M. Daru's, that the fleet of ten ships in commission should be divided into two squadrons, one in the Mediterranean, and the other in the Atlantic. The Government, however, have not felt themselves bound to adopt any such resolution, for it is obvious that a division of the present forces would paralyse both branches of the fleet in the event of serious duties being required of them in presence of a powerful adversary.

This part of the question is connected with another condition of the service to which the utmost importance was attached by the Committee, viz., the velocity which it may be possible to attain by steam, or by auxiliary steam propellers. For it is evident that in vessels moved partly or principally by steam power, a much less volume and weight of stores and fuel will suffice when they are constantly within a few days' sail of Toulon, and frequently able to touch at friendly ports, than when they may have to hold their way for months over the solitudes of the ocean or among the unprovided coasts of distant lands.

The result of these considerations is a preference in the French navy for vessels capable of swift and sudden operations for a short distance, and of course in the immediate vicinity of their own coasts. M. Charner, now a rear-admiral, maintained that 'velocity is the most important element of naval force.'

'France cannot put to sea as many vessels as England — the Power we must always have in view in discussing the chances of maritime warfare. The defence of our colonies, in case of war, becomes impossible. Our cruisers can do nothing effective, as was shown by the case of the 'Regulus,' in the Indian Seas. Our ships intended to operate in the seas of Europe stand, therefore, in much less need of capacity than of extreme swiftness. That will enable them to escape when they are the weakest, and to attack under more favourable circumstances.'

This distinction is constantly kept in view in determining the strength of the fleet and the proportion of its different parts: for, as we have seen, whilst the number of line-of-battle ships is kept far below that which France possessed in the wars of the last century, the frigates and steamers are to be largely increased. One class of these vessels would serve the purpose of heavy transports, another for swift and desultory operations in the narrow seas, and a third which should consist of 50 gun frigates, with auxiliary screws, would cruise in distant parts of the globe. The vessels employed near home would not require more than two months' stores, but more coal and a powerful engine: the

vessels employed at a distance must have eight months' stores, and machinery to be used sparingly in calms and other emergencies. This system corresponds to the two-fold maritime operations contemplated by the French in case of war with this country. They would collect a sufficient force of transports, frigates, and corvettes in the ports of Brest, Cherbourg, and Dunkirk, to keep us constantly on the alert; for even though no movement at all were attempted, the presence of such an enemy within reach of our coasts would retain a very large British force upon guard in the Channel. But they would also keep afloat a sufficient number of cruisers (in the words of M. Collas)—

'to display the French flag at all times in all the seas of the globe, to drill their crews in the manœuvres and exercises of the ship, to protect our commerce everywhere, and, on a declaration of war with England, to strike her possessions everywhere at once, as soon as the declaration of hostilities was made known.'

The present squadrons of the French navy on foreign stations consist of a frigate and 2 corvettes in the Pacific; the same force with 2 additional transports at Bourbon and Madagascar; 3 frigates, 2 corvettes, and 2 brigs at Brazil; 1 frigate, 2 corvettes, and 3 transports in the West Indies; 1 frigate, 3 corvettes, and 3 brigs on the West coast of Africa; 1 corvette in the Indian seas, and 3 transports off Senegal. The term transport is, however, sometimes used to designate paddle-wheel steamers. M. Collas remarked, that the force of these vessels on foreign stations, which are now 46 in number, is too small to attempt active operations with success; and he proposed to substitute for them a regular service of 18 frigates, 6 of which should start every year—one every two months—to circumnavigate the globe in opposite directions and relieve each other at fixed stations.

'This arrangement would form excellent sailors, would display our flag everywhere, would cause our countrymen to be respected all over the world, and would give a lofty idea of the maritime power of France, as her forces would be continually seen in every sea. If war broke out, these ships, perfectly armed and equipped, would be apprised of it by the steam communications through Suez and Panama; and before France and England could send a fleet to sea, they would commence the destruction of the commerce of the enemy all over the globe.' (P. 196.)

This proposition, however, was rejected by the Commission and the present system of permanent stations maintained. We are not surprised at this decision; for to keep 18 or 20 frigates and about 10,000 men continually at sea, is a far more expensive

thing than to maintain a larger number of vessels of inferior size on a station, and as soon as the course of these itinerant vessels became known, it would be easy for the British squadrons on foreign stations to intercept every one of them. On this part of the case the essential difference between the two navies, is that we have harbours and stations on which we can rely in every part of the globe, but France has scarcely an harbour of her own to resort to beyond her European and African territory. The importance attached to these operations in the narrow seas and abroad appears to have superseded in the minds of the French naval tacticians all intentions of regular naval warfare, and with the exception of Admiral La Susse, hardly any of the officers consulted seem to contemplate the possibility of sending a fleet of line-of-battle ships to sea.

These facts, connected as they are with the mode of warfare projected by all the French naval authorities, deserve attentive consideration at our own Admiralty. For when we learn that our great maritime rival is disposed to rely chiefly if not entirely on the number and swiftness of her smaller vessels, doubts naturally occur to the mind whether such magnificent and colossal structures as the 'Duke of Wellington' and the 'Royal Albert' are the most effective and economical application of our strength and above all of our seamen. The lesson given us by the heavy American frigates in the last war is repeatedly alluded to with exultation in this evidence; and if the change anticipated by this Committee is adopted by foreign countries, our huge three deckers may range the seas without encountering an enemy of their own power, whilst frigates of the class of the 'Impérieuse' and the 'Arrogant' would cruise with advantage in every part of the world. The idea of the possibility of fighting a general naval action, even under the most favourable circumstances, is confined to the French Mediterranean squadron; but the operations of the enemy in the Channel and Atlantic ports would be entirely carried on by vessels of a lighter class. If that be their choice of the weapons, it must of course regulate to some extent our means of defence, but they have at present done but little to place the branch of the fleet on which they rely most in a high state of efficiency.

We have seen that to raise the fleet of France to the strength contemplated by the Committee, it is required that two line-of-battle ships should be launched annually for seven or eight years, that 19 frigates and 30 corvettes should be built all together, and that 12 line-of-battle ships, several frigates, and 12 corvettes should be adapted to auxiliary screws. We shall not attempt to follow the minute and elaborate investigations of the Committee

into the amount of stores existing in the French arsenals; but one fact, which was arrived at by minute calculations and searching inquiry, throws great doubt on the possibility of executing this scheme within a limited period. It is proved, by evidence, that the whole supply of wood proper for ship building, now in store in the French arsenals, would not suffice, even with makeshifts, to construct more than 12 ships of the line and 15 frigates. Even this quantity of wood is ill assorted and frequently unprovided with those curved pieces which are essential to naval architecture. The head shipwrights of the yard at Brest, when asked what vessels they could build with the wood in store, replied that they could build *no first class ship at all* without substituting iron supports for wooden knees, and not above two vessels of the line even with these expedients. The adaptation of the screw-propeller to ships requires an extraordinary quantity of wood of a peculiar form to strengthen the stern of the vessel. In the 'Pomone,' third class screw frigate, 335 *stères* were used for this purpose, 158 *stères* of which were of rare and choice woods, being considerably more than would be required for a first class frigate without the screw. It has since been said that the whole arsenal of Cherbourg does not contain the materials for another such job. The 'Pomone' is the only frigate in the French navy which has been so adjusted at present; and if these details can be relied on, it is clear that without a very great increase and improvement in the stores of the French arsenals, the vast additions to the navy which have been proposed are physically impracticable. The whole stock of wood is stated at eight years' consumption, but that is irrespective of any extraordinary or peculiar demand.

Lastly, if the application of steam power to the whole navy of a great empire is adopted as a fundamental condition of its maritime strength, an abundant supply and good quality of coal fit for marine engines, becomes a matter of the gravest importance. M. Maissiat, a member of the Committee, was therefore instructed to report on this subject, which he did at great length. To have a supply of coal, said he, in this document, in time of war, from a certain source and of available quality, is a question of existence and non-existence to our navy. The unanimous opinion of the French officers commanding steamers is, that *in the present state of machinery French vessels of war can only acquire a fair velocity in good weather, and in foul weather can only brave the sea and the wind, with the assistance of foreign coal.* The simple question what nation can make the best fire with materials always at its command bids fair to exercise the same influence over maritime warfare and political

power that it has long had over industrial competition. The experiments already made on board the 'Mogador' and the 'Salamandre' between English Newcastle coal and the French coal of Grand d'Combe demonstrated, that in a voyage from Toulon to Algiers, in the same vessel, under similar circumstances, and with the same velocity, the consumption of English coal was 13,000 kilos., giving 12 hectolitres of cinders, whilst the consumption of French coal was 17,000 kilos. giving 23 hectolitres of cinders. In spite, however, of these discouraging results the Committee was strongly of opinion that every effort should be made by the introduction of Warlich's patent fuel and by every other means to render French coal exclusively available for the fleet, as no other could be relied on with certainty in time of war. It is not impossible that some improvements might be invented in boilers, which would adapt them better to the use of French coal, for this has been attempted with success in the construction of locomotive engines for French railroads, which enables them to use French coke to a considerable extent. But, to the natural inferiority of the article, must be added the difficulty and cost of conveying it at all to the important stations of Lorient, Brest, and Cherbourg; which are at a great distance from any coal fields and can only be conveniently supplied by sea. In these ports the Committee determined that a supply of English coal, for the consumption of at least one year, should always be kept in readiness. It is evident, that in the event of the outbreak of hostilities, coal will come to be considered as an important article of contraband of war, and that it will become a matter of great interest to this country to prevent a supply from the British coal fields from reaching the ports of our maritime antagonists.

Such are the causes of what we believe to be the material inferiority of the French navy to the naval resources of this country; and, as it is not our object to overstate any part of the case for the purpose of exciting undue apprehension, we shall recapitulate, before we proceed, those facts which are conclusively established by the evidence before us: —

I. The French navy possesses but 27 line-of-battle ships afloat; of these, half are condemned and only 4 are provided with screw-propellers; they have, therefore, at present, no resource which could enable them to send to sea a second squadron.

II. The steam frigates and frigates with auxiliary screws, on which the French mainly depend for success in maritime warfare, are not yet built. One only, the 'Pomone,' is afloat. The steam fleet is, with very few exceptions, composed of paddle

steamers. An expenditure of 4,000,000 sterling would be required to complete the armament approved by the Commission.

III. The squadron of line-of-battle ships in commission has not left the Mediterranean for many years, and probably, in the event of war, would not run the risk of passing the Straits of Gibraltar. The French stations abroad are complained of as small and, when compared to the English and American, inactive.

IV. The ports of France, with the exception of Brest and Toulon, are neither safe nor strong; and Cherbourg, which will be both, is still unfinished.

V. The stores of wood are inadequate to supply the demands of the service. The quality of the coal which can be obtained from French coal beds is decidedly inferior to our own. The machinery of the French is not able to rival our's and its price is enormously increased by the prohibitive duty on iron.

Having thus stated the evidence and the grounds on which we hold the French navy in its present state to be inferior to our own naval force, and having shown that the plans of the Commission for its improvement cannot be realised without extraordinary efforts and expenditure; we now proceed to discuss the second part of the question, namely, the organisation of the *personnel* of the naval service, on which we readily concede to France the merit of a very perfect system, from which our own naval authorities and statesmen may receive a useful lesson. With a number of seamen in the fleet, barely exceeding 16,000 in time of peace, the French Government has the whole maritime population under its control to such a degree that the commission of the navy might be raised in a few weeks to its maximum; that the seafaring men thus taken for the service of the State would all be already more or less acquainted with their duty; and that by the use of these means the whole fleet of France which is now afloat and fit for service could be manned for sea. It becomes, therefore, a matter of great interest to describe this system, and to arrive at a correct notion of its numerical results. M. de Lanjuinais was instructed by the Committee to draw up a separate report on the subject, and it is on the authority of this document that we arrive at the following details: —

'Until the reign of Louis XIV., when an armament was required, the ports were closed, all the seamen who were wanted were taken and sent on board ship in the same manner as the English have retained their system of impressment to the present time. A royal ordinance of 17th December, 1665, introduced the experiment of class conscription in Aunis, Poitou, and Saintonge, which was subsequently extended to all the ports of the kingdom, by ordinances of

1668 and 1689. The system was based on the establishment of a general roll or register of the seamen established in every town and parish on the coast. They were divided into three classes, one of which was to serve every third year on the king's ships, and the two other years in the merchant navy. In Brittany, Guienne, Normandy, and Picardy, the service of the royal navy was only one year in four. Those who did not answer the roll-call were pursued as deserters, and all shipowners and captains were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to employ seamen drawn for the navy or not registered on the lists.

'This system, however, gave rise to considerable difficulties, and it was superseded by an ordinance of October 31. 1784, which introduced a series of nominal lists framed in small divisions of the territory, which are still called *syndicates*. They are divided into two columns, the one for married, the other for unmarried men, — the latter class serving one third longer than the former. The contingent furnished by each syndicate is in proportion to the whole number required. This *maritime conscription* was discussed by the Assemblies of the first revolution, but it is one of the few institutions of the country which survived that period of universal change. The efficiency of the system which had already manned our fleet for more than a century was acknowledged, and the laws of 1790, 1791, and especially that of the 3rd Brumaire, An IV., maintained, with some slight alterations, the mode adopted by Louis XIV., and which has ever since placed an entire class of our countrymen, from the age of eighteen to that of fifty, in peace and in war, at the disposal of the State. The principal conditions of this system are : —

I. Registered seamen have alone the right to navigate and to fish in the seas and waters of France.

II. They are entitled, when in the service of the State, to pensions after twenty-five years' service, and to pensions for wounds and infirmities on the same scale as the officers and men of the army. Their wives and children have also claims to pensions.

'III. They are dispensed from all other military services.

'A ministerial circular of 9th April, 1835, has carried this system to its present state of perfection. The permanent levy includes all seamen from twenty to forty, and officers of the merchant service to forty-five, not having previously served. The next class consists of men who have not served above four years; and beyond that the whole maritime population may be raised. After thirty-six months' service, the officers and seamen are entitled to their liberty till called upon to serve again ; and after six years' service, they are no longer liable to the ordinary levies. This mode of raising men finds them wherever they are, whether at home or in any port of France to which they may repair.' (Vol. i. pp. 256—8.)

In a country where, as in France, military conscription is the rule of society, this burden is less severely felt than it would be in a country of voluntary service. But, on the other hand, the military conscription takes but a portion of the population.

The naval conscription takes, or may take, the whole — a circumstance of great value to the fleet, because there are few men in the seafaring population who have not passed at least some time on board the vessels of State. But it establishes what the French Admirals themselves do not scruple to call a system of slavery, defensible solely on the principle that every citizen owes his life to the service of his country.

Let us now see the number of the men supplied by this system to the public service: —

'On the 1st of January, 1850, the maritime population of France amounted to an effective total of 139,310 men. But of these, 3744 were captains of merchant vessels, 6492 masters of coasting vessels, 1217 pilots, and 42,301 boys (*novices et mousses*), besides 14,051 dockyard workmen. Deducting these classes, which are not strictly available for the service of the fleet as able-bodied seamen, the residue is 71,505, of whom 66,111 are seamen.'

Such are the figures taken from the seaman's Register, but it is probable that a large number of names are retained there improperly. If we apply a different test, taken from the tables of trade and navigation in France from 1837 to 1847, the result is considerably smaller. The general opinion of the French Chambers of Commerce and the Commissioners of the Maritime Inscription concurs in asserting that the maritime population is rather on the decline. From other evidence, carefully examined by M. de Lanjuinais, it appears that in 1825 there were about 30,000 seamen on the rolls who did not go to sea, and that in 1850 32,000 were in the same predicament, from want of employment. These researches led the Commission to conclude that the real number of able-bodied seamen employed in the merchant service in 1850 was 38,500, including officers, mariners, and seamen; and if we add to this number the 16,000 men serving in the imperial navy, we arrive at a total of 54,500 men. Another document, prepared in the marine department, reckons the whole number at only 51,641; but this calculation excludes those who have not yet served on board a ship-of-war.

'This number would still be more than sufficient to man our whole fleet, supposing it to consist of 328 vessels, according to the ordinance of 1846. For we find that the complete armament of these vessels would require 59,921 officers and seamen. But a third of these is to be supplied, according to an invariable rule, by the military conscription in the 21 maritime departments.* The number of men to be

* It may be doubted how far this proportion is admissible in a well-constituted fleet, and the opinions of French officers differ on the point. It should, however, be borne in mind that out of the corps of *infanterie de marine*, now consisting of 12,000, the French provide

drawn from the seamen's register would be only 39,947, leaving a reserve of 11,694 seamen fit for good service. In addition to this number we must reckon 21,000 men not inserted in the registers, because they have completed their period of service, or obtained exemptions. Upon the whole, allowing for every contingency, we may rely on 40,000 seamen perfectly qualified for maritime warfare, and on 20,000 men taken partly from the register and partly from the army, and able to render good service when mingled with the first class. We might no doubt go further; but our vessels would

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for the protection of their colonies, and that they do not perform the duties of our marines. Admiral Vernnac states that the efficiency of this class of men and of the seamen in the use of small arms depends mainly on the orders of their superior officers; and he quotes Prince de Joinville as having rendered his crews very efficient in this respect. Men in the tops with the Miniè rifle can shoot with precision at 800 metres, and the weapon kills at 1500. While on this point we cannot but advert to a gross inaccuracy which fell from the gallant Admiral with reference to this subject. He stated that at the battle of Trafalgar, the 'Redoubtable,' 74, 'abordé dès le début 'du combat, par le vaisseau de 120 canons le "Victory," monté par 'Nelson, allait grâce à la superiorité de sa mousqueterie et du jet 'de ses artifices, sortir vainqueur de la lutte; *déja une partie 'de son équipage était maitre du pont du "Victory,"* quand un 'second vaisseau à trois ponts et un vaisseau à deux ponts vinrent 'le cribler du feu de leur artillerie et le forcer, pour sa défense à 'rappeler ses hommes, qui se disposaient à amariner le vaisseau de 'l'amiral Anglais.' This is of a piece with M. Thiers' rhodomontade on the same occurrence, though one statement is inconsistent with the other. See 'Consulat et Empire,' vol. vi. p. 156., where he says: — 'Le capitaine Lucas (of the "Redoubtable") avait porté ses 'matelots devenus disponibles dans les hunes et les haubans, pour 'diriger sur le pont du "Victory" un feu meurtrier de grenades et de 'mousqueterie. *Pour en finir avec le "Victory"* il avait ordonné 'l'abordage, mais son vaisseau n'étant qu'à deux ponts et le "Vic-'"tory" à trois il avait la hauteur d'un pont à franchir et de plus 'une espèce de fossé à traverser pour passer d'un bord à l'autre, car 'la forme rentrante des vaisseaux laissait un vide entr'eux quoiqu'ils 'se touchassent à la ligne de flottaison. Le capitaine Lucas ordonna 'sur le champ d'amener ses vergues pour établir un moyen de pas-'sage entre les deux batimens,' when at this moment Lord Nelson was killed; which illustrates the use of marksmen in the yards far more effectually than the story of the boarding. It is scarcely necessary for us to add that Admiral Vernnac's statement is wholly unfounded, and has been indignantly contradicted by several of the gallant veterans who were on the deck of the 'Victory' in the action. No French sailor set his foot on that deck, or attempted it. M. Thiers himself shows that boarding from deck to deck was impossible at the moment, and 'pour en finir avec le "Victory,"' French writers had better wait at least the death of every man of her gallant crew.

lose in mechanical skill and fighting power more than they would gain in numbers. We should then relapse into the errors which led to the destruction of our fleets under the Empire; which taught us, by cruel lessons, that, by sea as well as by land, victory belongs to the army which is best organised and soonest on the scene of action.' (Vol. i. p. 249.)

All the competent French maritime witnesses concur in expressing their satisfaction and confidence in the results of this system. Admiral La Susse remarks: — 'The number of registered seamen from twenty to forty years of age is now about 50,000. Adding the men to be taken from the army and the *infanterie de marine*, France, in case of maritime war, could dispose of 90,000 men, which is sufficient to man every vessel in the fleet.' M. de Fleuriau stated that he had

'compared the present situation of the French navy with what it was in former times. In 1776, at the time of the American war, the maritime inscription consisted of 76,000 men, and yet this war was glorious for the French navy, especially under Suffren, in the Indian Seas. After the American war, the Government paid great attention to the improvement of the system of the registration of seamen, and promulgated the ordinance of 1784, which took in the watermen, or population of rivers at a greater distance from the sea. In 1793 and 1794 the registration rose to 94,000 men; but this figure included not only the river population, but also the maritime population up to 60 years of age. In 1848 the maritime population, not including the men from 50 to 60, and also not including the watermen on rivers, rose to 125,000. This superiority of numbers which I point out is, however, but a small advantage compared to that resulting from the intrinsic value of the men of the present day. During the revolutionary war, very little attention was paid to the instruction of the men. Ships were sent to sea without caring what men were placed under the captain's orders, or what degree of subordination they had attained. Hence, in presence of an enemy's ship, they were discouraged by a sense of manifest inferiority. At the present time, the result of what is termed the permanent levy is, *that all the seamen of the fleet taken from the maritime inscription have passed successively on board the vessels of the State, and that all have received a complete education both in respect to seamanship and gunnery.* You see, then, gentlemen, that the *personnel* we now possess, as well officers as sailors, is a body of far greater experience in the art of navigation than we ever had before at any period of our naval history. It is a great satisfaction for the persons who have followed these improvements to reflect that, at this moment, France could put forth a maritime force superior to what she had then; and I believe I am not mistaken in these statements, which are the result of long researches and of conscientious inquiry.' (Vol. ii. p. 90.)

We have dwelt with some detail on this part of the subject, because it is incomparably the most important portion of these volumes in its practical application to ourselves; and we most

earnestly beg to urge these incontrovertible facts on the attention of our own naval authorities and of Parliament. It is in positive evidence that the French Government disposes of a body of at least 50,000 perfectly well-trained seamen, all of them within easy reach, and immediately subject to the call of their country. In other words, it can triple the force it now has afloat in a few weeks; and in a few months it can send every ship in its ports and arsenals to sea. Let us now compare this state of things with our own position. The Committee of British Naval Officers recently appointed to investigate this subject tell us, in paragraph 140 of their Report, that they have a letter from the Registrar-General of Seamen, dated the 19th Nov. 1852, which states that, 'The actual number of persons 'employed in British registered ships was, in the year 1851, '175,000; and after making various deductions therefrom, in-'cluding 53,600 protected from impressment, it is stated that 'there remain in round numbers 80,000 men available for ser-'vice; of this latter number it is estimated that not more than '21,000 would be found in the United Kingdom at any one 'time, of whom a certain portion would doubtless be found 'unfit, from physical causes. It is incumbent upon us to call 'their Lordships' attention to the fact that where comparatively 'so small a number of men are available for service, in a time of 'pressure, so large a proportion as 53,600 persons should be 'exempted altogether from compulsory service.'

This estimate is, we conclude, exclusive of the 45,000 men and boys now serving in Her Majesty's ships; but it shows that we should have the greatest possible difficulty, on our present system, in doubling the naval establishments of the country, or even raising a force equal to that which France is prepared to send to sea. Of the French inscription maritime not more than 20,000 men are engaged in long voyages; of our merchant service, not more than 21,000 are to be found at any time in Britain. Moreover, the necessity of raising suddenly a great armament would at once paralyse our commercial operations; and although it might partly assist the navy by diminishing the number of our trading vessels, yet it must be remembered that trade would pass rapidly under the neutral flag of the United States, and that our seamen would follow it. If, under such circumstances, the Government had recourse to the highly questionable expedient of taking our men out of American ships we must make up our minds to immediate hostilities with the United States, and to a great addition to the pressure on our resources. These are considerations of vital consequence to the power and security of this nation. We are not disposed to exaggerate the strength of our rivals; to draw alarming pictures

of possible, but imaginary perils; or to depreciate the admirable state of efficiency which prevails in many branches of the British naval service. But the fundamental question for this country is, how to ensure access at all times to the real maritime resources of England. At present the Admiralty can command, with certainty and promptitude, little beyond the men and boys actually afloat; and even on grounds of economy, it might fairly be urged that an effective reserve for the navy would enable us to retain a smaller amount of men at sea. It is our strange and perilous position, that our gigantic commerce is the successful rival of that navy which is most essential for its own protection; and even if it were possible to enlist suddenly on the Queen's ships the British merchant seamen, who are to be found in every part of the globe, they are, for the most part, utterly destitute of the instruction of the company of a man-of-war. We have few good sailors beyond those who have been trained and attached to the service, and of these the boys who have grown up under Her Majesty's colours are by far the most valuable. The Report to which we have alluded and the Order in Council of the 1st of April last, have commenced an improvement of the system; and we trust that at whatever cost, the Government will take measures to provide against this real and alarming deficiency.

Tht French Commission was made perfectly aware of this state of things in this country. M. de Montaignac stated in his evidence: —

'The merchant service of England, in the opinion of many British officers, is no great resource to the Royal navy, even in time of war. It seems strange to us that a service which comprises about 200,000 auxiliaries should be no great resource, but it is true; and all the British officers who have attended to the subject are of opinion that the system of manning the navy is very inadequate, and that a good organisation in France might render us superior in respect to our *personnel*. That is solely the result of our maritime inscription. In England they have no maritime conscription, and they cannot establish it in the state of liberty in which men live in that country. As for impressment, you are aware that in 1793 and 1795 very formidable mutinies took place in the fleet, which were the result of it, and British officers are persuaded it could not be used, and at best it furnishes very indifferent men-of-war's men. So that the English, like the Americans, would be obliged, in case of war, to treat for separate engagements with every seaman in the fleet. This leads me to believe that if France had ships of the line enough to send to sea a very powerful fleet at the outset of a war, say 27 or 30 sail of the line, we should have, with a good arrangement of our forces, a considerable advantage over England; because I do not think, and this is also the opinion of her own officers, that she could, on the outbreak of hostilities, send 30 line-of-battle ships to sea.' (Vol. ii. p. 180.)

Our limits forbid us to enter upon several other topics of equal importance, but of a more technical character; such as the organisation of the department of the French Admiralty, the numbers of its officers and system of promotion, and the armament of vessels; but on all these points the volumes before us supply, to those whom it may concern, the most valuable and, we will add, impressive information. It is impossible to doubt, with such evidence before our eyes, collected with the utmost calmness and deliberation by men like M. Dufaure and his associates, for a period of two years, that the object of augmenting the maritime power of France, especially against the ascendancy of this country, is steadily pursued by all who have taken a part in the direction of her naval affairs. Their eyes are fixed, not on the disastrous and decisive actions of the last war, which, in ten years, swept their fleet from the seas, but on the less unequal struggles carried on by the French navy under the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI., down to the close of the American War. They hope to restore that state of things by a complete change in maritime warfare; and being already in possession of something like equality in the *personnel* of the service, on which our vaunted superiority has hitherto been supposed mainly to rest, they are prepared to recommend and to undertake the extensive works required to give far greater efficiency to the material strength of the fleet. These are facts to which we most earnestly call the attention of the people of England, and of those in authority over them. We urge them the more, because they constitute an answer to the reckless agitation of men who have sought to play their game of popularity at the expense of the safety and independence of their country. The danger is the greater, because it is, in all probability, *not* immediate; and every year enables our neighbours to advance in the prosecution of their vast designs, until they shall have the confidence and the opportunity to try their fortune against us. We, on the other hand, have one paramount duty, and one resource within our reach — to render the British navy the most attractive and advantageous service to which the seafaring population of this country can devote themselves; to train up large numbers of boys for the service, who have always produced the best class of permanent seamen; and to retain them for life, by converting the navy into a permanent service from the first instruction of youth to the last provision for old age.

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ART. I. — 1. *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice.* By W. GOODE, M.A. 2d edition. London: 1853.

2. *Discourses on the Controversies of the Day.* By W.F. HOOK, D.D. London: 1853.

3. *Means of Unity.* A Charge by Archdeacon HARE. London: 1847.

THE three writers whose works are named above may be taken as representatives of the three great parties which divide the Church of England. These parties have always existed, under different phases, and with more or less of life. But they have been brought into sharper contrast, and have learned better to understand themselves and one another, during the controversies which have agitated the last twenty years. They are commonly called the Low Church, the High Church, and the Broad Church parties; but such an enumeration is the result of an incomplete analysis. On a closer inspection, it is seen that each of these is again triply subdivided into sections which exemplify respectively the exaggeration, the stagnation, and the normal development of the principles which they severally claim to represent. And these subdivisions, though popularly confounded with each other, differ amongst themselves, as much as the delirium of fever or the torpor of old age differs from the calm circulation of health.

It would be an interesting task to trace these parties historically, from the Reformation downwards; to show how far they

may be regarded as continuous branches, how far as modern revivals, how far as new modifications of ancient schools of opinion. But this would require researches far too extensive for our limits. We only propose at present to examine the divisions of the existing Church of England, and to study their forms and boundaries, not as they would be coloured in a chronological chart, but as they would be laid down in an actual survey.

Of the parties named above, the most influential in recent times has been that which is termed Low Church by its adversaries, and Evangelical by its adherents. It originated in the revival of religious life, which marked the close of the last and the beginning of the present century,—the reaction against a long period of frozen lifelessness. The thermometer of the Church of England sank to its lowest point in the first thirty years of the reign of George III. Butler and Berkeley were dead, and had left no successors. The last of that generation of clergymen which had founded the Societies for 'the Diffu-'sion of Christian Knowledge,' and the 'Propagation of the 'Gospel,' were now in their graves. Unbelieving bishops and a slothful clergy had succeeded in driving from the Church the faith and zeal of Methodism which Wesley had organised within her pale. The spirit was expelled, and the dregs remained. That was the age when jobbery and corruption, long supreme in the State, had triumphed over the virtue of the Church; when the money-changers not only entered the temple, but drove out the worshippers; when ecclesiastical revenues were monopolised by wealthy pluralists; when the name of curate lost its legal meaning, and instead of denoting the incumbent of a benefice, came to signify the deputy of an absentee; when church services were discontinued; when university exercises were turned into a farce; when the holders of ancient endowments vied with one another in evading the intentions of their founders; when everywhere the lowest ends were most openly avowed, and the lowest means adopted for effecting them. In their preaching, nineteen clergymen out of twenty carefully abstained from dwelling upon Christian doctrines. Such topics exposed the preacher to the charge of fanaticism. Even the calm and sober Crabbe, who certainly never erred from excess of zeal, was stigmatised in those days by his brethren as a 'Methodist,' because he introduced into his sermons the motives of future reward and punishment. An orthodox clergyman (they said) should be content to show his people the worldly advantage of good conduct, and to leave heaven and hell to the ranters. Nor can we wonder that such

should have been the notions of country parsons, when, even by those who passed for the supreme arbiters of orthodoxy and taste, the vapid rhetoric of Blair was thought the highest standard of Christian exhortation.

At last, this age of stagnation was ended by that great convulsion which startled Europe from its slumber. The triumph of Atheism in France restored Christianity to England. Faith revived in the tempest; the solemn time woke solemn thoughts; and forgotten truths were preached to eager hearers, by an ever increasing band of zealous men, whose one desire was to rekindle in the hearts of others that belief which filled their own, in the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. These doctrines had hitherto been rather tacitly ignored than openly contradicted. The Articles were subscribed by those who disbelieved* them, as 'Articles of Peace,' to use the fashionable euphemism; but by most they were neither believed nor disbelieved. The mass of the clergy troubled not their souls with theological difficulties, but hunted and tippled peacefully with the squirearchy. And now, when such doctrines as Human Corruption and the Divine Atonement were prominently brought forward, they were received by the majority with a storm of opposition. The aspect of the struggle which ensued is most anomalous. Truths embodied in every formulary of the Church, enforced in her homilies, and stereotyped in her liturgy, were assailed as heretical novelties by her ministers. Yet they were compelled, Sunday after Sunday, to affirm in their reading-desk what they contradicted in their pulpit. Though they denied human corruption in the sermon, they were forced in the prayers to acknowledge that all mankind were 'tied and bound by the chain of 'their sins;' though they denounced as fanatical all mention of the Atonement, they were compelled to speak of it themselves, not in their own words, but in the words of the Universal Church, with the deepest pathos and the most enthusiastic love. Such inconsistency was too glaring not to be felt, even by the dullest; and it gave an overwhelming superiority in argument to the assailing party. Thus their triumph was more rapid and complete than is usual in theological controversies. In less than twenty years the original battle-field was won, and the enemy may be said to have surrendered at discretion. Thenceforward, scarcely a clergyman was to be found in England who preached

* Paley, in his defence of the Feathers' Tavern petitioners in 1772, states it as an admitted fact that the only persons who then believed the Articles were the Methodists, who were refused ordination by the Bishops.

against the doctrine of the creeds. The faith of the Church was restored to the level of her formularies. But, meanwhile, the combatants who had won the victory were no longer united under a single standard; or rather the banner of the cross, under which they fought, was seen to wave over the encampments of three separate armies. And each of these was more or less recruited, and its character more or less altered, by the enrolment among its troops of a portion of the conquered enemy.

From this period the Evangelical party began to assume the form which it still retains. At first it had comprehended many different shades of theological opinion. All religious men had been classed together by their opponents as enthusiasts, fanatics, and Methodists, and had agreed to forget their minor differences in their essential agreement. But when the great truths of Christianity were no longer denied within the Church, the maintenance of them ceased to be a distinctive badge of fellowship; and other secondary doctrines assumed greater importance, as forming the specific creed of the majority of those who had hitherto been contented with a more catholic bond of union. Of the tenets which then became, and have since continued, the watchwords of the Evangelical camp, the most conspicuous were the two following; first, '*the universal necessity of* '*conversion*,' and secondly, '*justification by faith*.' A third was added, to which subsequent controversy gave more than its original prominence, namely, '*the sole authority of Scripture as* '*the rule of faith*.'

Each of these doctrines may be held and taught in two ways; either as a living principle of action, or as the corner-stone of a technical system. Thus, '*the necessity of conversion*,' in the mouths of some who preach it, means that the selfishness of man's earthly nature must be superseded by the strength of a diviner life, before his actions can possess any spiritual worth; in the mouths of others, it means that every individual must experience, on a particular day and hour, certain prescribed sensations, in a defined order. Again, '*justification by faith*' may be an expression of the truth, that peace and holiness must be derived from conscious union with a present Saviour, and can never flow from a routine of outward observances; or, on the other hand, it may be turned into the scholastic expression of a distinction without a difference. So '*the sole authority of* '*Scripture*' may symbolise the sacred duty of private judgment, involving the necessity of personal religion; or it may be the mere negation of ecclesiastical authority. Moreover, besides this difference in the mode of apprehending and enforcing these

doctrines, there is a farther difference in the results deducible from them. If either be taken as the basis of a system of speculation, it may be made, by an apparently logical train of argument, to evolve extravagant consequences. And these consequences will be embraced by a certain order of minds, whose creed will be the 'exaggeration' of Evangelicalism, to which we shall presently return.

The old Evangelical party, the party of Milner, Martyn, and Wilberforce, has for the most part taught its characteristic tenets in their practical and positive, not in their controversial and negative aspect. Accordingly, it has been singularly fruitful in good, both public and private, among rich and poor, to England and to the world. Those great acts of national morality, which will give an abiding glory to the present century, were all either originated or carried by this party in the Church. Its representatives in Parliament, Wilberforce, Stephen, Thornton, Buxton, and their coadjutors, successively led the van of philanthropic progress, and raised the tone of the public conscience. To them is due the suppression of the slave trade in the last generation, to them the abolition of slavery in the present. The reform of prison discipline was effected by their efforts, the criminal law was robbed of its bloodthirsty severity by their aid.* To their benevolent agitation it is owing that Hindoo widows are no longer burnt alive, and that the natives of the most distant and barbarous colonies know that they will not appeal in vain to English sympathy against English oppression. In more recent times the population of our factories and our mines may thank the exertions of another Evangelical champion, for the investigation into their sufferings, and the improvement in their condition. Even the outcasts of society, neglected and despaired of by others, have been won to civilisation by the untiring benevolence of the same party, and the same leader, the establishers, though not the inventors, of 'Ragged Schools.' Others have declaimed more copiously on the diseases of the body politic, and the regeneration of society. But while such men have only talked, these single-minded Christians have worked; doing what they could, and the best they knew, to stop visible and pressing evils; while their depreciators content themselves with idly proclaiming that faith is dead, and worship obsolete.

But while they have devoted themselves thus zealously to

* Without the aid of the Evangelical party, and their out-of-doors agitation, the efforts of Romilly and Mackintosh might have remained fruitless.

philanthropic objects, the members of this party have not neglected to labour for ends more exclusively religious. Convinced of our national responsibility to the heathen populations with which our commerce brought us into contact, they inaugurated the present century with the foundation of the 'Church Missionary Society.' That Society now maintains about 2000 ministers and teachers, of whom 200 are ordained, and has established more than 100 stations, scattered over the world. Centres of religious truth and of civilisation are thus fixed in the midst of heathendom, which cannot fail to produce results far greater than anything which they have hitherto effected. Yet the visible fruits already garnered would well repay the labour. For, not to mention the converted towns on the coast of Africa, whole districts of Southern India have embraced the faith; and the native population of New Zealand (spread over a territory as large as England) has been reclaimed from cannibalism, and added to the Church. About the same time, the same party were chiefly instrumental in establishing the 'Bible Society,' which in the course of the last half century, has translated the Scriptures into 148 languages, and circulated forty-three millions of copies. Besides this it has so greatly reduced the price of the English Bible, as to bring it within the reach of the poorest labourer. Nor is it to be reckoned the least merit of this body, that it has promoted Christian charity by forming a bond of union between all sects of Protestants.*

The conspicuous position occupied by these societies, and their striking results, have eclipsed in the public view the more domestic efforts of their supporters; and the Low Church party has been accused of neglecting nearer duties, for the more exciting pursuit of evangelising the antipodes. Yet the charge is obviously unfounded; for the very men who were most energetic in their endeavours to christianise the world, were also the authors of every scheme devised in the present century for christianising England. They were the first to call attention to the fact, that our population had outgrown the religious machinery provided by the existing parochial system of the Church. They endeavoured from the beginning, so far as the defective state of the law allowed them, to supply this growing population with the means of worship. The first Diocesan Church Building

* We wish that we were not obliged to confess that this last merit of the Bible Society is too often cancelled by the uncharitable abuse of Roman Catholics, which sometimes forms a main topic at its meetings.

Society was founded by Archbishop Sumner, soon after he became Bishop of Chester*; and during his episcopate in that diocese, he consecrated more than 200 new churches. At a still earlier period, Mr. Simeon of Cambridge had spent his whole private fortune in an effort to meet the same evil by a different method. He saw that in many of our great towns, myriads were under the pastoral charge of a single clergyman. In such a position he knew that the slothful found ample excuse for doing nothing; but he knew also that the zealous might do much: and that the very sight of a clergyman devoting himself to his work under such difficulties would win co-operation. Acting on this view he purchased the advowsons of many such livings, and vested them in trustees. The inhabitants of Bath, Clifton, Bradford, and many other places similarly situated, have been thus supplied with a body of laborious ministers; and their improved condition attests the wisdom of the plan.

With the same end in view, the same party founded the 'Pastoral Aid Society' in 1836. It now supports more than 300 additional clergymen (besides above 100 lay assistants), ministering to a population of nearly three million souls. Again, at a still later period, they have attempted to reach those godless multitudes who, though within 'the sound of 'the church-going bell,' are far beyond the sphere of its attraction. With this purpose they have instituted a new ecclesiastical order, under the name of 'Scripture Readers,' drawn from the same class of society as those to whom they are sent. These lay Evangelists are often able to penetrate where a clergyman's visit would be repelled; and sometimes their simple earnestness triumphs over the logic of Tom Paine and the rhetoric of the Sunday newspaper, and wins back family after family of baptized heathens to the pale of Christendom.

These are some of the objects effected by the collective exertions of the Evangelical body. But the work they have done is not to be measured by these public undertakings. They have been still more extensively useful by their private efforts, each in his own parish going about doing good, healing the sick, and preaching the Gospel to the poor. It has been by such silent labours that the profound darkness in which the English peasantry were enveloped at the beginning of the century† has been gra-

* The General Church Building Society was founded by Sir T. Acland, Lord Kenyon, and others, ten years earlier, in 1818; but this is supported by public collections under Queen's Letters, not by private efforts.

† See, for example, Hannah More's account of the state of the Somersetshire peasantry, when she began to establish schools among

dually dissipated. They were the establishers of Sunday Schools, of Infant Schools, and Lending Libraries. By weekly lectures in the sequestered hamlets of their parishes, they brought the teaching of the Church to the door of the most distant cottage. They promoted benefit societies and clothing clubs, and all the manifold machinery of parochial benevolence. And by always residing on their preferment, they brought the civilising influence of a resident gentry to bear upon many a village, which had been destitute of that advantage for several generations.

Unhappily, the rapid growth of the towns outstripped their efforts, and therefore the results effected have been wholly inadequate to the necessities of the time. Yet here, too, they did their best; and they were long the only party in the Church which attempted to do anything. By the institution of 'District Visitors,' they have established the only method of parochial organisation which can enable a clergyman to become the ministering pastor of congregated myriads. Moreover, they have sought out the sailors on our docks, and the diggers on our railways, and gathered them together for worship. And they have not hesitated to preach in filthy courts and alleys, the haunts of vice and infamy, to audiences which could not be tempted to listen under any roof but the sky.*

It is true, that in our own times, these various means of good are pursued with equal zeal by other parties in the Church; yet we must not on that account forget the debt of gratitude due to their originators. It is often said, indeed, that the Evangelical body are no longer what they were forty years ago; that they have lost their first love, and ceased to do their first works. This charge is perhaps not altogether groundless, for their creed has now become an hereditary system, which must often be adopted more from habit than conviction. Yet if we keep in mind the distinction to be drawn between genuine 'Evangelicalism' and its two degradations (the exaggerated and the stagnant), we shall find that the original type still contributes largely and healthily to the religious element of our national life. We have already

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them. In reading it, one can scarcely believe that such barbarism could have existed in England only fifty years ago. It is true that the 'Christian Knowledge Society,' at the beginning of the 18th century, made some noble efforts in the same direction, and continued to do all that was done at all for the religious education of the people till recent times. But after the middle of last century, it had fallen into languor and decrepitude, from which it did not revive till after the beginning of the present.

* This open-air preaching has been lately tried with great success by some of the clergy in our large towns, especially at Liverpool.

given sufficient proof of its continuous activity in public matters. In the more important sphere of private duty it is less easy to cite examples, which could not be mentioned without violating the modesty of unostentatious merit in secluded parsonages. But we imagine that most of our readers can supply examples for themselves, by looking round among the clergy of their neighbourhood. Such pastors may not perhaps be men of the most comprehensive understanding; not the fittest teachers for inquiring minds, nor qualified to refute the learned infidelity of Strauss or Newman. But upon the middle and lower ranks of their parishioners, they often have a stronger influence than their more intellectual brethren. The attraction of their personal character, shown forth in a daily life of self-sacrificing love, gradually wins many to righteousness, and turns the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just. The biographies of two such men, Hamilton Forsyth and Spencer Thornton, have recently been published, and have passed through several editions. They both died before middle age, but were no otherwise distinguished from hundreds of their fellows. They gave themselves to the work of their calling, with no great abilities and no public notice. Yet those who study the narrative of their lives will see how much they did, by the mere force of unquestionable sincerity and personal holiness, during the short time in which they were permitted to serve their generation. A third biography, equally recent and equally popular with the above (that of Mr. Fox the Missionary), represents an adherent of the same theological school, but of a less ordinary type. While a school-boy at Rugby, he devoted himself in heart to the work of converting the heathen. When he had completed his education at Oxford, he carried this purpose into execution. Southern India was the scene of his ministrations; and under that burning sun in a few years of too eager labours he wore out a strong constitution, and came home to die. Yet his life was not thrown away, nor do such martyrs ever sacrifice themselves in vain. In them is still fulfilled that which was said of old, *semen est sanguis christianorum*. For one who thus falls, many spring up to take his place. Henry Fox, himself the follower of Henry Martyn, has been already followed by other academic students like-minded with himself.*

But there is no need to dwell on the merits of the dead, nor to violate the modesty of private station, in order to disprove the

* The readers of Dr. Arnold's life will remember how one of his 'evangelical' friends renounced the comforts of an Oxford fellowship to preach the Gospel on the shores of the Carnatic.

assertion that the party of Wilberforce, Cecil, and Simeon is effete. The notion is sufficiently confuted by living examples in the most conspicuous positions. One only we will mention, as a type of his class. Dr. Perry, now Bishop of Melbourne, began his career by obtaining the highest honours which Cambridge can bestow. He was the Senior Wrangler of his year, and afterwards obtained a Fellowship of Trinity, and resided for some years in his College chambers. In that luxurious seat of learning he devoted himself, not to the amusements of literary leisure, but to alleviating the sufferings and caring for the spiritual interests of the destitute and wretched. Barnwell, a great suburb of Cambridge, had recently sprung up, and then contained 10,000 inhabitants, almost exclusively of the very lowest class, and a large proportion of them supported by thieving and prostitution. For this population there was one small church, which held 200 people, and was endowed with 40*l.* per annum. The incumbent (a man of the old school, now deceased,) utterly neglected his flock, which was in a state of as hopeless degradation, spiritual, moral, and physical, as it is possible to imagine. Dr. Perry's first step was to purchase the advowson of this living, and to institute a working clergyman. He next built two large churches, and divided the overgrown cure into two ecclesiastical districts, each provided with its parochial schools, its district visitors, and other appliances of a well organised parish. The second of these he took under his own pastoral charge, and refused, for its sake, one of the best livings in the diocese, which the Bishop offered him as a testimonial of his eminent services to the Church. Soon afterwards, the colonial bishopric of Melbourne was pressed upon him by the Government of the day. Dr. Perry was already a man of established reputation and independent fortune. He had everything to lose, and nothing to gain, by accepting the offer. Had he acted on selfish principles, he must have refused to give up the society of Cambridge, the comforts of English civilisation, and the reverential attachment of grateful parishioners, and to exchange all this for perpetual exile and disheartening labour, far from the seats of all the Muses, among the Mammon-seeking and Jacobinical population of a new colony. But he was not a man to hesitate, when duty was on one side and inclination on the other. All earthly motives urged him to remain; but he heard a voice which called him to build up the Church of Christ, and graft upon the vigorous growth of a new nation the germs of a higher life. That call he obeyed, and went forth in the spirit of the patriarchs, '*not knowing whither he went.*' And now, from time to time, come

the tidings of his steadfast faith and patience triumphing over difficulty and prejudice; his unwearied activity; his confirmations in distant settlements; his visitations through the bush; and, latterly, of the personal hardships to which he has been subjected, by the sudden metamorphosis of his diocese into the gold mine of the world. The last intelligence we have seen of him was given by a picture in an Illustrated Newspaper, which represented him preaching on the fork of a tree to the gold-diggers of Mount Alexander. That picture must have touched the hearts of many of his Cambridge pupils, as they remembered the happy English home which he had abandoned for such a destiny. Who shall say that faith is dead, when such fruits of faith are living? Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

We deny, then, that the old Evangelical party is effete, while it still brings forth children so worthy of their spiritual ancestry. Yet at the same time we must confess that its strength and vigour is relatively if not positively diminished, and that its hold upon the public is less than it was in the last generation. This may be accounted for partly by a certain narrowness and rigidity in its teaching, which has increased as its traditional doctrines have become more fixed and technical; partly by the almost inevitable tendency of the human mind, while contending for truth, to insist that her shield must have both sides of the same colour; partly also from that neglect of theological learning *, with which all parties in the Church are chargeable, and for which the blame must rest, not on one or the other party, but on the universities and the nation. This neglect, and especially the want of critical study of the text of

* The Evangelical party has been too much devoted to practical work to think much of Literature. Yet its chief literary organ, the 'Christian Observer' was at first very ably conducted by Mr. Zachary Macaulay. And it has now, after a long interregnum of dulness, recovered something of its original character. At present, moreover, the party may boast of numbering among its members one of the most learned writers of the day, Mr. Goode, who in his own line of controversial theology is probably unsurpassed. One reason of the neglect of learning in the Church, is that such men are not encouraged by Cathedral Preferment, which would set them free from parochial cares to follow their true vocation. It is a singular and not a creditable fact, that Mr. Goode and Mr. Horne, two of the most eminent contributors to our scanty stock of theological literature, should both be suffered to remain incumbents of London parishes. We see, indeed, from the Clergy List, that Mr. Horne does hold a Prebend of St. Paul's, one of that class called the *laudatur et alget* Prebends, worth eleven pounds per annum. The Canonries are in the gift of the Crown.

Scripture, has paved the way for the extravagances of the extreme party which calls itself by the same name, and is by the public often confounded with the old Evangelical body. The disgust but too justly excited by the eccentric offspring, has alienated some reasonable men from the sober-minded parent. This exaggeration of Evangelicalism, sometimes called the Puritan, sometimes, from its chief organ, the Recordite party, we shall now endeavour to describe.

Its distinctive doctrines are derived from those of the Evangelical school, by pushing each of these to extravagant consequences. Thus from *justification by faith* the Recordite infers the worthlessness of morality; on *conversion by grace* he builds a system of predestinarian fatalism; from *the sole supremacy of Scripture* he derives the dogma of verbal inspiration. Under the first head, he teaches not only that faith is the sole source of virtue, but that its genuineness must be tested not by the works but by the feelings; and faith he defines, not as a spiritual affection, but as an assent to the single proposition 'I believe that I am saved.' This, at least, is the definition adopted by the more logical members of the party; but the majority, repelled by its monstrous consequences, substitute a circular definition, which makes faith to be 'the belief that one 'is justified by faith.' True believers are those only who can pronounce the Shibboleth of the sect; and this is the sufficient criterion of conversion. Hence results that worst of formalisms, the substitution of a form of words for the worship of spirit and of truth. Even at the hour of death, when other delusions are dispelled, this reigns triumphant. The dying sinner, if his blanched lips can mutter the prescriptive phrase, is dismissed undoubtingly to paradise. The dying saint, if he has not rehearsed the formula, is consigned to an uncovenanted doom. No matter though his life have been spent in the labours of an apostle—though his last words breathe trust and love—his case is considered doubtful, if not desperate, if he has not recited the magic words 'I believe that I am justified by faith.' To prove that this is no exaggerated view, we quote the judgment of the party, (as expressed in their chief organ) on the death-bed of Arnold. 'Did he' (says the critic) 'even 'in death, rest intelligently and clearly on that fundamental 'doctrine, [justification by faith] on which Luther declared the 'Gospel turned, and whosoever denieth which is not to be 'accounted, in the words of Cranmer, for a Christian man. 'WE CANNOT SAY. IT DOES NOT APPEAR.'* To appreciate

* 'Record,' Feb. 3. 1845. The article goes on to express a charitable hope that Arnold's faith secured his personal safety. But con-

fully the superstition of this, it must be remembered that Arnold was a conspicuous defender of the doctrine of justification by faith; so that the doubt of his salvation is caused by his failing to go through a certain verbal form in his dying agonies. What heathen incantation, what negro fetish-worship, can be more unspiritual than this idolatry of a Shibboleth?

The same formalism which leads to this rigid enforcement of a peculiar phraseology, leads also to a superstitious fear of ethical exhortation. If a preacher of the School ventures to enforce morality at all, he does it in a style the most timid and hesitating; and begins by apologising to his hearers for seeming to limit the freedom of the Gospel, and by explaining that his object is not so much to exhort them to holiness, as to convince them of helplessness. If he begs them to abstain from evil, it is only because the commission of sin will 'cloud the clearness of their 'assurance.' Moreover, he is careful to destroy all the cogency of his expostulations, by explaining that sin cannot affect the safety of a believer, for 'the sins of believers are forgiven even 'before their commission.' On the other hand, if a man be not a 'believer,' his virtues are nothing better than 'splendid sins.'* Hence the very ideas of right and wrong have no meaning beyond the limits of the sect; and within its boundaries they would have as little, but that man's conscience is stronger than his logic. Thus the very preachers who proclaim the 'imputed 'righteousness' of the most sinful believer, seldom proceed to the conclusion of the Antinomian,—'Let us continue in sin 'that grace may abound.'

The belief in Predestination, which we have mentioned as the second article of their faith, does not indeed belong distinct-

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cludes with warning its readers against adopting his opinions lest they should 'perceive, when too late, the truth of the closing words of 'Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, "*then I saw that there was a way to hell* '"*even from the gates of heaven, as well as from the city of de-*'"*struction.*"'

* The Recordite party justify this assertion by appealing to the 13th Article, which declares that 'works done before grace have the 'nature of sin.' But this proposition, if interpreted in the Puritanic sense, would contradict the inspired declaration, that the prayers and alms of the heathen Cornelius were acceptable to God (Acts x. 4. and 35.). The true meaning of the Article is only that Divine Grace and Human Goodness are coextensive; so that where there is no Grace there is no Goodness, and, conversely, that wheresoever there is Goodness there is Grace. Thus the virtues of Socrates are not denied, but only ascribed to their true source. Whereas in the Puritanic view (which unhappily was adopted by some of the continental Reformers) they are denied to be virtues at all; and thus the very foundations of all religious evidence, the axiomatic ideas of morality, are cut away.

ively to them. It is shared by many sects, not only of Christians but of heathens. Greek philosophers and Turkish mollahs have adopted the same solution of the same insoluble problem. It would be the extremest presumption peremptorily to deny the theoretical truth of that solution; nor is it less presumptuous peremptorily to affirm it. The question is left undecided by Scripture, and cannot be decided by Reason. But, whatever may be thought of fatalism as a speculative theory, it is evident (as Butler has taught us) that men must act as if such a theory were false. Hence it would seem to follow that exhortations meant to influence action, should not put it prominently forward.* This rule is systematically violated by the most popular preachers of the Recordite party, who obtrude their own views of these impenetrable mysteries as certain truth, and deduce consequences from them which shock the elementary ideas of morality. They address their hearers as divided into two classes by an impassable, though invisible, line of demarcation. Those on one side are predestined from eternity to salvation; those on the other are doomed before their birth to reprobation.† The 'Church' consists of the former only, though many of them are now living in vice; for they will all, sooner or later, receive that 'effectual 'calling,' which will irresistibly compel them to come in. The notion of a Visible Church is (according to these preachers) a falsity: all who do not belong to their 'Invisible Church' are without the pale of salvation. Hence their opposition to those parts of the Anglican liturgy which teach that 'all who profess 'and call themselves Christians' are admitted to all the privileges of the Catholic Church.‡ The majority of their fellow-Christians are collectively stigmatised as 'the world which lieth 'in wickedness.' And so great is their horror of this Christian world, that, being compelled in the course of the Sunday Lessons to read the declarations that 'God loved the world,' and that our Lord 'came to save the world,' some of them have been even known to interpolate an explanation on the spot.§

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* Archbishop Sumner's work on 'Apostolical Preaching' contains some excellent remonstrances against preaching predestination. If all who profess to look up to him with veneration would follow his advice and example, there would be but few Recordites.

† The *word* 'reprobation' is however seldom heard; and the doctrine, though always implied, is seldom distinctly preached.

‡ A clergyman of this party in Devonshire was not long since suspended by the Court of Arches for refusing to read the Baptismal service without mutilation.

§ Within the last few years there was a clergyman in Leicestershire who used to read such passages thus: 'God so loved the elect,' 'I came 'not to judge the elect, but to save the elect,' &c.

From the same theory they derive conclusions concerning the Divine attributes which are peculiarly offensive to the human conscience. For this very reason they delight in proclaiming such tenets, because they consider their rejection a proof of man's natural hostility to God. They assert (for example) that the sole object of the Creator and Redeemer was, not to promote the happiness of his creatures, but to increase his own glory. It would be blasphemous to state the consequences of such a view in its bearing on the axiomatic truth that the perfection of man is to be sought in a moral resemblance to God. Hence, also, they infer that it is the highest attainment of Christian grace to delight in contemplating the execution of Divine vengeance on the wicked.*

The third cornerstone of the Recordite creed, is the dogma of 'Verbal Inspiration.' The Bible is regarded, not as a collection of books written by men under Divine guidance, but as a single book, dictated in every word and letter by God himself. This theory, avowedly opposed to the *primâ facie* evidence of Scripture itself, is maintained by the *à priori* argument, that if we once introduce the slightest uncertainty into Scripture, we are left without any sure guide at all; the precise ground on which Romanists defend Papal infallibility. In accordance with this assumption, every casual allusion in Scripture to a fact of history, geology, or astronomy, however unconnected with religion, must be literally and infallibly accurate. By these dogmatists (says Bishop Hall) 'every point of heraldry in the sacred genealogies is made matter of no less than life and death to the soul.'† Hence they are compelled to resort to the most arbitrary and unscrupulous misinterpretations, either violently wresting Scripture to make it accord with facts, or denying facts which they cannot reconcile with Scripture. From the principle which they assume, the condemnation of Galileo for affirming the earth's motion, follows as an inevitable consequence.‡ From

* We were once listening to an eloquent preacher who enforced this doctrine, and quoted the standard illustration of Agag—'We must 'attain, my brethren, to the same grace with Samuel, who hewed Agag 'in pieces before the Lord;' when a friend at our side whispered, with great energy, 'I *have* attained it, I *have* attained it: I could chop 'the preacher into mince-meat with pleasure.'

† Hall's Occasional Meditations.

‡ The earliest instance we have met with of this theory is mentioned in Montucla's History of Mathematics. When first the true doctrine of the Multiplication of Fractions was taught, a Spanish friar wrote against it, alleging that it was heretical to assert that Multiplication by a Fraction diminished the Multiplicand, because Scripture had

the same premises it is inferred that each book in the Bible is equally valuable to the Christian, and that the only distinction between the Old Testament and the New is their difference of bulk. Hence the Old Testament, containing four times as many pages as the New, should be four times as much studied. We do not know that this proposition has been arithmetically stated by the Recordite School, but it is practically acted on.* By a strange paradox, the very party which in its phraseology most magnifies the Gospel and disparages the Law, practically raises the Mosaic dispensation above the Christian. It is essentially a Judaizing party. The characters on which it dwells most fondly, the ordinances to which it clings most passionately, are the characters and the ordinances of Judaism. Its models of Christian life are the Jewish Patriarchs. Indeed, the religion of some members of this party seems to consist solely in love of Jews and hatred of Papists. Their favourite Society is that which professes to be founded for the Conversion of Israelites to Christianity, but which too often acts as a Propaganda for converting Christians to Judaism.† It spends vast sums in sending emissaries over the country who diffuse Judaic views of Scripture, and proclaim the spiritual inferiority of the Gentile to the Jew. Those glorious prophecies of the restoration of Israel, and the blessedness of the new Jerusalem, which have their fulfilment (according to the teaching of St. Paul) in the destinies of the Christian Church, are applied by these propagandists to the carnal seed of Abraham, to the pawnbrokers of Monmouth Street, and the slop-sellers of St. Giles's. Nay, some of the most eminent leaders of the party seek even to revive the ordinance of circumcision; and their most popular

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said 'Increase and multiply,' and thereby had made *Multiplication* equivalent to *Augmentation*. Specimens of modern absurdity, quite equal to this, may be found embedded in that rich conglomerate, the Appendix to the 5th Edition of Professor Sedgwick's 'Discourse on 'the Studies of Cambridge.'

* Good old Mr. Romaine (a Recordite before the Record) came very near the arithmetical statement. His mode of reading the Bible was to begin at the first chapter of Genesis, till he reached the last of Revelations, and then to begin with Genesis again. Thus he read four pages of the old Testament for one of the New.

† The faults of this society are not in its design, but in its management; and we must acknowledge that they are redeemed by one great merit, viz. its co-operation in the establishment of the Jerusalem bishoprick, the most truly catholic deed ever done by the Church of England, whereby she has given the hand of fellowship to the Protestants of Germany on one side, and the Greek, Syrian, and Coptic churches on the other.

writer, the late Charlotte Elizabeth, published a pamphlet addressed to Bishop Alexander (the first English Bishop of Jerusalem), exhorting him to inforce the observance of this rite upon his sons.*

But the most conspicuous example of Judaizing tendencies in the party, is furnished by their Sabbatarian views. In defiance of the clearest expressions of Scripture—in defiance of the universal consent of all foreign churches, Catholic and Protestant—in defiance of the express declarations of the Reformers—but in accordance with the tradition of the Scotch and English Puritans—they teach that the Christian Lord's Day is identical with the Jewish Sabbath. Nay, they require that it should be observed with a stern severity unknown even to the Mosaic ritual. The effect of such an observance upon those who submit to it for conscience' sake, is, we freely own, most beneficial. Nor does it differ materially from that observance of the day which is the highest privilege of the Christian. Those who know how much we need every help to raise our thoughts above the turmoil of the world, will feel thankful that they are permitted to rest from earthly cares and amusements on the Sunday. They will be ready to exclaim with Herbert,—

> 'O Day most calm, most bright,
> The fruit of this, the next world's bud,
> The week were dark but for thy light.'

But the Puritans have always enforced this religious privilege of the advanced Christian, as if it had been a command compulsory upon all men. And they have enforced it, moreover, in its negative and prohibitory aspect; where they could, by penal laws; everywhere by damnatory denunciations. Thousands are thus alienated from piety, by associating it from their earliest childhood with a day of gloom and restriction, imposed upon them by arbitrary force. As one example among a hundred of the method pursued by this party to repel children from religion, we will quote the following hymn 'for Saturday night,' from a popular collection of devotional poetry: —

> 'Haste, put your playthings all away,
> To-morrow is the Sabbath day.

† 'Israel's Ordinances, a Letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem.' The Bishop was a Jewish convert, and the substance of the pamphlet is contained in the following paragraph. 'Call you what we will, my 'Lord, you are a Jew, a circumcised Jew. My dear Lord, bear with 'me, while I respectfully and affectionately put once more the query —*why are not your sons also Jews?*'

Come bring to me your Noah's ark,
Your pretty tinkling music-cart.
Because, my love, you must not play,
But holy keep the Sabbath day.

'Bring me your German village, please,
With all its houses, gates, and trees;
Your waxen doll with eyes of blue,
And all her tea-things bright and new.
Because, you know, you must not play,
But love to keep the Sabbath day.

'Now take your Sunday pictures down,
King David with his harp and crown,
Good little Samuel on his knees,
And many pleasant sights like these.
Because, you know, you must not play,
But love to keep the Sabbath day.'*

To such well-meant coaxing, the child replies bluntly, 'I 'don't like Sunday pictures, Ma; I like my doll.' And on being scolded for this, and taunted with the example of Samuel, if it is a very naughty child it exclaims, 'I hate that nasty little 'Samuel!' Whereupon a whipping terminates the controversy. A somewhat similar poem is sung in many Infant Schools, which should be entitled 'The Infant's Reasons for hating Sunday.' It begins thus:

'We must not play on Sunday;
But we may play on Monday,
On Tuesday and on Wednesday,
On Thursday, Friday, Saturday,
Till Sunday comes again.

'We must not laugh on Sunday;
But we may laugh on Monday,'
&c. &c. (as before).

We may laugh (on Monday) at these absurdities, but the results of such folly are often no laughing matter. The child is father of the man; and a childhood thus trained too often fathers a manhood of impiety. Yet it is not on those who can be constrained, whether by force or by persuasion, to Sabbatise, that the bad effects are most serious. The real sufferers are the working millions, whom Nature, shut out by steam-engine and spinning-jenny during the week, draws forth upon the day of rest, to refresh their lungs with purer air, and their eyes and hearts with gazing on the unspoiled works of their Creator. Religion is too often known to these multitudes in the Puritan form

* 'Rhymes for my Children', by Mrs. Duncan.

alone. They have been taught by their spiritual guides, both Episcopalian and Dissenting, that it is 'Sabbath-breaking' to look upon green fields and running brooks; and that Sabbath-breaking is as great a sin as drunkenness or fornication. Thus their Sunday pleasures, in themselves so innocent, are turned into guilt. Being placed under the ban of religion, they become reckless of her restraints. As they are Sabbath-breakers already, they think they may as well be drunkards too. And when, upon the wings of steam, they have left the smoky town far behind, they vary their excursions by a visit, not to the rural church (whither, by wiser treatment, they might easily have been won), but to the road-side ale-house. Thus the masses are brutalised and degraded by the attempt to raise them prematurely to a high degree of spiritual advancement.

Such are the main points in the theoretical system of this extreme school. We must remember, however, that a man may agree in some of these opinions, and yet be no genuine Recordite. To make him such, he must combine his creed with the proper amount of ignorance and intolerance, and must enforce it in a damnatory spirit. Of this latter quality a few specimens will suffice, out of the ample supply afforded by the recognised organ of the party. Take the following as a sample of the mode of silencing an opponent: 'Of all this we may 'say to Mr. Gresley, as Christian says to Ignorance in Pil-'grim's Progress, *the working of which faith, I perceive, poor* '*Ignorance, thou art ignorant of.* As to this person going on 'to describe the errors of men of Evangelical principles, '* * * * * the propriety of such criticisms from such a quarter 'is that of a man blind from his birth discoursing on the 'ocular mistakes of those who have sight.'* In the same spirit the Crystal Palace question is thus settled: 'It is sur-'prising that any animal, with a head of a higher order than a 'Chimpanzee, should pronounce it innocent to open a place for 'public worldly amusement on the Sabbath.'† The same paper, after lamenting the fact that all English railways run trains on Sunday, denounces the shareholders as follows: 'The 'consciences of the shareholders and directors appear to be 'seared. We are tempted to ask, where can such men live? 'What religion do they profess? Are they Jews? Are they 'Infidels? Do they ever enter a church.'‡

This intolerance, however, proceeds not from a bad heart, but

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* Remarks on Mr. Gresley, reprinted from the 'Record' newspaper, p. 18.

† Record, Nov. 19. 1852. ‡ Record, Dec. 6. 1852.

from lack of knowledge and feebleness of mind. Dr. Arnold has justly described their literary organ as 'a true specimen of 'the party, with their infinitely little minds, disputing about 'anise and cummin, when heaven and earth are coming 'together around them."* And he defines an 'Evangelical' of this class to be 'a good Christian, with a low understanding, a 'bad education, and ignorance of the world.'† The only objection to this definition is that their ignorance is not limited to worldly affairs, but extends impartially to things sacred and profane. It cannot, indeed, be fully understood except by those who have had the privilege to 'sit under' thirty or forty Recordite preachers. Yet, from time to time, specimens are brought before the public, which cast a light upon the depths below. Our readers probably have not forgotten the amusement excited by the singular mistake of one leader of the party, who denounced Lord John Russell from his pulpit, as the author of 'Russell's Modern Europe.' We have ourselves heard a chief pillar of the same school explain the *Descent into Hell* to mean the *Incarnation;* and this blunder was repeated in several sermons. To give instances of their misinterpretation of Scripture, their desperate dislocation of text from context, and the cruel wrongs done to grammar in the struggle, would be an instructive task. But we abstain from undertaking it, lest we should unintentionally connect ludicrous images with holy words.

Such ignorance is often accompanied by a want of taste equally deplorable. This shows itself conspicuously in the grotesque buffooneries of platform oratory. But its most painful manifestation is the irreverence with which even the most sacred names and persons are treated in the pulpit. For the reason above given, we will not dwell upon this topic. As an example of our meaning it will be sufficient to mention the single fact, that a leader of the party lately travestied the solemn language wherein Scripture proclaims the coming of the Lord to judgment and applied it (by changing the word *King* into *Prince*) to describe the visit of Prince Albert to Liverpool.‡

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* Arnold's Life, p. 225. † Ibid. p. 221.

‡ The following is the advertisement of the sermon referred to: — 'EVERY EYE SHALL SEE HIM, or, *Prince Albert's Visit to Liver-* 'pool used in illustration of the second Coming of Christ. A Sermon, 'by the Rev. H. M'Neile, London, Hatchard.' An adaptation of the passage of Isaiah (xxxiii. 17), '*Thine eye shall see the King in His* '*beauty*,' is introduced into this sermon, where *Prince* is substituted

But we must hasten from the preaching of our modern Puritans to their practice. Their theory naturally leads them to neglect the mass of their parishioners, and confine their attention to the few whom they regard as the elect. Moreover, their view of the ministerial office makes preaching its only essential function. An Irish prelate (who is, we believe, the only bishop belonging to the party) enforces this view in a recent visitation charge. He tells his clergy that they must not scruple to omit their visits to the sick and poor, if by so doing they can give greater force to their hebdomadal performance in the pulpit.* It is not wonderful that such a precept should be willingly obeyed. For it is a much easier task to sit in a comfortable study beside a blazing fire, than to trudge in sleet and snow through miry lanes; a much more agreeable duty to lounge over a volume of Divinity in an easy chair, than to kneel beside the filthy bed of a dying pauper.

But, in truth, a Recordite clergyman is out of his element in a parish. When he has one, indeed, he often labours most conscientiously among his parishioners; but the parochial system, with its practical recognition of the universal brotherhood of Christians, cannot be made to square with his theological exclusiveness. What he likes is, not a Parish, but a Congregation. The possession of a chapel in a large town, which he may fill with his own disciples, is his ideal of clerical usefulness. The kind of post desired is continually described in the advertising columns of the 'Record.' Here is one example out of many. '*A Clergyman M. A. of 'evangelical views desires a sole charge in some town sphere of 'usefulness. Advertiser sets forth zealously and faithfully the 'whole counsel of God, and preaches unwritten sermons. His 'qualifications being of rather a high order, a suitable stipend 'required. Also, as he is a* BACHELOR, *the advantage of good 'society desirable. Address L. L. B. at the office of the Record.*' † The above gentleman makes no invidious distinction between one town and another; but the following is more particular,

for *King*. In a faithful picture of the Recordite party, it is impossible not to refer to its ablest leader. But in doing so we are anxious to say that although, in this and some other instances, we think him blamable, yet we believe him to be a thoroughly sincere and honest man, and to have done much good by the great influence which his eloquence has given him over the second town in the kingdom.

* See Charge of the Bishop of Ossory, pp. 25, 26.

† The latter part of this advertisement is so strong, that we at first thought it must be a hoax. But its genuineness was acknowledged by the 'Record' itself, in answer to a correspondent who attacked it.

and requires a London audience. '*The Advertiser having been 'found, under God, very successful in preaching the doctrines of 'Grace, would be glad in meeting another Metropolitan sphere. 'He has a powerful voice, an earnest delivery, and a style of 'preaching best suited to an educated and enlightened audience.*'* It would be unfair to estimate the general character of the Recordite clergy by these advertisements, but they show the nature of the 'sphere' most coveted. In fact, few positions are, in a worldly point of view, more enviable than that of the popular incumbent of a town chapel. No vestry patriots vex his meditative moments; no squabbles with tithe-abhorring farmers disturb his sleep. When he looks round him from his pulpit, his glance is not met, like that of the parochial clergyman, by the stare of stolidity or indifference; but he beholds a throng of fervent worshippers who hang upon his lips, and whose very presence as voluntary members of his congregation is a pledge of their personal attachment to himself. There is something not merely soothing to vanity, but animating to the better parts of his nature, in such a spectacle. The zealous man must feel his zeal quickened, the pious his piety warmed, by such evidence of sympathy; and among the Recordite clergy, men of zeal and piety are not lacking. But, besides these advantages, he is exempted from all the more burdensome responsibilities of the pastoral charge. His flock consists exclusively of the wealthy or easy classes, so that the painful task of attempting to enlighten brutal ignorance, and to raise degraded pauperism, is not among his duties. Even if a local district has nominally been attached to his chapel, its poor inhabitants form no part of his congregation, or, at most, only a straggling representative of their class lurks here and there, behind the pulpit, or beneath the organ. The duties of such a district, if there be any, are performed by the Curate, who reads the prayers and is kept 'to 'serve tables' while the incumbent devotes himself to 'the 'ministry of the Word.'

His ministry consists essentially in preaching two extempore sermons on the Sunday. But there are other duties incidentally pertaining to his office. One of the most important is that of attending at the evening parties of his wealthier adherents. These social meetings are, indeed, among the most characteristic phenomena of the sect. In them we can best study its peculiar phraseology, and some of its most curious etiquettes and observances. The principal topics discussed in such as-

* Record, Oct. 25. 1852.

semblies are the merits and demerits of different preachers, the approaching restoration of the Jews, the date of the Millennium, the progress of the 'Tractarian heresy,' and the anticipated 'perversion' of High Church neighbours. These subjects are canvassed in a dialect differing considerably from common English. The words '*faithful*,' '*tainted*,' '*acceptable*,' '*decided*,' '*legal*,' and many others, are used in a technical sense. We hear that Mr. A. has been more '*owned*' than Mr. B., and that Mr. C. has more '*seals*'* than Mr. D. Again, the word '*gracious*' is invested with a meaning as extensive as that attached by young ladies to '*nice*.' Thus we hear of 'a 'gracious sermon,' 'a gracious meeting,' 'a gracious child,' and even 'a gracious whipping.'† The word '*dark*' has also a new and peculiar usage. It is applied to every person, book, or place, not impregnated with Recordite principles. We once were witnesses of a ludicrous misunderstanding resulting from this phraseology. 'What did you mean' (said A. to B.) 'by 'telling me that —— was such a very dark village? I rode 'over there to-day, and found the street particularly broad and 'cheerful, and there is not a tree in the place.' '*The Gospel is* '*not there*,' was B.'s laconic reply.

In such conversation the evening wears away, not without instruction to the stranger who is initiated into these mysteries for the first time. At length, when he is preparing to depart, a rustling of gowns announces a general change of position; and suddenly the scattered chairs range themselves in a great semi-circle, radiating from a central table, at which the clerical hero of the feast is seated. The fatal truth flashes upon the stranger's mind. An '*exposition*' is about to begin, and he is doomed to sit it out. The minute-hand of the timepiece opposite must traverse three-fourths of its circle, before that lengthened torture ceases. And then there follows a scene yet more painful to every right feeling; a bye-play of complimentary etiquette between the clergy present, accompanied by polite pressing and

* A preacher is said in this phraseology to be 'owned' when he makes many converts, and his converts are called his 'seals.'

† We are told of the hero of a recent biography that 'He gratefully 'recorded the history of his own correction, and blessed the *vigour* 'which had sometimes used the rod. In his father's chastening of him 'when a little child, he considered there had been a *skill*, and a secret of '*gracious* influence, which all his fond affection could never repay.' (*Memoir of Forsyth*, p. 4.) We have mentioned this book above with deserved respect: we may therefore venture to express regret that its excellent writer should occasionally fall into this sort of phraseology.

coquettish refusals of the request urged by one upon another to offer the concluding prayer.*

But these evening assemblies are not the only amusements permitted by the party. They are often pitied as the doomed victims of *ennui;* for it is supposed that the absence of balls and races, cards and theatres, games of chance and tales of fiction, must render existence insupportable. Yet, even when they are destitute of higher objects, their life is by no means so colourless as is imagined. Novels and fairy-tales, it is true, are forbidden luxuries; but their place is abundantly supplied by the romantic fictions daily issuing from the Prophetic Press.† The imagination, cut down to the roots on one side, only pushes forth more vigorous shoots in another direction. Nor is variety wanting to this literature; for no two writers agree in their predictions, and some new history of futurity is published monthly.

Again, it is a popular delusion that the Recordites are excluded from public amusements. Nothing can be more contrary to the fact. Races indeed, and theatres, they abjure; and good reasons may be urged for the abjuration; but public meetings and platform orators fill up the vacant space. Nor are these accessible only to the Londoner, or confined to the area of Exeter Hall. The religious world of every manufacturing town and watering-place has its fashionable season, when the secondary stars of London shoot down from their metropolitan sphere, to glitter on the provincial boards. Then follow morning meetings in the rotunda, and evening gatherings in the amphitheatre; Protestant breakfasts and Jewish luncheons; lectures here, addresses there, and speechification everywhere. Day after day, while fathers and husbands are busy in the counting-house, maids and matrons struggle for proximity to the platform. Their patient zeal is rewarded by the grateful orators with allusions complimentary and facetious, contrasting strangely with the solemn themes on which they are grafted.‡ On these occasions the

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* We trust that nothing we have here said will be considered as implying an objection to the practice of ending the social meetings of Christians with common prayer. We only deprecate the faults which tend to bring that practice into disesteem.

† The fertility of the Prophetic Press may be estimated from the fact, that, besides innumerable treatises and pamphlets, it sends forth several regular periodicals, of which the 'Christian Ladies' Magazine,' the 'Quarterly Journal of Prophecy' and the 'Prophetic Herald' have, we believe, the largest circulation.

‡ The following specimen from the 'Record' may suffice: '*The noble 'lord, in order to show the good which might be effected by those young*

Jewish Society generally attracts the largest audience; nor is this surprising, when we remember the sex which furnishes the majority of the hearers. For where can curiosity find richer gratification than that supplied by this prophetic propaganda. Their bill of fare includes the immediate approach of the Red Dragon; the achievements of Gog and Magog; a fresh 'discovery' of the Lost Tribes (sometimes in the valleys of Kurdistan, sometimes in the plains of Timbuctoo*); a new and accurate account of the battle of Armageddon; and a picture of the subversion of Omar's Mosque by an army of Israelites marching from the Seven Dials. Such is the food provided for that love of Jews which distinguishes the sect. Nor is less ample provision made for their other ruling passion, the hatred of Papists. For its gratification, the Reformation Society meets in the subscription-rooms. There subtle calculators announce a new solution of the number of the beast; there Protestant rhetoricians rekindle the flames of Smithfield in many a gentle bosom; there the dungeons of the Inquisition are once more flung open to the light of day; and there the chaste eloquence of Father Achilli expatiates on the abuses of the confessional, and details with biographical fidelity every abomination of the Scarlet Woman.

The extravagances and buffooneries which too often disfigure these public meetings, are perhaps unavoidable excrescences of a system which is itself a necessary evil. For it is said, and we fear truly, that without these periodical displays, it would be impossible to raise the requisite funds for religious or charitable objects. It is a farther cause of regret that it should be needful to spend so large a part of the income thus contributed in the mere work of collection; and that so little of this service should be the free-will offering of Christian love. In fact, the whole

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'*ladies about to be married, related an anecdote of a lady who, during the existence of the Anti-Corn-law League, refused to marry her suitor until he became a subscriber to its funds. Of course such an obstacle as that did not stand long in the way, although the gentleman did not approve of the Association. And if the young ladies present would follow a similar course with respect to the Ragged School Union, they would speedily increase its income to a considerable extent.*' We purposely suppress the name of the noble speaker, as it is not otherwise known to the Public; and we are anxious not to give needless pain to private feelings.

* It was our fortune once to hear one of these Judaizers advocate the notion that the 'Lost Tribes' are identical with the Saxons, on the ground that *Saxon* is an abridgment of *Isaac's son.*

machinery and getting up of these societies has become far too much a mere matter of trade.*

No doubt it is inevitable that when a party grows powerful in numbers and in wealth, it should attract retainers who join it rather from love of Mammon than from love of God. But this general truth is exemplified in a manner peculiarly painful among the adherents of the Recordite sect. We can scarcely look down a column of the Record without stumbling on the manifesto of some religious speculator, who is bent on turning godliness into gain. Conspicuous among these offenders are the clerical adventurers, some of whose advertisements we have already quoted. Next to these, governesses and tutors furnish the largest proportion of this mercenary class. As a specimen of the former, we may take the lady whose wishes are recorded as follows: '*Wanted, by a middle-aged lady, an active and* '*useful situation in a serious family, where her services would be* '*considered* EQUIVALENT TO REMUNERATION. *A sanctified* '*taste for literature would be valued, but opportunities of pro-* '*moting the interests of the kingdom of God would be much* '*preferred.*' This lady must surely be related to the author of the following: 'To GODLY PARENTS. *A lady of* PRACTICAL 'PIETY, *opposed to Tractarianism, wishes to meet a Godly family* '*desiring to bring up their children in the way they should go.* '* * * *She has* FINISHED *her pupils without the aid of* '*masters, and is thirty-five years of age.*'† These ladies are rivalled by the young gentleman who thus expresses his ambitious aspirations: 'To CHRISTIAN NOBLEMEN. *A young* '*man desires to enter a decidedly pious family as resident tutor.* '*His whole aim will be to train his young charge in heart and life* '*to the Lord. He teaches the Classics.*'‡ Schoolmistresses are equally eager to attract the patronage of the party. In the older editions of the late Mrs. Sherwood's religious tales, one was frequently interrupted at the crisis of the narrative by a fly-leaf interpolated between the pages, which contained a glowing description of an 'establishment for the education of 'young ladies,' kept by the authoress; reminding one of the

* From the following advertisement it would really seem as if Religious Societies were sometimes *got up* in the same spirit as Railway Companies. 'To RELIGIOUS AND BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES. '*A gentleman of high standing in address and knowledge in getting up,* '*conducting, and corresponding with the public in aid of charitable* '*institutions, is desirous of meeting with a confidential engagement, in* '*the above capacity, either in town or country.*' (Record, Oct. 14, 1852.)

† Record, Nov. 25. 1852. ‡ Record, Oct. 11. 1852.

Italian Improvisatori, who send round their hat before the catastrophe of their story. More recently, another lady of the same profession has adopted a more original mode of making known her merits, by publishing a treatise upon 'Christian Marriage,' wherein she describes her mode of instructing her young charge in the art of love.* Bookmakers also of every description make their profit out of the simplicity of the religious public, and adopt every advertising device to enhance the value of their wares. One of the most offensive we have seen, is the following puff of a tract called 'The Sinner's Friend.' The writer, after telling us that 'eleven hundred thousand copies' of his book have been already sold, goes on as follows: '*The personal kind-*
'*ness of the deservedly revered Archbishop to the author, far*
'*exceeds the power of the most glowing language to express, but may*
'*well be understood by those who have tasted its sweetness and en-*
'*couragement.*'† Another characteristic notice is that which announces the merits of 'The Layman's Prayer-book.' '*It is*
'*altered,*' says the author, '*so slightly from that you now use,*
'*as to be perfectly adapted for use in churches by the congrega-*
'*tion, while the minister is reading from the present one; yet it is*
'*altered sufficiently to avoid unscriptural and unprotestant doc-*
'*trines. Will you buy my little book, brother? Will you take*
'*it with you to church?*' Besides these literary advertisers, we find that ladies' maids, female companions, confidential clerks, coachmen and butlers, may be had in any number, of the prescribed opinions. And in a recent number of the Record we discovered a demand (no doubt soon followed by a supply) for '*A good plain cook, of evangelical sentiments.*'‡

It would, however, be most unjust (as we have before admitted) to take these advertisers in the Record as a fair sample of the Recordites. That party contains as large a proportion of sincere members as any other. And although we think the harm it does collectively, exceeds the good effected by its adherents individually, yet we must not deny that it has accomplished some useful tasks, which could not have so well been achieved by any other party. Every one now acknowledges the success of its emissaries in Ireland; and so

* 'Only in the Lord, or Christian Marriage,' is the title of this book. We omit the author's name, for the reason before given.

† Record, Dec. 6. 1852. We have omitted a part of this advertisement, which could not be quoted without profaneness. We do not mean to impeach the sincerity of the author of this tract, and hope that the puff may have been inserted by his publisher without his sanction.

‡ Record, Oct. 19. 1852.

much could scarcely have been effected against the ultramontanism of Cullen and M'Hale, except by intolerance and dogmatism as peremptory as their own. Nor is it only in Ireland that we may see moral triumphs achieved by the Puritanic divinity. There are probably some minds so constituted, as to be incapable of receiving the truths of Christianity, except under the Calvinistic form. And these seem to be principally found in a class where Christianity is much needed, the middle rank of society in trading and manufacturing communities. Many a worker in the gold-diggings of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who might otherwise have remained a selfish worshipper of Mammon all his days, has been roused by Puritanic preachers to the consciousness of a spiritual destiny. Such converts may be often seen devoting the hours of their well-earned Sunday, not to a calculation of the profits of the coming week, nor to idle relaxation from the toils of the past, but to the labours of the Sunday School, or the District Visitor, in lanes reeking with the stench of sewers, and cellars pestilent with fever. Men like these, let their opinions be as narrow as they may, are the salt of this world, and the earnest of a better.

But the merits of individuals must not blind us to the mischief wrought by their party. This mischief consists, not in their success, but in their failure. The injury is done, not to those whom they convert, but to those whom they repel. If, indeed, they could succeed in proselytising the people, they would do far more good than harm; because, though some of their opinions verge upon Antinomianism, they seldom practically lead to immorality; and religion, once admitted into the heart, will expel all demons thence. But, unhappily, though the Puritan theology is attractive to a few, it is repulsive to the multitude. By most minds it is rejected at once, with an instinctive repugnance. And yet this theology is, by the lower ranks of society in our great towns, very generally identified with Christianity itself, which has been too often presented to them in no other shape, either in the Meeting-house or the Church.* To this circumstance may be attributed much of the infidelity now so general among the best instructed portion of the labouring classes. It is a melancholy fact that the men

* It must be remembered that, in the great towns, a large majority of the Churches, and all the Dissenting Chapels, are supported on the voluntary principle, *i. e.* by pew-rents. They are therefore dependent on the religious portion of the shopkeepers who take the pews. But the shopkeepers as a class, if religious at all, are Puritanically inclined. This accounts for the fact mentioned in the text.

who make our steam-engines and railway carriages, our presses and telegraphs, the furniture of our houses and the clothing of our persons, have now in a fearful proportion renounced all faith in Christianity. They regard the Scripture as a forgery, and religion as priestcraft, and are living without God in the world. This state of things, sapping as it does the very sinews of our national life, cannot be wholly laid to the charge of any one party. All are in some measure accountable for it, in so far as all have fallen short of that perfect standard of Christian goodness, the sight of which is the only effectual instrument of conversion. But we do not hesitate to say that the party most directly guilty of driving half-educated men into Atheism, is that which has pushed Evangelical opinions into Puritan extravagance.*

These exaggerations of Protestant doctrine could not fail to produce a reaction in the opposite direction. As in the seventeenth century the intolerant Calvinism of the Synod of Dort promoted the triumph of Arminian theology in England, so in our own times a disgust at the excesses of the Puritanic party caused that rapid growth of High Church opinions, which distinguished the second quarter of the present century. It is often said, indeed, that the High Church party was predominant during the greater part of the preceding century, and continued powerful till the close of what we may call the *Eldonite* period. But this is a mere confusion, caused by similarity of names, between parties utterly dissimilar. The 'Church and King 'men,' who flourished thirty, fifty, or seventy years ago, were a political, and not a religious party. They sometimes talked of Orthodoxy, at Visitation Dinners or University Elections; but they meant by Orthodoxy not any theological creed, but love of tithes and hatred of Methodists. They had no affinity with modern High Churchmen, except the dislike of Protestant Dissenters. The true High Church theology represents the dominant school of the Caroline epoch; a school which, though too often identified with despotic bigots like Laud, yet produced many illustrious writers and many eminent saints. This

* The two other chief causes of this infidelity are, *first*, the hateful distinction made by our pew system between rich and poor; and, *secondly*, the practice of dragging Sunday Schools to church at an age when they cannot possibly understand a word of the Service. What ought to be done with Sunday Scholars during service-time is another question; and could only be properly answered by the restoration of the order of Deacons.

party died out at the beginning of the last century, after its exaggerated phase (with which we have recently been again familiarised) had developed itself in the Non-jurors. From this extreme form, however, it must be distinguished by every candid historian. The Anglican, though it may be pushed into the Romanistic creed, is not identical therewith. It was revived in a systematic form twenty years ago, by an able knot of writers, the principal of whom solemnly pledged themselves to one another *, to use every means of reviving a belief in the doctrines of Anglicanism, and originated for that purpose the 'Tracts for the Times.' It is true that these writers very rapidly developed the opinions from which they started into actual Romanism. But the earlier Tracts contain a *bonâ fide* attempt to base the creed of the Church upon strictly Anglican tradition. Mr. Newman has fully explained the way in which he and his ablest followers were led on, step by step, from this original standing point to higher ground. Nor would we deny that, according to the rules of strict logic, this progress was inevitable. But logical results from one principle are often modified by conclusions no less logical from another. And it is historically certain that many intellects, and those of no contemptible power, are capable of acquiescing in that system of belief which was maintained by Bull and Pearson, though to other minds its premises seem necessarily to involve the conclusions of Rome.

The characteristic tenets of this party are supplemental rather than contradictory to those of their predecessors. The Anglican accepts the doctrine that '*we are justified by faith*,' but gives equal prominence to the additional truth that '*we are judged by works*.' He acknowledges that men must be converted by grace, but maintains that Christians are regenerated by baptism. He assents to the sole supremacy of Scripture, but adds, that '*the Church hath authority in controversies of faith*.' † And this authoritative Church he distinguishes from all pretenders by its apostolic descent. Thus, the watchwords of the School are '*Judgment by works*,' '*Baptismal Regeneration*,' '*Church Authority*,' and '*Apostolical Succession*.'

As to the first head, there is no real difference between the moderate Anglican and the moderate Evangelical. Both agree that the works of man cannot earn reward from God; both

* See the account of this compact (which was made in 1833) given by Mr. Percival, himself one of the parties to it, in his well-known 'Letter to the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal.'

† Article 20th.

agree that without sanctification there can be no salvation. But perhaps the Evangelical party had laid too much stress on the beginning of the religious life, and had trusted to the spontaneous action of that first spiritual impulse for producing all requisite growth in holiness.* The Anglicans saw this mistake, and have corrected it by a teaching more systematically practical.

The second tenet, that of Baptismal Regeneration, is more distinctive. The Recordites, as we have seen, practically heathenise Christendom, by denying the Christian name to all except that narrow circle whom they designate as the elect. The Anglicans meet this uncharitable dogma with the assertion that all Christians, as such, are in a condition spiritually different from that of the heathen. They teach that all the members of the Visible Church are the elect of God; and that all baptized persons are members of the Visible Church, and as such are endowed with all gifts and graces necessary to salvation. Even here, though the difference may appear considerable between the High Church and Evangelical phraseology, it is really a difference rather in terms than in meaning. For the moderate Low Churchman allows that those who are baptized into the Christian Church are admitted to a share in spiritual blessings; and the Anglican acknowledges that if the regenerated infant grows up a sinful man, he needs conversion before he can enjoy the blessings to which he has been called.

The addition of the authority of the Church to that of Scripture, seems, at first sight, the most serious difference of the three. Yet such authority is undoubtedly claimed by the Articles, and may be narrowed within limits strictly Protestant. Nor can it be denied that a reasonable man, in the formation of his opinions, would give great weight to the collective judgment of other Christians. Yet, on the other hand, this principle has an alarming power of expansion. The Anglican divines have been led to cherish it partly because they felt the evils of perpetual doubt and presumptuous questioning; partly because they sought for some authoritative guidance to check the follies of weak brethren †; but chiefly because they loved those moral

* One of the best and ablest of the modern Evangelical Clergy has recently admitted this. Speaking of the preachers of his party, he says: 'The Gospel, they say, is made up of a few cardinal truths, which 'cannot be too often repeated. * * * With so much time spent in 'laying the foundation again and again, little is left for informing and 'guiding men's consciences as to the thousand details of active life.' (*Rev. H. Gurney's Sermon on Duke of Wellington*, preface, p. 4.)

† About the time of the first appearance of the 'Tracts' half the

qualities which are closely linked to obedience and submission. But their teaching on this head is beset by great difficulties. 'We acknowledge,' say their opponents, 'the authority of the 'true Church; but for what Church do you claim this power, 'and where shall we find her teaching?' The Anglican replies, that the Church is that of England, and her teaching is to be found in her Liturgy and Articles. But these formularies admit of diverse interpretations, and need a living voice to decide between conflicting interpreters. 'Where, then,' says the inquirer, 'shall I seek this living voice, which may solve 'my doubts?' To this it is replied that the accents of the Church are to be heard from the lips of her bishops, and that her presbyters ordained by those bishops are her living oracles to each individual layman in every separate parish. But when asked whether the laity under the charge of Dr. M'Neile are to believe a different creed from those under Dr. Pusey, the Anglican is perplexed for an answer; and still more so when he is reminded that the collective voice of the bishops is silent, and that individual bishops differ as much as their presbyters.

But again the inquirer demands satisfaction on a farther point. 'How am I to know,' he says, 'that the English 'establishment is that true Church which can alone claim 'authority to teach and guide?' The Anglican theology replies that the true Church possesses unity as well as visibility. Truth is one, therefore the true Church is one. And this one Church has a note whereby she may be known. In each country she is that body of orthodox Christians which is governed by bishops possessing the Apostolical Succession. Hence the Dissenter, who secedes from his parish church, is forsaking the communion of the Apostles. But here again the High Churchman is embarrassed by his Roman antagonist. For a rival Church exists in England, also governed by bishops to whom the Apostolic consecration has been lineally transmitted from the very source whence the Anglican bishops derive their own orders. And that Church declares the Anglican doctrine not orthodox but heretical, and her bishops not successors of the Apostles but schismatical usurpers. How are the laity of the Metropolis to decide whether their allegiance be due to the Bishop of London or the 'Archbishop of Westminister?' Their decision can scarcely be determined in favour of the

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religious world was going mad after the Irvingites (who spoke in unknown tongues), the Rowites (who worked miracles), and the Plymouth Brethren, who advocated a community of goods.

former by the criterion of Unity, Ecclesiastical Authority, or Apostolical Succession.

Thus these hierarchical claims of Anglicanism are dangerous weapons; serviceable artillery, perhaps, against the sectarian, but liable to recoil in the discharge. They do not, however, hold a prominent place in the teaching of moderate High Churchmen. They are not the basis of their system, but only secondary and ornamental details. Even against Dissenters they are not rigidly enforced. The hereditary non-conformist is not excluded from salvation. Foreign Protestants are even owned as brethren, though a mild regret is expressed that they lack the blessing of an authorised Church government. Apostolical succession is not practically made essential to the being of a Church, but rather cherished as a dignified and ancient pedigree, connecting our English episcopate with primitive antiquity, and binding the present to the past by a chain of filial piety. In the same hands, Church authority is reduced to little more than a claim to that deference which is due from the ignorant to the learned, from the taught to the teacher. Meanwhile the maintainers of these views are useful, not only as a counterpoise to the extravagance of the Recordites, but for much positive good achieved by themselves. And, considered as a whole, they form a party which the Church could ill afford to spare.

In the first place, their system gives freer scope to the feelings of reverence, awe, and beauty, than that of their opponents. They endeavour, and often successfully, to enlist these feelings in the service of piety. Music, painting, and architecture they consecrate as the handmaids of religion. Thus they attract an order of men found chiefly among the most cultivated classes, whose hearts must be reached through their imagination rather than their understanding. It is surely well that such provision has been made for those whose taste (perhaps over refined) has been shocked by the flippant familiarity of superficial religionists. But the influence of these Anglican divines is not confined to the fastidious few. They have given a greater reality to the religion of all ranks, by their energetic protest against the hollowness and insincerity of popular pietism. The Recordite party, as we have seen, had substituted a verbal profession of faith for a life of holiness. Too often a 'professor of religion' was led to think that by the pronunciation of an easy Shibboleth, coupled with an abstinence from balls and theatres, he atoned for a life of covetousness and self-indulgence. The old Evangelical body, it is true, always discountenanced such self-deceit. But the Anglican School has checked it more successfully by

the prominence which they give to the duties of daily life and the formation of habits. Moreover their exhortations cannot be turned aside by excuses which often parry the home-thrusts of other preachers — 'We are waiting for the time of our conversion' — 'We hope to receive our effectual calling in due season.' — To such pleas their reply is ready and consistent. 'You have already received the needful help. You have the power to pray and act. You are now the elect of God; make your election sure, lest you be cast away.' Such addresses administer no palliative to the conscience, and encourage no indolent hope of a compulsory reformation.

In the same spirit, the writers of this party have contributed to the religious literature of the day many admirable works which under the guise of fiction teach the purest Christianity, and exemplify its bearing on every detail of common life. To the training of childhood especially they have rendered most valuable aid, by thus embodying the precepts of the Gospel. But we need not do more than allude to works so universally known and valued as those of Miss Sewell, Mr. Adams, and Bishop Wilberforce.*

Again, the revival of the High Church party has effected an important improvement among the clergy. Many of these were prejudiced by hereditary dislike against the doctrines and the persons of the Evangelicals, and by this prejudice were repelled from religion. But under the name of orthodoxy and the banner of High Church, they have willingly received truth against which, had it come to them in another shape, they would have closed their ears and hearts. A better spirit has thus been breathed into hundreds who but for this new movement would have remained, as their fathers were before them, mere Nimrods, Ramrods, or Fishing rods.

We cannot trace to the party of which we are now speaking, such great measures of public morality as are due to the school of Wilberforce and Buxton. But this is no reproach to them; for they did not exist as a distinct party till those national reforms were accomplished. They have, however, originated two public movements of much importance in our own time;

* The Evangelical party has also pursued the line of religious fiction, but generally with less success. Mrs. Sherwood, it is true, had great power of narrative, but her love of the pomps and vanities of the world too often overpowers her sense of religion. One recent Evangelical work of this kind, however, we may notice, as possessing great merit, — 'The Daughter at Home,' by an anonymous author. As a picture of the power of religion in gradually subduing the asperities of a gloomy disposition and morbid temper, this story is unequalled.

that for the establishment of Protestant Sisterhoods of Mercy, and that for the general creation of Colonial Bishopries.* Some discredit has been thrown upon the former of these objects, by the indiscretion of its more conspicuous promoters. Yet even in the midst of this indiscretion, there has been much to admire, in the self-devotion of body and soul to the relief of misery. And the original sisterhood, instituted under the superintendence of the Bishop of London, to train nurses for the hospitals, has, we believe, furnished no such occasion of stumbling. The movement for establishing Bishopries in the Colonies has attracted greater public attention, and has met with more unqualified success. In the last thirteen years, fifteen new Bishopries have been founded, and the complete organisation of the Church transferred to as many nascent empires. We need not say that our satisfaction at this result springs not from our attributing any miraculous powers to the episcopal office. We value it not as the source of thaumaturgic influence, but as an instrument of good government; not for its magical but for its moral energy. The superintendence of any central authority can do much by combining and harmonising the isolated efforts of individuals; the superintendence of a zealous and intelligent man can do more. Nor does he only render more efficient the labours of those amongst whom he comes to preside; his presence attracts more labourers into the vineyard. Those who would have shrunk from the isolation of independent action, now gladly go to work under a chief pastor on whose wisdom they rely, and on whose affectionate sympathy and encouragement they depend. That this is no mere theory is proved by the fact that in thirteen years the number of clergy in those fifteen new episcopates had increased from 274 to 503.†

But, as we have already said, the public measures promoted by an ecclesiastical party are a less certain test of its merits than that afforded by the conduct of its private members, and the efficiency of their parochial ministrations. From this criterion the Anglican party has no need to shrink. The moderate High

* It is true that the first example in the present century was given by the Evangelical party; the foundation of the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1814 having been entirely due to the exertions of Wilberforce. But no general effort was made in the same cause, till the establishment of the 'Colonial Bishopric Fund.'

† In connexion with these efforts for the benefit of the Colonies we should notice the great impulse given by the High Church party, during the last twenty years to the Society 'for the Propagation of 'the Gospel'; and also the foundation of St. Augustine's College at Canterbury, for training Colonial Missionaries.

Churchman (supposing him, of course, to be in earnest) is peculiarly fitted for the management of a country parish. With the aristocratic classes his view of Christianity is usually more acceptable than any other; and his heartiness and old English feeling, his love of festivals and holidays, and his active benevolence, render him popular among the poor. With the middle class, the shopkeepers and artisans, he is usually less successful. They are not as yet sufficiently cultivated to be susceptible of the artistic and imaginative influences which attract the higher ranks, and they are filled with a jealous and not unnatural suspicion of everything in which they fancy a Rome-ward tendency. Hence the Anglican clergyman should, for his own comfort, and for the good of those under his charge, be placed rather in the country than in the town*; because, in the former, his parishioners consist almost exclusively either of the rich or poor, while the middling class is dominant in the boroughs. Such a clergyman as we have described will not differ from his Evangelical neighbours in any material point of doctrine. Had he lived fifty years ago, his sermons would have stamped him as a 'Methodist' or a 'Calvinist,' among the fox-hunting parsons who used these terms synonymously, and applied them to every man who was an earnest believer in Christianity. Nor are his ordinary parochial labours distinguished from those of his Low Church brethren. He and they are equally to be found in the cottages of the poor, comforting the afflicted, reading to the sick, and praying with the dying. He adopts the same plans of usefulness which have been originated by his Evangelical predecessors. Like them he encourages the zeal for missionary exertion, though perhaps he may be prejudiced against the 'Church Missionary Society,' and the Committee which he establishes may collect funds for its elder sister of 'the Propagation.' He vies with his neighbours in zeal for the education of the poor; pays daily visits to his school; turns the *apprentice-teachers* into his private pupils; and works hard in preparing his master and mistress for the annual visit of Her Majesty's Inspector.

Within the walls of the Church the distinction of parties is perhaps more marked than in the school-room or the cottage; though even here it is becoming gradually obliterated, by the adoption among the best men in every party of the reforms originating with either side. The first difference which strikes us, regards the Sacrament of Baptism. In its administration the Anglicans have revived the practice (alike Rubrical and

* Leeds is an exception to this rule; but it is, so far as we know, the only exception.

reasonable) of celebrating it in the public service. The infant member is adopted into the Christian family with the sympathising prayers of his assembled brethren. The external appliances of the rite are made to correspond with its dignity and beauty. The mean basin of crockery is discarded, and the ancient font of stone restored, and filled to the brim with clear water, the consecrated type of purity and innocence. Nor is it (for the sake of a needless symbolism) pushed into the porch, where it must be invisible to the congregation, but placed in a conspicuous and central spot, where the service can be witnessed by every eye, and heard by every ear. The same sense of artistic fitness which dictates these changes, prompts also to other restorations. The parish priest has generally inherited from the past a church beautiful in its original structure, but defaced by the tasteless innovations of recent barbarism. The 'high embowed roof' no longer retains its original pitch; the windows have lost not only their stained glass, but even their tracery; the pillars are cut away to make room for hideous monuments; and the stone is buried under a hundred coats of whitewash. He hastens, so far as he can obtain the means, to restore the sacred edifice to its pristine beauty. The mouldings emerge into light; the whitewash disappears; the storied windows once more fling a chequered colouring over the walls; the crosses rise again from their broken shafts, over a lofty roof. But, when all this is done, the worst abomination remains behind. The area of nave, choir, and aisles is choked up with high square pews only half occupied, where the richer parishioners recline in solitary state, while the poor are too often left to stand in the gangways. This, perhaps the most odious practical abuse introduced into the Church during the last two centuries, the Anglican party has the credit of successfully combating. 'Equality within the House of God,' has been from the first their motto and their practice. Nor is it an easy task which they have undertaken. The fat farmer, who for fifty years has snored unseen beneath the shelter of his wooden walls, is frantic at the idea that he should be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The young rustic, who has carried on a comfortable flirtation in the corner of the adjacent penfold, regards the curtailment of its lofty proportions as treason against the privileges of love. The selfishness of ownership, the dignity of property, are roused to the combat, and fight energetically against the invasion of their rights. Moreover, the clergyman cannot legally make any alterations at all, without the consent of his churchwardens, who are often the most pig-headed opponents of his reforms. This consent once obtained, he must hasten on

the work, lest they should change their mind; nor let him hope for any rate from his vestry to aid him in the execution. If at length he has succeeded in replacing the old boxes by decent seats, there remains the invidious task of assigning to each householder his due share of room. No one must be too far from the pulpit, no one too near the door; to put a man behind a pillar is to create a mortal enemy. The clergyman who succeeds in triumphing over all these difficulties, without making himself the most unpopular man in his parish, must possess a rare union of tact and courage.* Yet that many such clergymen exist in the Anglican party, is evident from the number of old churches which we see freed from the nuisance of pews, and filled by contented parishioners. It must be acknowledged, however, that every such improvement renders all similar changes in its neighbourhood comparatively easy. The advantage of the reformed arrangement is so manifest, that in a short time it is generally acknowledged. The restored church is cited as a model; strangers come to see it; the natives grow proud of it; their neighbours become emulous, and at last allow the example to be imitated with little opposition.

The removal of this and other barbarous innovations may be considered to belong to that work which has fallen peculiarly to the Anglican clergy—the restoration of ancient churches. But the same party has shown equal taste and activity in the building of new ones. To the noble edifices bequeathed us by the Middle Ages, they have added others not unworthy of their prototypes.

But above all, their revival of Church Music deserves honourable mention. Till their epoch, the psalmody of a village church was truly a disgraceful exhibition. A choir, consisting frequently of the most drunken reprobates in the parish, bawled out the '*Hanthem*,' which they sang in *parts*, that is, in a complicated kind of discord. No other music varied the service, except the singing of a metrical psalm, from which the poetry had been previously extracted by Tate and Brady. The instrumental accompaniment of the performance was the squeaking of a cracked flageolet, and the growling of a base viol.

* We lately visited a parish where this kind of reformation was proceeding, amidst a storm of opposition. One farmer was especially furious at the removal of a hideous gallery, which for the last fifty years had blocked up a beautiful window. He declaimed indignantly against the Parson's tyranny. 'I have heard of them tyrants of 'Antikkity' said he, 'who burnt people because they wouldn't agree 'with their notions. And our Parson is just as bad—burning our 'gallery.' Another said, 'It was all Popery.—Weren't them new-'fangled narrow pews what they used to call *Monks' cells?*'

All this is now on the road to amendment. Music is taking its proper place in the public worship. The wretched metrical version of the psalms is superseded by hymns uniting poetry with devotion; and at the same time the more ancient melodies of the Church are restored to their due prominence. It is a vulgar error that the chanting of the psalms, and the appropriate singing of the other musical parts of the service, is a difficult feat of art. On the contrary, the best chants are the simplest kind of music known, consisting of a very few notes perpetually reiterated. A congregation can far more easily learn to join in this kind of psalmody than in ordinary hymn-tunes, which are much more complex. We know village churches where the whole congregation join in the strains of Farrant and Tallis, and the Gregorian tones. And it is found that when the people are thus trained to take an intelligent part in the musical portion of the liturgy, they will not leave their responses in the prayers to the listless articulation of the Clerk.

Such are some of the services lately rendered to the Church by the Anglican party. Its modern hagiology is of course less copious than that of the Evangelicals, inasmuch as its existence as a resuscitated party has been much shorter. Yet we need not doubt that it will again produce saintly men, as in the times of old. For its creed is the same which nourished the piety of the best Churchman and the best Churchwoman of the seventeenth century; her whose gentle virtues shone amid the pollution of the most corrupt of courts, with the lustre of a pearl upon a dunghill; — and him who is pronounced by an historian not likely to be partial, to have 'approached as near 'as human infirmity permits, to the ideal perfection of Christian 'virtue.'* Nor are there wanting living representatives of the practice, as well as the profession, of these ancient worthies. Bishop Selwyn is not undeserving of a place in the same category with Bishop Perry. And among the lay adherents of the Anglican creed are men who might be cited as examples of the purest type of English character, and women worthy to belong to the same sex and country with Margaret Godolphin.

Notwithstanding the merits of this party we have seen that its teaching involves, in some degree, the vague assertion of two principles — Apostolical Succession, and Church Authority. These may, it is true, be made to mean but little; and, veiled in a graceful mist of words, they may become an ornamental

* Macaulay, Hist. i. p. 637.

and dignified appendage to a system essentially Protestant. But they may also be made the basis instead of the superstructure, and a fabric may be built upon them at which the Anglican stands aghast. In this latter method they were dealt with by those bold essayists who revived, twenty years ago, the theology of Laud. Their earlier and more moderate statements of doctrine found ready acceptance among the clergy, and they speedily were at the head of a large body of adherents. But they pressed recklessly to the front, and soon left the mass of their troops far behind them. Yet still they hurried on towards the goal of their logical career, and abandoned, one by one, the traditions of the Anglican divinity from which they started. Meanwhile, after they had advanced beyond the High Church camp, they continued for nearly ten years members of the Church of England, and formed a new party, which took from their writings the name of Tractarian. The doctrines of this party are regarded by themselves as necessary developments of the Anglican principles. The foundation of their system is Apostolical Succession, which they hold essential to the being of a true Church. The Bishop duly consecrated is by virtue of this succession the representative of the Apostles. The Presbyters on whom he lays his hands, are thereby endowed with supernatural powers, which enable them to change the Eucharistic elements into the body of Christ. They are also a mediatorial Priesthood, ordained to offer prayers and 'unbloody 'sacrifices' for the people. By their hands, moreover, the Church exercises 'a power which places it almost on a level 'with God himself—the power of forgiving sins by wiping them 'out in baptism—of transferring souls from Hell to Heaven.'* The efficacy of both Sacraments depends solely on the *opus operatum* of their external acts. Hence these writers deplore the imperfection of the Anglican Communion Service as 'a 'judgment upon the Church,'† because it ascribes no miraculous power to the words of consecration. Again, in the Baptismal Service, the Church requires a profession of faith to be made in the infant's name, before it is baptized; or (if it has been previously baptized in *articulo mortis*) before it can be received into the Church; thereby testifying that the blessings bestowed are conditional on moral qualifications. Whereas our Romanising divines teach that the baptismal rite, even if performed in jest, would so change the nature of the child that its post-baptismal sins would be excluded from the benefit of the Atonement. Thus Christianity becomes a system

* Sewell's Christian Morals, p. 247. † Tract 90. p. 4.

of magical forms and incantations, tending to the exaltation of the sacerdotal office.* We are called upon to believe these doctrines upon the infallible authority of the Church. But if we ask where this authority resides, and who is empowered to embody this infallibility, these teachers are more sorely puzzled for an answer than even their Anglican predecessors. And in their attempts to reach a firmer ground, notwithstanding all their struggles against the force of logic, they are borne down by an irresistible current to the chair of Peter. The foremost of them soon perceived the goal whither they were tending, and at first got over their difficulties by declaring that they acknowledged the authority of the Roman See, and held all Roman doctrine†, and that they could reconcile the English Articles to their Papal creed, by interpreting them in a 'non-natural sense.' They openly abjured the name of Protestant; they allowed that, if cut off from the Roman Communion the Church of England must be schismatical; but they maintained that the two Churches were not really separated, and that their mutual excommunication was the result of a misunderstanding which time would clear up. This view, however, was too contrary to common sense to be long defended, even by its inventors. They soon acknowledged their error, and their leader, renouncing for ever the Anglican allegiance, passed over the Rubicon, and rushed into the heart of the Italian territory. But not all who advanced to that fatal frontier had courage to cross with Cæsar; the rabble of his army remained shivering on the brink. And now they are taunted by the indignant sarcasms of their former captain, as he adjures them by every principle they hold sacred to come over and help him. He proves that their present position is untenable. He proves that while professing to repudiate all private judgment, they are in fact standing on the point of the loneliest pinnacle which private judgment ever reared.‡ He overwhelms them with those arguments which proved irresistible to himself; the arguments which forced him to renounce the dreams of ambition and the reality of power, which tore him from his Oxford home and his devoted friends, and drove him into exile among strange

* This object is confessed with unusual candour, by a champion of the party, as follows: 'Until the people shall think thus of these 'mysteries they will not think of us as it is far more for their 'benefit than ours that they should always think.' (*Charge of the Bishop of Exeter*, 1842.)

† These were the published words of Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakely, some time before they left the Church of England.

‡ See the Oratorian Lectures of Father Newman, *on Anglican difficulties*, delivered in London in 1850.

scenes and uncongenial men. But he reasons and he appeals in vain. Those on whom he calls have stopped their ears against the voice of the charmer. Their only answer is, 'Here we are, 'and here we will remain.'*

Yet we must not hastily accuse all these waverers of dishonesty. Some of them, there cannot be a doubt, are men who would sacrifice, not their preferment only, but their lives, in the cause of duty. But they feel that although the logical consequences of their principles thrust them forward, yet there are moral and religious difficulties which raise insuperable obstacles in the path. There are points in the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome which seem to them irreconcilable with Christian truth. If, only, they could get over these stumbling blocks, gladly would they follow their captain's steps. But till then they remain where Providence has placed them; halting between two opinions as to their own position; and still hoping almost against hope, that the Church of England may be a true branch of the Church Catholic. These are the best of the Tractarian party; but they are very few. The bulk of it consists of young and silly partisans, who have joined it more for the sake of amusement and notoriety than for any other reason. They are guiltless of insincerity, in not pushing strong opinions to extreme consequences; for, in fact, they have never formed any opinions at all. They have but learnt by rote a set of phrases for which they shout. If guilty of dishonesty at all, it is only in pretending to decide on theological questions, while conscious that they are destitute of the simplest rudiments of theological knowledge.

The manner of such a pretender is highly characteristic. It is marked by supercilious silliness and fatuous conceit, assumed to hide the depths of his ignorance. It is sometimes difficult to maintain one's gravity, when one hears such a neophyte affecting the tone of a *Doctor Seraphicus*, and volubly pouring forth theological polysyllables which he would be sorely puzzled to render into English. One is tempted to remind him how few years have passed since he was nearly plucked for his degree, and to ask how long it is since he has acquired the power of construing the Greek Testament, wherein he was then so wofully deficient.

* It must be remembered, that we are speaking of those who still adhered to the Tractarian opinions after Mr. Newman's secession. But many of his followers, frightened by his desertion, fled back in the opposite direction, and intrenched themselves in the Anglican fortresses which they had abandoned. These are now distinguished among the Anglican party by the bitterness of their hostility to the Church of Rome.

To describe the costume, the phraseology, and the ritual of this party would be a waste of time. Their peculiarities have been made familiar to all, by the pen and the pencil of innumerable satirists. Who does not recognise, when he meets them in the railway or the street, the clipped shirt-collar, the stiff and tie-less neckcloth, the M. B.* coat and cassock waistcoat, the cropped hair and un-whiskered cheek? Who does not know that the wearer of this costume, will talk of 'the Holy Altar,' and 'the Blessed Virgin,' of 'Saint Ignatius Loyola,' and 'Saint Alphonso de Liguori?' And that he will date his letters on 'the eve of St. Chad,' or 'the Morrow of St. Martin?'† Who has not seen the youthful Presbyter bowing to the altar, and turning his back on the people? Who has not heard him intoning the prayers, and preaching in his surplice on the 'holy 'obedience,' due from laity to priesthood? Who is ignorant that he reads the offertory after his sermon, and sends round little bags at the end of long poles, which are thrust in the faces of the worshippers to extort their contributions?' Who has not noticed the gaudy furniture of his church, the tippeted altar, the candles blazing at noon-day, the wreaths of flowers changing their colour with feast or fast, the mediæval emblems embroidered on the altar-cloth? After all, these are but harmless fopperies, only mischievous if they stir up the wrath of the people. But the Tractarian mode of celebrating the Communion deserves graver censure. In the first place, continual bowings and genuflexions are introduced, without the authority either of Rubric or custom. Secondly, the elements are placed, before consecration, upon a peculiar piece of furniture, a side-board, called a *prothesis* or *credence table*, although the use of this has been adjudged by the highest Ecclesiastical Court to be positively illegal.‡ Thirdly, in the reception of the consecrated bread, a

* Every one knows how this name was accidentally disclosed to a Tractarian customer by a tailor's orders to his foreman; and how the artist was forced reluctantly to confess that it was an abbreviation for '*Mark of the Beast.*'

† Some of the party have even rebaptized the days of the week, as appears from the following advertisement in the 'the English Churchman.' 'WHAT IS THE GOSPEL? NOT PROTESTANTISM BUT THE PRAYER-'BOOK. *This work will be brought out regularly at F. Gilmour's 'High Street, Sarum, every Ascension Day (heathenishly called 'Thursday,) and will be in the hands of the London and Oxford 'Booksellers every Passion Day, dedicated idolatrously by all Pro-'testants to the Heathen Goddess Friga.*'

‡ See the judgment of Sir H. J. Fust on the Stone Altar case. The contempt shown by the Tractarians for this judgment is the more remarkable, because they profess such reverence for the same judge's

novel usage is adopted, which has excited scandal, and even caused disturbance, in the administration of the eucharist.*

Still more perilous to the peace of the Church is the attempt recently made by some Tractarian clergy to innovate upon the burial service. Under pretence of a rigid adherence to the Rubric, they have insisted on pausing in their office, after the coffin is lowered, till the whole grave is filled up. Meantime the mourning relatives (including, perhaps, sickly women,) are compelled to stand shivering in the rain or snow; while the solemn impressions made by the majestic pathos of the service are effaced by anger, and tears of grief changed into tears of rage. The disregard thus shown for human sorrow makes this an instance of heartless folly, almost inconceivable in our tender-hearted age. Yet the refusal of the same party to bury those who have been baptized by Dissenters, shows a similar triumph of bigotry over compassion. There might be some excuse for this, if one could believe that it arose from a conscientious obedience to the Rubric. But that is impossible; for the very men who affect this scrupulosity are themselves daily violators of the most precise directions of the Rubric. If there be one Rubrical enactment more important than another, it is that which prescribes the *daily* celebration of Morning and Evening Prayer in every Church. Yet this is not obeyed by one Tractarian out of twenty. We entirely sympathise with the

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decision on the Gorham case. The number of churches now possessing *credence tables* is considerable enough to make the manufacture of *credence cloths* a regular branch of trade, as appears from the advertisements in the 'Guardian.' See 'Guardian,' Feb. 9. 1853.

* The palm of the hand is held in a peculiar posture, that the bread may be dropped into it. This practice caused a disturbance lately at one of our fashionable watering places. A Low Church Incumbent was administering the communion, when a young Tractarian, conspicuously arrayed in the costume of his sect, knelt before the rails. Suddenly the congregation was startled by the voice of the Incumbent repeating the words of administration, 'Take this,' in an emphatic tone. On looking up, they beheld the recipient with his palm held in the above-mentioned attitude, but not extended in the usual manner to 'take' the bread from the minister. Six times did the officiator repeat the admonition, each time louder than before; but still the recipient obstinately persisted in his passive attitude. At length the Incumbent passed on, desiring his Curate not to give the cup to the recusant. It is hard to say, in such a case, which of the two parties was guilty of the greater profaneness; the one who suffered the solemnity of the most sacred rite to be violated, rather than give up a silly custom; or the other, who took notice of such a folly at such a time, and punished it by virtual excommunication.

answer given by a well-known Bishop to a Romanising clergyman, who wished for permission to preach in his surplice, and pleaded that his conscience, bound as it was to Rubricality, forbade his officiating in his gown. 'Of course, then,' said the Prelate, 'as you are so scrupulous in your obedience, you 'celebrate Morning and Evening Service daily?' The clergyman confessed that he did not; it would encroach upon his other duties, and so forth. 'Then I really think, sir,' replied the diocesan, 'that in future the less you say of your Rubrical 'conscience the better.'

This inconsistency is felt by some who yet are unwilling to impose upon themselves the burden entailed by their principles. They wish to have daily service, but do not wish to perform it. We find an advertisement from one such Incumbent who appeals to the public to help him in raising '*a fund to maintain 'the services of a Curate to perform daily service;*' and tells us that he would gratefully accept aid from '*any pious Christian 'who feels disposed to assist in such a work.*'* The following exhibits a similar mode of dealing with such embarrassments:— '*The Incumbent and Deacon of a poor district on the S. W. coast, 'who are endeavouring to bear witness to the truth of Catholic 'principles, amid opposition of the most decided character from 'those by whom they are surrounded, venture to hope that some* 'CATHOLIC PRIEST, *blessed with independent means, will come 'and help them for a few years, in their attempt to set the Church 'fully and fairly before the people.* MONEY IS URGENTLY 'NEEDED *for the expense of the Choir, &c.*'†

The Tractarian, whose conscience allows him to dispense with daily service, is not much troubled with his spiritual duties during the week. He sets his face against most modern plans of parochial benevolence as Protestant inventions. He does not patronise the secular education of the poor; for nothing would induce him to take so Erastian a step as to put his school under Government inspection; which is (generally speaking) the only way to make it efficient. He doubts the propriety of pastoral visits to his poor parishioners, unless they are sick; because the Church has appointed no special office for that purpose. He is willing, however, to attend a death-bed when summoned; and he sometimes gives special dignity to such an errand, by marching through the village in his surplice. Moreover he has perhaps a few female penitents, who come to him occasionally for auricular confession. But these employments do not take much of his time. His principal energies are

* Guardian, Sept. 8. 1852.

† Guardian, Nov. 24. 1852.

devoted to the task of opposing 'Puritanism.' And as he knows that a practical protest against error is always the most effectual, he may display his repugnance to Puritanic heresy by attendances at balls and races. In fact, the frequentation of these amusements may seem as essential a part of the one creed as their renunciation is of the other.

But ball-going and race-frequenting, though the most effectual, are not the only modes in which the Tractarian clergy combat heterodoxy. They also amuse themselves with a chronic agitation, which has for its object the safety of the Church. The quintessence of this agitating spirit is concentrated in the 'Church Unions.' These are clerical associations (including sometimes a few laymen), which meet together at intervals, usually once a month, to make speeches and pass resolutions concerning things in general, and their own neighbourhoods in particular. Besides these periodical debates, there are other occasional opportunities for indulging in the luxury of ecclesiastical warfare. We have lately seen the obsolete form of choosing Proctors for Convocation galvanised into unexpected life, to give such partisans the excitement of an electioneering intrigue. Then there is sometimes a petition to be got up against Government education; sometimes a protest to be circulated against the Judicial Committee; sometimes a *mandamus* to be sued out, forbidding the consecration of an heterodox Prelate; and if nothing else be stirring, an address against that great fautor of heresy, the Archbishop of Canterbury, will fill up the vacant time.

The noise made by all this astonishes those who know how few are the makers of it. Provincial newspapers are always ready to print the proceedings of any local meeting, without too close a scrutiny into the attendance. There are also several London journals willing to fill their columns with accounts of any demonstration which seems to support the party that they advocate. In this multiplying mirror, the image of a single Tractarian is transformed into an assembly of divines; and a little knot of ambitious curates pass themselves off on the dazzled public as the leaders of ecclesiastical opinion.* It has been said that parties, like snakes, 'are guided by their tail, 'not by their head.' But perhaps it would be truer to say that the waggling of the tail is thought to indicate a motion of the

* In one case a 'Church Union' consisted for some time of a clergyman, his curate, his churchwarden, and his schoolmaster; and the resolutions and proceedings of this important body regularly filled several columns of the 'English Churchman.'

more important members when they are really quiescent. In the instance before us this mistake is fostered by the circumstance that the journals generally supposed to represent the High Church party, really represent its extreme section only. This, indeed, is equally the case on the Low Church side. For quiet and moderate men (whatever be their party) will seldom tear themselves from their daily duties to get up newspapers, to agitate against agitators, or to protest against protesters. Thus the High Churchman laments the violence of his 'Chronicle' or his 'Guardian,' and the Evangelical groans over the absurdities of his 'Record.' But finding no other paper free from similar faults, they continue grumblingly to take in the offending prints.

The agitation we have described cannot exist without involving much insubordination. Accordingly, the party which began with the watchwords of order and obedience, is now the most disorderly and disobedient in the Church. Every clergyman is pledged, not merely by acts of Parliament, but by Articles, by Canons, and by repeated Oaths, to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Causes. Yet we have lately seen the decision of the Queen in Council openly repudiated, with a formal publicity which exposed the guilty parties to the penalties of a *præmunire*. But it may be said that the Supremacy, though an Anglican, is not a catholic doctrine; and that a 'catholic mind' acknowledges subordination to the divinely appointed governors of the Church, not to the earthly rulers of the State. Such is, indeed, the profession of the Tractarian party. 'The Bishops,' they tell us, 'are the living 'representatives of Christ;' and again, 'Whatever we ought to 'do, had we lived when the Apostles were alive, the same ought 'we to do for the Bishops. He that despiseth them despiseth 'the Apostles.'* But, alas, these guides are only divine and apostolic so long as they side with their professed worshippers. If they venture to decide against them, they instantly become not merely fallible but heretical. Out of the whole body of English bishops, two only are now considered sound in Tractarian faith. And the scorn expressed even for their collective decisions, may be seen in the contemptuous denunciations hurled by these champions of Ecclesiastical Order against the Episcopal Monition to the Clergy, which was signed in 1851 by twenty-four out of the twenty-eight bishops on the bench. The party seems, in fact, to take a schoolboyish pleasure in showing the annihilation of Episcopal power, and the unlimited licence of disobedience

* Tract No. 10.

practically possessed by the clergy. Greenwood and Penry were hanged by Whitgift, Leighton was whipped and mutilated by Laud, for the use of language against bishops mild in comparison with that which every pamphleteering curate now uses with impunity. We were especially edified by one pamphlet which was published by a rustic pastor soon after the Gorham Judgment. The worthy man (who was Vicar of Puddleton Parva in the county of Wilts *) informed the Archbishop in all sober sadness, that whensoever he, the said Archbishop, should present himself as a communicant at the altar of Puddleton, he should be repelled therefrom. Imagine the vindictive satisfaction with which Archbishop Laud would have received such a document! and how pleasantly he would have noted in his diary, a few weeks afterwards, the results of its publication upon the ears, nose, back, and cheeks of the author! †

But if the Primate, by 'voluntary betrayal of his most sacred 'trust' ‡ has deserved such treatment from the faithful, at least the Bishop of London, we might hope, must command their grateful deference. He favoured not the heterodoxy of Gorham; nay, he stood alone among his brethren of the Privy Council in resisting the Institution of that obstinate heretic. And at the time, he was glorified by the members of the Sect as the pillar of orthodoxy. But this was when he gave a judgment in their favour; since then he has ventured to decide against them; and now he too is a mark for the scoffs of the 'Chronicle,' and the more polished sarcasms of the 'Guardian.' His fall is connected with a controversy which was brought before Parliament three years ago. It will perhaps be remembered that Lord Palmerston, when Foreign Secretary, displaced the Chaplain at Madeira. The Bishop of London, however, did not think the faults committed deserved so severe a punishment, and refused to withdraw the Chaplain's Episcopal licence. The ejected clergyman continued to minister to a section of the British residents, and the new chaplain was denounced by the seceding party as the worst of heretics. No sooner was he landed than his predecessor put into his hands a solemn protest. In this document (which, with its Appendix, fills up thirty pages of the Parliamentary Blue Book § containing an account of these trans-

* From a desire not to expose a country clergyman to unnecessary ridicule, we suppress the name of this Wiltshire Vicar, and alter that of his parish.

† See Laud's detailed account (in his diary) of the execution of Leighton's sentence (Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 57).

‡ Pastoral of the Bishop of Exeter, p. 12.

§ Correspondence respecting the British Chaplaincy in Madeira, printed by order of the House of Lords, 1849.

actions) the chaplain is informed that his 'assumption of the 'office *without licence from the Bishop* is a schismatical and 'unlawful act.'* His congregation are warned that if they attend his ministrations they will 'become partakers in the sins 'of disobedience and schism;'† and innumerable quotations are gathered from old fathers and modern divines, to enforce the Ignatian maxim that '*the obeying of the Bishop is the necessary* '*condition of Christian communion, and he that does not obey the* '*Bishop is worse than an infidel.*'‡ Who would have supposed that the very man who wrote this protest, and his followers who applauded it, would within three years be themselves defying the authority of the self-same Bishop? Yet so it was. The extravagance of their conduct induced the Bishop to withdraw his countenance. At once obedience was changed into rebellion. The Priest who had just stigmatised unlicensed ministration as worse than infidelity, himself continued to officiate for many months after his licence was cancelled. When he left the island, the extreme section of his partisans went yet farther. For the Bishop having, in the meanwhile, given a licence to the Government Chaplain, they refused to acknowledge its validity, on the ground that it was granted to a notorious schismatic. And when the Bishop desired them to recognise his nominee, 'as the only clergyman acting there under Episcopal authority,'§ they replied by new citations from the Fathers, directing the faithful to resist heretical bishops, and opened a church on independent principles.‖

All this insubordination is defended by the Tractarian party on the ground of a higher allegiance. 'The Church of their 'baptism' is in danger, and they must defend it even against the successors of the Apostles. But here they are assailed by their Romish friends with the question, how they can venture, on their private judgment, to pronounce a successor of the Apostles guilty of heresy? Confounded by this difficulty, many of them are driven to renounce Church, baptism, and all. Some, indeed, have contrived to renounce their baptism without quitting their Church, which is stranger still. One of their leaders, in a work which he has lately published upon the Greek Church, openly avows that on the 24th of July, 1851, he presented a

* Above-mentioned Blue Book, p. 146.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 186.

§ Letter of the Bishop of London, September 1. 1852 (quoted from the 'Guardian').

‖ 'I have reopened our church,' says their minister, 'falling back 'upon the general mission possessed by every priest for acting in special 'emergencies.' (*Guardian*, Dec. 29. 1852.)

document to the Patriarch of Constantinople, wherein he stated that, 'finding himself oppressed within the Anglican pale by a 'majority of heterodox, careless, or weak members,' he 'was 'desirous of obtaining admission into the orthodox Communion;' and that, to this end, he '*was willing to own the defective character* '*of his former baptism, and to submit to conditional immersion.*'* The clergyman who thus proposed to renounce his baptism still retains his fellowship; and the Tractarian organ mentions his conduct without a word of censure.

The party whose salient features we have thus attempted to sketch, is (as we have intimated) more noisy than numerous. Its chief *habitats* in England are the two South-western dioceses; and we often find in the advertisements for curacies in the 'Guardian,' a proviso that the appointment must be in Exeter, or Bath and Wells. Another favoured haunt of the sect is among the Episcopalian Non-conformists of Scotland. These descendants of the Non-jurors, whose worship was, within living memory, subjected to the penalties of the law, still retain the spirit and temper, as well as the Liturgy, of Laud. Their bishops are elected solely by the clergy, and the clergy of each diocese average from ten to twenty in number.† It is natural that these functionaries should make up for their want of temporal importance by exalting their spiritual dignity. Their communion affords a refuge to those who, though disgusted with the Protestantism of the Church of England, cannot quite resolve to join the Church of Rome.‡ Several of these seceders have been elected to Scotch 'Bishoprics,' and amuse themselves harmlessly with playing at prelacy. For here they can lord it safely over their tiny flocks, and can wield the power of the keys without setting the country in a flame. We rejoice, how-

* Quoted by the 'Guardian' (March 23. 1853), from a work on the Orthodox Greek Church by Mr. Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. What would the Fellows of Magdalen of 1688 have thought of their modern successor?

† The three smallest Scotch 'Dioceses' contained in 1852 only 13 clergy apiece. The other day there was a fierce contest for the election of 'the Bishop of St. Andrews.' Sixteen clergy were brought to the poll, 8 on one side and 8 on the other, and the successful candidate, Mr. Wordsworth, was so far from affecting the *nolo episcopari* that he gave a casting vote for himself. It is but justice to say that he deserved a much higher honour than that thus obtained, being a man of real learning, and one who has done much for the cause of Christian education.

‡ We find from the official accounts that half the clergy now officiating as Episcopalian Non-conformists in Scotland were ordained in the English Church.

ever, that they have lately been restrained from publishing their excommunications against those who differ from them, by the decision of the Courts of Law, that such publication is libellous.*

Tractarianism also flourishes in some of our Colonies, where members of the party have been sent out as bishops. We have already expressed our hearty sympathy with the establishment of a Colonial episcopate; and we therefore can more freely lament the mistakes made in some of the appointments towards the close of Archbishop Howley's life. The Government very properly consulted the Archbishop on these nominations (the endowments having been subscribed by members of the Church), and the Archbishop having latterly fallen under the guidance of a small clique of Romanizing clergy, several bishoprics were given to their partisans. Thus we find it stated in a protest of some clergymen at Cape Town, that six out of every seven clergy in that diocese are High Churchmen.† The 'Guardian' applauds the Bishop for having reduced the Low Church to this insignificant minority. We own, that to us, such a victory shows neither the gentleness of the dove, nor the wisdom of the serpent. We were reminded by it that the same bishop, on his way to his own see, invaded a foreign island, and there publicly pronounced the British chaplain appointed by Her Majesty, a 'schismatic,' and the Consular Chapel a 'schismatical place of 'worship.'‡ We trembled for the Church, when we found that this prelate had arrived in England to claim a seat in Convocation. Had his claim been conceded, we suppose that the more ambitious Colonial bishops would have resided permanently in the Metropolis, and appointed deputies to perform their diocesan duties. As it is, some of them seem to spend half their time here, and we never see an account of any public festivity during the London season, without finding three or four of these *Episcopi minorum gentium* among the company. Xavier never returned from India, to play the courtier at Madrid; and, unless our Colonial bishoprics be given to men of Xavier's spirit, they have been created in vain.

The Tractarians are essentially a clerical party, and have but few lay retainers. Nor have they sufficient wealth and influence to attract so large a body of trading members as the Recordites. Still these followers of worthy Master Byends

* In the case of Sir W. Dunbar *v.* the Titular Bishop of Aberdeen.

† Guardian, Dec. 29. 1852.

‡ See the Parliamentary Blue Book on Madeira, pp. 142. and 204.

are not altogether wanting in the advertising columns of the Tractarian press. Pedagogues and schoolmistresses make, as before, the principal figure. There we find several 'establish-'ments' where '*the pupils have the great advantage of attending* '*the morning and evening prayers of the Church;*' and we are invited to send our sons to receive a 'CLASSICAL AND ANGLO-'CATHOLIC EDUCATION,' where '*a limited number of pupils are* '*received,*' and where, '*N. B. The Daily Service will be used.*'* Nor can we hesitate to place our daughters under the shadow of Episcopal protection in '*St. Margaret's College, Crieff, Perth-*'*shire, for the education of young ladies.* VISITOR, *the Bishop* '*of St. Andrews.* * * * DANCING, *Madame Apolline Zuingle.*'† Besides this class of advertisers, there are a few Tractarian tailors, who proclaim the merit of their *clerical frock-coats* and *cassock waistcoats;* several High-Church haberdashers, who supply *offertory bags*, and clothe the altar and the credence-table with mediæval millinery; and one undertaker, who professes (*mirabile dictu*) to make *Anglo-Catholic coffins!* But the most formidable tradesman of the party we have ever encountered was a polemical dentist, into whose hands it was once our unhappy lot to fall. We were ignorant of his ecclesiastical politics, and made an incautious reply to his first question, wherein he pressed for our opinion on the character of the Primate. Bitterly did we repent our folly. Plunging his brad-awl (or whatever that horrid instrument is called) right into the nerve of the tooth which he was stopping, he sternly corrected our heterodoxy, and consigned the Archbishop to the company of Judas. We instantly assented, tried to retract our previous blunder, gave up the Metropolitan to his doom, and inwardly acknowledged that martyrdom was not our vocation. But it was too late. Our jaw was ruthlessly seized, and speech was thenceforth impossible. During the succeeding hour, 'stretched on the rack of a too easy chair,' we listened to a lecture on the Gorham controversy, while every point of the discourse was emphasised by an excruciating poke into the living heart of the tooth. Vain were our attempts at recantation, vain our shrieks of agony. The merciless operator continued to storm against heresy, and stab against the nerve, till he thought he had punished us sufficiently. At last we were allowed to rise, with aching jaws, better qualified to appreciate the logic of Torquemada, and vowing that we had rather spend an hour even under a Recordite expounder than under a Romanizing dentist.

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* From the English Churchman. † Guardian, July, 1852.

Such proselytes, however, are very rare among the middle and lower classes. Indeed, the chief mischief done by the Tractarians is that they alienate these classes from the Establishment. The accession of a Tractarian rector is always followed by the overcrowding of old conventicles, and the erection of new ones. Not long ago, a worthy yeoman told us that he had been consulted by the farmers of a neighbouring parish, on a knotty ecclesiastical question. They had resolved, they said, to build a meeting house of their own, because their parson was a Papist. But they had not decided on the sect to which they should adhere, and came to ask their friend, who was a great authority among them, for his advice to guide their choice. At first he exhorted them to continue their attendance at church, and wait for better times. But finding that he could not prevail, he finally recommended them to erect a Wesleyan Chapel. 'I 'thought, Sir,' said he, 'as they would have a meeting house, 'that the *Methodies* was the nearest to the Church.' The clergyman who has thus succeeded in driving half his hearers into Dissent, seems often rather pleased than otherwise at his achievement. He congratulates himself that he has winnowed the corn, and fairly separated the chaff from the wheat. 'I 'have only twenty people now who come to church,' said a country rector—'but they are all sound churchmen.' Moreover, such a priest feels his labours lessened by the desertion, as he is not bound to take any charge of his schismatical parishioners, and gives himself no farther trouble about them, except that of crossing himself and spitting on the ground when he passes the Zion or Bethesda where they assemble.*

This exaggerated manifestation of High Church principles, mischievous though it be, is less disgusting than the stagnant form of the same party, which was so widely diffused in the good old days of Eldonian Toryism. Its adherents, always indolent and ignorant, were once politically formidable by their

* A clergyman of this party was walking with a friend through a great manufacturing town. As they passed a large and ugly building, 'How frightful,' said his friend, 'that St. Matthew's church is!' 'Church!' exclaimed the other, 'Is it a church? I always took it 'for a dissenting chapel, and treated it as such. I hope I may be 'pardoned.' 'What do you mean,' inquired his friend, 'by *treating* 'it as such?' 'Why' replied the first, 'whenever I pass a Dissenting 'chapel I cross myself, spit upon the ground, and say, *Get thee behind* 'me Satan.' It is fair to mention, however, that this gentleman has since joined the Church of Rome.

numbers and their wealth. Now they are fallen from their high estate, and are contemptuously denominated the 'High and Dry'; just as the parallel development of the Low Church is nicknamed 'Low and Slow.' There is so much analogy between these two fraternities, that it is best to consider them together. Their professed doctrines, indeed, are dissimilar, but these are only accidentally adopted, and make no essential distinction. In sluggish mediocrity, in hatred of zeal, in dread of innovation, in abuse of Dissent, they are in perfect harmony. The blundering and languid utterance, the want of life and fire in their style, the absence of anything in look, voice, or manner, which could touch the heart of their hearers, characterises both alike. If they write their own sermons, it is 'with drops of opium upon leaves 'of lead;' and such is the narcotic effect of these discourses that the most attentive listener can hardly retain his consciousness long enough to discover whether the preacher is to be classed among the 'Dry' or the 'Slow.' Indeed, a sermon of either class might often be turned into one of the other, by simply substituting 'Church' for 'Gospel,' or *vice versâ*, throughout the soporific pages. The only difference is, that the minister of the 'Slow' school, if he has a town congregation, sometimes soars into heights of rhetoric never attempted by his drier brethren. In such a case we can easily detect the use which the preacher has made of his *Dictionary of Similes* and his *Vocabulary of Synonyms*. Perhaps there may be more of doctrine in the 'Slow' discourse, more of ethics in the 'Dry.' Yet from such lips, truths the most awful and awakening fall flat and dead, and precepts of the purest morality become drowsy commonplace. But happily many of these worthies are wise enough to eschew original composition altogether. We find that both sections are provided with the means of escaping this laborious task, and yet deceiving the eyes of their congregation. The terms on which the 'High 'and Dry' are supplied, appear from the following monthly notice in the 'Guardian': 'To the Clergy exclusively, *whose* 'parochial labours, &c. preclude the possibility of composition. 'The four plain practical sermons for February printed in manuscript lithography, (*very legible*) will be ready for 'delivery on January 21. *Price of each set of four sermons* 8*s*. '. . . . The services of a clergyman of great experience and unquestionable soundness and moderation have been engaged to write 'these sermons for the publisher.'* To the 'Low and Slow' clergy, on the other hand, a similar announcement is made in the columns of the 'Record': 'Important to Clergymen. *A few*

* Guardian, Jan. 1853.

'*sets of Dr. Trusler's facsimile manuscript sermons may still be* '*procured at the low price of half a guinea for the set of a hun-* '*dred sermons.*'* This is cheap indeed! Why should the 'Dry' be charged 2*s* a sermon, when their brethren are thus provided with twenty for the same sum? We cannot think that any difference in the value of the article can account for this enormous disparity in the price. Probably Dr. Trusler's manuscript is not so 'very legible' as his rival's, and the typographical superiority may explain the pecuniary disproportion.

The performance of service by these two cognate schools, is still more alike than their style of preaching. Slothful negligence and unfeeling stupidity is the pervading character of all their ministrations. The Church furniture is shabby, the music bad, the prayers mumbled, and the lessons mouthed.† Even in our Cathedrals themselves, where perfect architecture, venerable associations, and all appliances for vocal and instrumental harmony, would seem to insure to our Liturgy its fullest devotional effect, it is sometimes turned into burlesque by the slovenly irreverence of such performers. As an example, we will mention a scene which occurred in one of these Diocesan Churches, where the Prebendaries are bound to attend daily prayers for twenty-one days continuously in every year; the rule being that if a Prebendary misses a single service, he must begin his twenty-one days over again. One day an old Prebendary (high, dry, and gouty) came limping into his stall a minute after the service had begun. The Dean immediately turned to him and exclaimed, 'You must begin 'again, Sir.' 'Do you hear, Sir, what the Dean says to you?' shouted the Prebendary to the intoning Minor Canon — 'he 'tells you to begin the service again.' The inferior officer humbly obeyed, and complete victory crowned the Prebendal stratagem.

The two stagnant parties both agree in dislike of excitement and love for a quiet life. The 'Slow' school, however, being generally quartered in the towns, and maintained in some measure by pew rents, have no dislike to a crowded audience;

* Record, Nov. 11. 1852.

† Many clergy of both these schools misplace all the aspirates, and some, in reading the Lessons, adopt the rule of emphasising all the words printed in italics, which are really the least emphatic, being those supplied by the translators to complete the sense. We have ourselves heard a clergyman of the 'Low and Slow' school produce an effect irresistibly comic by applying this principle in reading the following verse, '*The Prophet spake unto his sons, saying, saddle me* '*the ass. And they saddled HIM.*'

on the contrary, they sigh bitterly over the vacant seats which too faithfully reflect the vacancy of their discourses. The 'High 'and Dry,' on the other hand, being usually possessed of permanent endowments, have a positive abhorrence of a throng. One of this party, an old Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge (now dead), held a living in the town. During his absence in a long vacation, he employed a deputy, who unexpectedly turned out a popular preacher. The whole aspect of the church was soon altered. From the emptiest church in Cambridge it became the fullest, and even in the passages standing room was hard to find. News of the metamorphosis reached the old incumbent in his country retreat, and he was at first a great deal discomposed. But after a few moments of meditation, he exclaimed, 'Filled my church, has he? never mind, I'll under-'take to empty it in a fortnight.' We need not add, that the prediction was literally accomplished.

In their parochial administration, it is quite impossible to distinguish the representatives of one form of stagnation from those of the other. Both are equally negligent of their duties; both equally tenacious of their emoluments. When the Royal Commission was appointed, in 1849, for the subdivision of large parishes, one of the first letters which they received, was from the incumbent of an enormous parish with a population of many thousands under his charge. The Commissioners expected that it would contain an appeal for their assistance in the object which must be next his heart, an increased provision for the spiritual destitution of his flock. But the writer was of the 'High and Dry' school; and his letter was an urgent representation of the danger that loss of fees might result to the Incumbent by the subdivision of Ecclesiastical districts. Subsequently the object of the Commission was explained to this worthy pastor, and he was urged to consider the importance of providing at least one clergyman to every five or six thousand souls. His reply was candid: — 'They may do what they like 'with the souls, provided they leave us the fees.'

The main difference between these two species of drones, is a difference of wealth and position. As a general rule, the 'High and Dry' are rich, the 'Low and Slow' are poor. Both disgust us, but the former excite our indignation, the latter our pity. The former, however, are a class still indeed too numerous, but rapidly dying out; the latter, though comparatively few at present, are rapidly increasing. To them belong the uninteresting ministers who fill so many of the livings recently created; the incumbents of new districts, with large population and small endowment. Poor as their preferment is,

it is a temptation to the idle sons of ambitious shopkeepers, who enter the clerical profession to raise themselves in society, but whose training is not such as to raise them in moral or intellectual rank. It is to be feared, indeed, that so long as the process of multiplying poor incumbencies goes on (essential as it is to the very existence of the Church), without a corresponding improvement in clerical education, it must result in lowering the standard of the profession both in mind and manners, and assimilating it to that which now characterises the peasant clergy of Wales and Cumberland.

On the other hand, the most conspicuous among the 'High 'and Dry' men are the relatives or favourites of prelates long defunct, who flourished in those easy-going days when pluralities were not yet forbidden, nor sinecures abolished. Their youth was not fed with dreams of Catholic ideals, but inspired with more substantial visions of the comforts of an 'establish-'ment;'

> 'Wherein are various ranks, and due degrees;
> The Bench for honour, and the Stall for ease.'

Their fortune was often made for them before they left the nursery. No sooner had they quitted College, than they became dignitaries of the Church. Prebends, rectories, and archdeaconries seemed to have been created that these children of the purple might take their ease, eat, drink, and be merry. Nor was public opinion then shocked by such nepotism. But that generation has passed away; and only a few relics of its abuses linger in the pages of the Clergy List, to point the moral of the Church reformer, or adorn the tale of the demagogue. We could almost pity the last survivors of that well-fed race, who are left bloated with pluralities and gorged with sinecures, to endure the indignant scoffs of a reforming age. They were but ordinary specimens of their breed, but their brethren have been swept away by the receding tide, and they lie stranded on the shore. By this perversity of fate they are doomed to gasp out their latest breath under the harpoons of a crowd of satirists. 'Hæc data pœna, diu viventibus!'

These, however, never formed the bulk of their party, although they were its natural chiefs. Its main body consisted of country parsons, with fat rectories and fatter heads, whose numbers have been thinned down by the advance of intelligence, and the increase of religious feeling in the class from which they spring. Though never a theological party, they once formed a strong and rampant faction. But now their day is over; though still individually numerous, they have no collective

objects, and have almost ceased to influence the course of ecclesiastical politics.

Side by side with these various shades of High and Low Church, another party of a different character has always existed in the Church of England. It is called by different names; Moderate, Catholic, or Broad Church, by its friends; Latitudinarian or Indifferent by its enemies. Its distinctive character is the desire of comprehension. Its watchwords are Charity and Toleration. Its adherents love the Church of England for that very peculiarity which has most provoked the criticism of her detractors. She is reproached by Rome with Puritanism, by Geneva with Popery. Nay, some among her children lament that she has given too much colour to such reproaches. The Tractarian complains that she teaches 'with the stammering 'lips of ambiguous formularies'*; that she tolerates heterodoxy, and has no thunders for the Calvinist or the Erastian. The Recordite, on the other side, owns with a sigh that her Baptismal Service is calculated to mislead, and her Catechism hard to reconcile with Scripture. Her catholic sons, on the contrary, consider this balanced and compromising character as among her greatest claims to their admiration. If they wish for any change, it is only that the same principle should be pushed still farther. For they believe that the superficial differences between Christians are as nothing in comparison with their essential agreement; and they are willing that the portals of the church should be flung as widely open as the gates of Heaven.

The doctrines taught by this party are the same in which both High and Low Church are agreed. The Incarnation and the Atonement, conversion by Grace, and justification by Faith, are fundamental articles of their creed. They only differ from their brethren in believing that these doctrines have virtually been held by all Christians in every age; by Loyola and Xavier, not less truly though less clearly than by Latimer and Ridley. Yet though thus willing to own the Romanists as brethren, they are sincere and even fervent Protestants. But they conceive the essence of Popery to consist not in points of metaphysical theology, but in the ascription of magic virtue to outward acts; and against this idolatrous superstition they protest, whether it manifests itself in the Puritan or the Papist. Their other tenets may be generally described by saying that they embrace the positive and reject the

* Tract, No. 90. (1st. ed.)

negative side of the Anglican and the Evangelical systems. They join both in their exhortations, neither in their excommunications. With the Low Church, they teach that Scripture is the only rule of faith; but hence they deduce a conclusion which many Low Churchmen would repudiate, that all who believe the Scripture are members of the household of faith. With the High Church, they affirm the doctrine of Judgment by Works; and thence infer that salvation depends not upon the ritual but the life; that the fruits of the Spirit are the sole criterion of the Spirit's presence. A characteristic feature of their theology is the prominence which it gives to the idea of the *Visible Church;* an idea ignored in the teaching of the Evangelicals, and excluded from the creed of the Recordites. On this point the views of the Broad Party approach those of the High Churchmen; from which they differ principally in not restricting the universal commonwealth to any single form of outward government. They hold the Church to be a society divinely instituted for the purpose of manifesting God's presence, and bearing witness to his attributes, by their reflection in its ordinances and in its members. If its ideal were fully embodied in its actual constitution, 'it would remind us daily of God, and 'work upon the habits of our life as insensibly as the air we 'breathe.'* For this end it should revive many good practices which save even a corrupt Church from utter putrefaction; such as 'daily services, frequent communions, memorials of our 'Christian calling presented to our notice in crosses and way-'side oratories; commemorations to holy men of all times and 'countries; religious orders, especially of women, of different 'kinds and under different rules, delivered only from the snare 'and sin of perpetual vows.'† By these and other means they believe that it was designed, and that it is still destined, to realise the idea of Christian Brotherhood, and to be the true sign from Heaven for the conversion of the world.

This doctrine has not been to its votaries an idle dream. The writer who dwelt on it most fondly, and advocated it most earnestly, exemplified his theory with no insignificant results, though on a miniature scale. In his government of the public school committed to his care, he worked upon the model of that Christian commonwealth which was never absent from his imagination. The great reform wrought in the education of the upper ranks, with its many far-reaching consequences, is ascribed by all parties to his efforts, and has been in no small measure

* Arnold's Sermons, vol. iv. p. 307.

† Ibid., Introduction, p. 56.

accomplished by his disciples. The same views and feelings stimulate the exertions of those who are seeking to revive a true ecclesiastical government, and to reanimate the Church, by giving back those functions to her members which are now usurped by her ministers. Men who see in such a revival the best hope of Christianising her people, are eager to seize upon every feature of her actual constitution which favours their objects; to restore the order of deacons; to give modern duties to cathedral chapters; and generally, to breathe new life into all dead forms which are susceptible of adaptation to the wants of a living world.

But these wider schemes and aspirations do not lead them to neglect the work which they can already do with the actual means within their reach. The parochial clergy of this school look upon their essential function to be not merely 'to preach the 'Gospel,' or 'to set forth the ordinances of the Church,'—but to promote the highest good of every person under their charge. With this object before them, they consider their labours in the pulpit as but a small part of their office. Everything which can tend to the moral progress of their flock is comprised in the circle of their duties. The great advance which has been lately made in the secular instruction of the poor, is almost wholly due to this party in the Church. One of its members* was the first to show, both by precept and example, the kind of teaching really required by the people. He proved by his own success, that the children of an ordinary parochial school may be taught not merely to say by rote, but to understand and apply, the elements of natural science and of geometry. And he solved a still more difficult problem, by rendering such a school self-supporting. His books are now the manuals of every well trained schoolmaster, and his methods are adopted in all well managed schools.

Again we owe to this party the most successful efforts which have been made to reclaim the artisans of the Metropolis from the infidelity in which they are so generally sunk. Mr. Maurice has set the example of dealing with this difficulty in a frank and manly spirit, making himself the sympathising friend of those whose errors he was anxious to remove. Mr. Wilson, who, in his factory schools at Vauxhall, has carried on the same good work with still more success, and on a larger

* Mr. Dawes, now Dean of Hereford. Every one interested in popular education must be familiar with the full account of his labours at King's Sombourne, given in the successive volumes of the Minutes of the Committee of Council since 1847.

scale, states that he undertook his noble task as a disciple of Arnold.

By men like-minded with these, the humanizing influence of amusement has been brought to aid in the regeneration of the humbler classes; and religion is represented, not as sternly checking, but as sanctioning and augmenting, the pleasures of the poor. It is no slight cause of thankfulness, to hear that there are manufacturing villages in Yorkshire, where, under the superintendence of the clergyman, Handel's Messiah is performed by the operatives of the mills. Such cases are becoming daily more common; and in parishes thus administered we are sure to find the attractions of the alehouse and the ginshop, gradually superseded by those of cricket clubs and chess clubs, reading rooms, singing classes, and excursion trains.

In such measures, and generally in all the good works of the Broad Church party, two sections co-operate, which we may call, for the sake of distinctness, its theoretical and anti-theoretical sections. The opinions which we have ascribed to the party, are those of its theoretical members; and from these many of the other section would shrink with alarm. For, although they sympathise in the love of comprehension, which distinguishes their more advanced friends, yet they do not allow themselves to speculate on any relaxation of the terms of communion at present fixed by the Church. They advocate the fullest toleration of all within the pale, from Mr. Gorham to Mr. Bennett; the case of those without, they consider beyond their jurisdiction. This portion of the party, if less liberal than the other, is probably not less useful. By the absence of wide general views and speculative tendencies, they are less likely to provoke professional prejudice; and thus they are enabled more effectually to pursue the work of their calling, without let or hindrance. They are characterised by cordially throwing themselves into the existing system of the Church, and casting their doctrines and their minds into the mould of her twofold teaching. They neither stultify the Articles, nor mutilate the Liturgy; but heartily embrace the truths presented to them in each under a different aspect. They join the societies and exert themselves for the objects both of the Anglicans and the Evangelicals. They will not allow themselves to feel jealousy or suspicion towards any party which professes to fight under the banner of the Church. By this line of action, when pursued with a manly singleness of purpose, they often avoid the enmity which proverbially dogs middle courses, and sometimes even win universal popularity. No better example of such results from such conduct can be given, than the unanimous

approbation elicited by the recent appointment of Dr. Jackson to the see of Lincoln.

It will appear from what we have said, that the Broad Church are, to the middle of the nineteenth century, what the Low Church were to its beginning,—the originators of ecclesiastical reform, and the pioneers of moral progress. But there is one important difference between the two cases. The Evangelicals were united closely to one another, they acted as a compact body, they combined to carry common objects, and their views were advocated in Parliament by able representatives. The Catholics, on the other hand, have so little organisation or mutual concert of any kind, that they can scarcely be called a party at all. They are even destitute of that instrument, which every fractional subdivision of the smallest sects possesses, an organ in the periodical press. This is the more remarkable because among their ranks is comprehended almost every living clerical author whose name is distinguished in literature or science. There are in the present day, clergymen who have richly contributed to Classical Philology, to the Mathematical Sciences, to the Physical Sciences, to Secular History, to Ecclesiastical History, to Poetry, and to general literature. But all, with hardly a single exception, are Broad Churchmen. In theology, it is true, other parties have produced works of merit; but even there, the most valuable and original additions to the national stock have proceeded from the same quarter. Yet this school of opinion, so rich in eminent writers, is unrepresented in the press, except by the isolated publications of individuals. The reason of this is not hard to find. It is always easier to keep together a body of partisans on a narrow than on a comprehensive basis. The watchwords of party should be battle-cries, not notes of peace. The Catholic Christian, indeed, is engaged in warfare; but it is against moral evil, not against opposing sects; his weapons are self-denial, holiness, and love, weapons less easy to wield than excommunications and interdicts. It is not difficult to raise an army for the assault of Rome, or for a crusade against Geneva; but the Flesh and the Devil are less definite antagonists; and sometimes while we think we are in arms against them, we are really fighting on their side. A common hate is the cement to consolidate a party.

The only thing which would force the Broad party into an organised alliance, would be the revival of a representative assembly of the Church. In the deliberations of such a body, they would be compelled to a visible union, by co-operating in one line of action. Thus they would no doubt be enabled to

effect more than they can at present; but, on the other hand, they could scarcely escape the vices of partisanship, from which they are now exempt.

The Catholic views of this School are assailed, as might be expected, both by High and Low. One of the favourite arguments against them, is neither more nor less than the old Chrysippian sophism: 'You are willing,' says the objector, 'to 'include both A and B within the Church, on the ground that 'there is no vital difference between them. But there is as little 'difference between B and C, between C and D, between D and 'E, and so on. On your principles, then, why should you not 'include all the letters of the alphabet? In other words, if Dr. 'Pusey and Mr. Gorham are both admissible, how can you 'exclude the Unitarian, the Jew, the Deist, and the Pantheist?' This is easily answered by a retort; for the objector is himself willing to admit all the A's, the big A, and the little A, the black-letter A, and the Italian A; and he is as unable as his antagonist to show a gulf separating the last whom he admits from the first whom he excludes.

But another and more serious objection remains. It is said that this easy comprehension leads too often to careless coldness; that universal toleration is usually associated with universal indifference. It cannot be denied that this charge contains some ground of truth. The Catholic tendency of mind has its peculiar dangers, no less than the exclusive. The Broad-Church principles have (like those of their opponents), been pushed into exaggeration, and have sunk into stagnation. Restless spirits will proceed from the negation of dogmatic infallibility to Pyrrhonian scepticism. Sluggish natures will freeze without the fire of fanaticism. The natural indolence of men causes them to pass from the toleration of unimportant differences to the belief that all differences are unimportant. Thus, in the last century, the comprehensive Christianity of Tillotson and Burnet degenerated into the worldliness of the Sadducean Hoadly.*

* Hoadly defends (in his 'Reasonableness of Conformity') the practice of signing the Articles without believing them. Hume's correspondence contains his reply to a young clergyman, who had confessed his disbelief in Christianity, and asked the philosopher's advice. Hume recommends him 'to adhere to the ecclesiastical profession 'in which he may have so good a patron; for civil employments for 'men of letters can scarcely be found. It is putting too great a respect 'on the vulgar, and on their superstitions, to pique oneself on sincerity 'with regard to them. The ecclesiastical profession only adds a little 'more to the innocent dissimulation without which it is impossible to 'pass through the world.' (*Burton's Hume*, vol. ii. p. 187.) Scott's

And the unbelieving petitioners of the Feathers' Tavern* represented the opinions of many hundreds of their brethren whose scepticism was manifested, not by public protests, but by silent neglect of their duties and selfish devotion to their interests. But though the triple subdivision may be traced in the Broad party as well as in the others, yet its debasements have this peculiarity; that its exaggerated can hardly be separated from its stagnant form. For indifference to truth naturally leads to sensualism; and the sensualist is naturally indifferent to truth. The most universal sceptic believes in pleasure; the idolater of pleasure has no faith in God.

It is true that, at present, the comprehensive party in the Church cannot be accused of coldness or want of energy. Arnold was no indifferentist, and his followers have been no Epicureans. Nor have these opinions been, in our own days, the stepping-stone to infidelity. On the contrary, the unbelievers of our age and country have come from the ranks of the Puritans or the Romanists. Yet the history of the last century may well furnish a warning to the adherents of this theology. Their zeal not being sustained by conflict against antagonistic sects, has double need to be kept alive by purer stimulants. Their mental tendency leads them to make light of differences of opinion; but, if they feel tempted to imagine that Truth itself is matter of opinion, and Belief of no avail, let them learn from history no less than Scripture, that *Faith is the victory which overcometh the world.* And let them remember that such faith is not a speculative theory, but a practical energy; and that it will sicken and die, if it be not

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'Force of Truth' is a remarkable autobiography of a man who was ordained on the same principles.

* In 1772, 250 clergymen presented this Feathers' Tavern Petition to Parliament. Its prayer was that the Petitioners might be '*relieved*' from subscription to the thirty-nine Articles, 'and restored to their 'rights, as Protestants, of interpreting Scripture for themselves, with-'out being bound by any human explications thereof.' The whole Petition, which is too long to quote here, is the most *naïve* avowal of dishonesty on record, and leaves the modern advocates of a 'non-'natural sense' far behind. Paley, in the pamphlet which he published in defence of these Petitioners, acknowledges that they 'continue in 'the Church without being able to reconcile to their belief every pro-'position imposed upon them by subscription;' and speaks of them as 'impatient under the yoke' (*Paley's collected Works*, p. 362.). This pamphlet was published anonymously at the time, and it is said that when Paley was himself urged to sign the Petition on the ground that he 'was bound in conscience' to do so, he replied that he 'was too 'poor to keep a conscience.'

fed by acts of devotion, by habits of prayer, by deeds of self-denial, by exercises of love. If they would save it from extinction, and their own souls from moral ruin, let them visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and keep themselves unspotted from the world.

To ascertain the relative strength of the different sections into which the Church of England is divided, is not an easy task. At first it might be thought that the proctors elected to represent the Clergy in Convocation would furnish data for such a calculation. But these elections have become mere forms, and are seldom contested; and even in the few contests which have occurred, a very small proportion of the electors has taken part. The income of the different religious societies would give an element for determining the resources of the parties by which they are respectively supported: but it is impossible to find any society supported by only a single party. We may, however, deduce from this source some information bearing on the question. The subscriptions to the Church Missionary Society amount to about 100,000*l.* a year; those to the Propagation Society to about 50,000*l.* The former is supported by all shades of Low Church and Broad Church; the latter by all shades of High Church and Broad Church. Hence if we suppose the number of adherents of the parties to be proportional to the amount of their subscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the Low Church party is (including its lay and clerical members) more than twice as numerous as the High Church party.* Again, the Curates' Aid Society, supported mainly by the High Church, collects rather under 13,000*l.* per annum; the Pastoral Aid Society, supported mainly by the Low Church, collects a little above 30,000*l.* This leads to much the same inference as before.†

The circulation of the religious newspapers, on the other hand, seems to give a different result. The 'Record,' which is the organ of one extreme party, and the 'Guardian,' which is the organ of the other, have about an equal circulation. But here again it is impossible to eliminate the elements which prevent us from founding any accurate calculation on these data. Many take in these journals as good 'family newspapers,' without agreeing with their views. Moreover neither of the moderate

* Because $B+L=2(B+H)$ $\therefore L=2H+B$.

† In the above statement we have only taken into account the income derived from subscriptions and donations; the other sources of income not affecting our present subject.

parties is represented by any newspaper. And again the whole 'average circulation'* of both 'Record' and 'Guardian' together does not amount to eight thousand, whereas the number of clergymen in England alone is above 18,000.

The address to the Archbishop in favour of the Gorham Judgment, was signed by more than 3,200† clergymen, of the Broad and Low Church parties; that against the Judgment by nearly 1,800 High Churchmen, including laity and clergy. This latter was signed by every Tractarian clergyman in England, and we have thus a proof that their number cannot exceed a thousand, for at least 800 of the signatures must have belonged to laymen or Anglican clergy.‡

As another mode of obtaining an approximation to the proportion of parties, we have gone through the Clergy List, marking the names of all the clergymen whose opinions we knew, to the number of about 500. The result of this examination has been, that supposing those unknown to us to be in the same proportions with those known, we should be led to classify the 18,000§ clergy of the Church of England as follows:—

High Church.	Anglican	3,500
	Tractarian	1,000
	'High and Dry'	2,500
Low Church.	Evangelical	3,300
	Recordite	2,500
	'Low and Slow'	700
Broad Church.	Theoretical	1,000
	Anti-theoretical	2,500

and about 1000 peasant clergy in the mountain districts, who must be classed apart.‖

The twenty-eight Bishops and Archbishops of England are divided in a somewhat different ratio; viz., thirteen belonging to various shades of High Church, ten to the Broad Church, and five to the Evangelical parties. But for obvious reasons we can scarcely ground any general conclusions on this datum.

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* *i. e.* the number sold of each separate copy.

† This was wrongly stated as 2,300, in No. 193., page 66. note.

‡ This protest was sent for signature to every clergyman in England, by a London Committee. The address in favour of the judgment was only circulated privately by the efforts of a single clergyman, Mr. Goode; and to our knowledge it was never sent to many who would gladly have signed it.

§ The Clergy List of the present year gives the names of above 18,300 clergy in England; this does not include the Irish Clergy.

‖ See No. 198. Art. 3.

But whatever may be the relative strength of these subdivisions, it is evident that the triple cord in which they interlace could not easily be untwisted; nor could either of its strands be cut, without a risk of severing the rest. The object of every wise Churchman should be to keep each of the main schools of opinion from extravagance on the one hand, and from stagnation on the other; and the existence of counteracting parties is a check providentially operating for this end. Nor should we forget that the differences which divide each from each are much exaggerated by party-spirit. Most of them can be resolved into mere disputes about terms, which might be ended by stricter definition. Those which lie deeper result from a difference of mental constitution, and belong to the domain of metaphysics rather than of religion. For it is in theology as it is in philosophy; every distinct sect strives to represent and embody a separate truth. A few great ideas are intuitively stamped on the groundwork of human reason, but not illuminated with equal brightness. The idea, which, in one mind, stands out in dazzling light, in another is dim and overshadowed. Hence each idea has its exclusive worshippers. But as the understanding logically developes its favourite truth, it at length deduces consequences which seem to contradict some other truth equally fundamental. Then follows a conflict, which in a few minds produces absolute Pyrrhonism; but which more frequently issues in one of three alternatives. First, the mind may abandon the principle whence it started, considering it reduced *ad absurdum*, now that its logical consequences seem to contradict another axiom; secondly, the truth of both principles may be admitted, although their consequences seem irreconcilable; or thirdly, the consequences of the first principle may be embraced, and the modifying truth rejected. This last is the course adopted by extreme parties. Thus there are different stages in the development of opinion, each marked by the rejection or reception of some modifying truth, and each forming the halting-place of a different sect or school.* Nor is there any evil in this variety, so long as the truths of morality and religion are not contradicted. And even where we might, at first sight, suppose them to be so, (as for instance, in the case of fatalist opinions,) we must be cautious of yielding to this impression. For piety has a transmuting power, and often turns the inconsistency of the understanding into food for the goodness

* The same results follow, whether the principles be derived from reason or from Scripture.

of the heart. Therefore, instead of murmuring we should rejoice when we see the same character of Christian Holiness manifested under diverse opinions. For Christianity, embraced under one form, might have been rejected under another. All cannot see through the same telescope, but different eyes require the tube to be variously adjusted. And the image formed will at best be blurred and dim, unless charity furnish us with her achromatic lens, and blend all the rays into one harmonious brightness.

But is there then, it may be asked, no evil in the spirit of party? Are we preaching acquiescence in 'our unhappy di-'visions' which are so often the subject of official lamentation? That be far from us. Strife and enmity are justly lamentable. But the mischief is not in variety of opinion, but in variance of heart; not in theological idiosyncracies, but in unscrupulous partisanship. This last, the besetting sin of all parties, is most offensive in those which are contending for religion. And yet we fear that none is free from it. On the one side, if a renegade priest will make effective speeches against the Pope, and betray the secrets of the Church which he has deserted, the foulest scandals in his private life cannot shake the confidence of his admirers. On the other side, if a champion of orthodoxy is qualified by talents or position to render good service to his partisans, they will defend him though he be convicted of more than Jesuitical mendacity, or of sharp practice which would strike a provincial pettifogger off the rolls. It is not that men consciously resolve to become accomplices in immorality, but they wilfully shut their eyes to all evidence against their favourites, and bring in a verdict of not guilty before the trial has begun. In advocating mutual charity, we advocate no such toleration of wickedness. When meanness or hypocrisy is detected, let men give the largest scope to their indignation, the freest course to their invective. But let them not confine such treatment to rogues of the opposite party. Let them excommunicate the knaves of their own following. Let them be sure that a bad man cannot make a good Churchman, a good Puritan, or a good anything. And let them remember that it is a duty enforced upon us by the highest example, to expose the interior of whited sepulchres, however fair may be their outward seeming.

Nor would we desire them to spare even lighter faults than hypocrisy, and more harmless absurdities than falsehood. For no absurdity in religious men can be entirely harmless; nor can the follies of pietism be altogether free from moral deformity. Hence it is the duty of a Christian to abate them as far as

possible. And this is the appropriate field for ridicule, which in theological argument is out of place. Its employment in this, its proper province, cannot lead to evil, provided we be careful not to forget our reverence for the reality in our contempt for the travestie. 'Are some ridiculous,' says one who spoke to a scoffing generation, 'and for that will you turn religion into 'ridicule? If you do, it will at last turn a Sardonic laughter.'*

But while we advocate the unsparing exposure of vice and folly, let us be careful to discountenance the use of unlawful weapons in the assault. Above all, let us disavow that tendency to settle theological quarrels by Lynch Law, which has lately disgraced our countrymen. If a clergyman is foolish, he may be laughed at; if he has introduced Popish rites and illegal ceremonies, he may be prosecuted in the courts of law. In either case it is shameful to hound on the mob against him. Yet we grieve to say that this method of attack has been resorted to by men who profess to advocate freedom of conscience. We shall not be suspected of viewing the so-called 'Exeter Synod' with any peculiar favour. Yet we could not learn without indignation that London agitators were stirring up the populace to interrupt its deliberations by violence. It is not long since we saw the congregation of a metropolitan church disturbed in their devotions by the outrages of a crew of ruffians, for the honour of Protestantism. And, only the other day, a clergyman was prevented from administering the Communion on New Year's Eve to some of his parishioners who wished to receive it, by a threat that if he attempted a 'midnight mass' the communicants should be dispersed by violence.† This is nothing less than religious persecution; and those who employ such poisoned weapons, will find their shafts recoil, sooner or later, upon themselves.

While civil discord thus convulses the Church, many of her children are falling away from her, and abandoning the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. We have already noticed

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* Archbishop Leighton's Sermon to the Parliament, 1669.

† This happened at Exeter, a place which was also disgraced by the notorious 'Surplice riots.' The latter, however, had more apology, because they sprang from a feeling on the part of the laity that the clergy had no right, without lay consent, to introduce innovations into the service. No doubt the real remedy for these disorders, as for all the diseases of the Church, (as we are forced so often to repeat) is to restore its true organisation, and give to all its members a legitimate voice in its government. They would then have less temptation to employ Lynch Law.

the diffusion of infidel opinions among the lower classes; but the mischief is not confined to them. The highest ranks and most intelligent professions are influenced by sceptical opinions, to an extent which, twenty years back, would have seemed incredible.* This state of things, as far as the Upper Classes are concerned, has been directly caused by the dissensions of the Church. 'When Doctors differ, who shall 'decide' is the expression of an almost inevitable scepticism. These unnatural hostilities must cease, if we are ever to reconvert the Pagans of the factory, and the Pantheists of the forum. How, indeed, can we hope to move them, if we are unable to answer that most obvious retort of the unbeliever, 'I will hearken, when you Christians can agree upon the lesson 'which you want to teach me.' And how can we answer this, but by acknowledging a substantial unity of faith, and an absolute identity of holiness, in the midst of endless diversity of opinion? 'Oh what are the things we fight for,' says Leighton, 'compared with the great things of God!'† Surely it is time that we should agree to differ about Prævenient Grace and Surplice Preaching, and turn to the true battle which is raging round us; a battle not between Anglicans and Calvinists, nor even between Popery and Protestantism, but between Faith and Atheism. We believe that the end is sure, and that Truth will conquer. But who can say how many ages of defeat may precede that final victory?

Art. II.—1. *A Chronological History of Voyages and Discoveries into the Arctic Regions before* 1818. By Sir John Barrow.

2. *Arctic Voyages of Discovery since* 1818. By Sir John Barrow.

3. *Parliamentary Papers on the Arctic Regions from* 1848 *to* 1852.

Well nigh a thousand years have elapsed since Gardar Suaffarsan, a Swede, undertook the first voyage of Arctic discovery. A Scandinavian pirate in proceeding to the Faroe Islands, a short time previously, had been driven from his course

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* It is true that, as far as the upper classes are concerned, the last half century (taken as a whole) has been characterised by a religious reaction against the fashionable scepticism of the preceding century. But in England the tide turned, ten or fifteen years ago.

† Leighton's Works, vol. iii. p. 480.

by a heavy gale of many days' continuance, and at last fell in with an island utterly unknown to the rude geography of those times. The mountains were high, and thickly covered with snow. The wanderer named the island Snowland. It was on his report that Gardar Suaffarsan, the predecessor of Parry, of Franklin, of Buchan, of Back, of James Ross, determined of set purpose to give his sails to the Arctic winds. This first voyage of northern discovery was undertaken A.D. 864. From that date until August of last year, when Commander Inglefield, in the small screw-steamer the 'Isabel,' advanced up Smith's Sound, at the head of Baffin's Bay, to 78° N., just 988 years have passed away. We are yet discussing the possibilities of a North-western Passage. We are yet in doubt whether a path can be found across the Pole by steering due north from Spitzbergen or thereabouts into Behring's Straits.

We dismiss the Scandinavian period of Arctic discovery as foreign to our present purpose. The second cycle of Polar voyages may be taken as from the year 1496, when the two Cabots discovered Newfoundland, until 1818, when Lieutenant Parry, in company with Sir John Ross, sailed for Behring's Straits. We take the third period as from the despatch of those expeditions until the present time. The reader will find that a wild legend is attached to every ice-bound cape and perilous strait during the second period named. The names of Hugh Willoughby, of Richard Chancellor, of Humphry Gilbert, of John Davis, of Henry Hudson, of William Baffin, of James Cook, of Hearne, Mackenzie, and others, cannot be passed over without a passing tribute of admiration when we speak of the heroes of the Polar Seas. It is possible that no very important results to our national wealth and national power have as yet arisen from the endeavour to penetrate into these frozen regions. The Davis' Straits whale fisheries and the transactions of the Hudson's Bay Company are the only qualifications which this broad assertion requires. But it is something to belong to a country which has produced men who in daily conflict with the powers of nature in their most appalling form displayed qualities so heroic.

Their ships get immovably wedged in floes of ice, upon which they are borne away at the will of a current they know not where. Worse still, with a crash and a hoarse rushing sound, the ice is shivered to pieces, whilst the ship cracks and trembles beneath their feet. These single masses are then tossed into heaps or ground into powder. The fog settles down; the compass gives no trustworthy sign. In the midst of this hamper the ship is swayed to and fro; every moment in all probability

will be her last. But discipline is preserved; the commander issues his orders, and the men obey them, as composedly as though they were bound on a summer cruise from the Start to Cawsand Bay. Such traditions as these are not without their value to a nation of seamen.

It is but just to give utterance to the admiration which every Englishman must feel when he is called upon to write or speak of the noble deeds of his countrymen. To lower the standard of heroic impulse by denying to it its due meed of praise, would be in every way an impolitic course. At the same time a moment must come when it becomes a paramount duty to inquire into the value of exertions which have long been directed, and in vain, to the attainment of a particular object. Even with heroes we must at length 'take stock,' and ask ourselves if we are justified in so large an expenditure of effort for such inadequate results. It may well be that, as in the case of alchymy and astrology, mankind may have obtained great collateral benefits from the various attempts which have been made to penetrate into the eternal ice, although the immediate object may not have been attained. It will be our duty then to consider seriously how much physical science has been advanced by these Polar expeditions; for from such considerations we might derive justification for the risks that have been run, and a certain consolation for the losses we have sustained. Nay, we would even go further than this. If the Humboldts, and Aragos, and Herschels, and Faradays, and Gausses of the world are prepared to tell us that, although all efforts to force a passage in the direction of Behring's Straits, either by Lancaster Sound or due north upon the meridian of Greenwich, may have been failures, still that from these expeditions they have obtained many valuable data which they could not have derived from any other source — data which serve as the foundations or buttresses of various sciences of practical use to mankind — then it may remain a matter for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and of the people of this country, whether or no they will give their sanction to the despatch of further and similar expeditions. But let them be no longer directed to the attainment of an object, in all probability, visionary, and most certainly useless in a geographical and commercial sense. Let us no longer strain at the solution of a riddle, like Christmas children, because it is a riddle, especially where so terrible a penalty must be paid in case of failure. The Polar sphinx, like her old Theban prototype, admits of no middle course. Her enigma must be solved, or the bold questioner pay forfeit with his life.

In a paper such as this, not directly pointed at philosophical objects, we will not encumber the very serious question under consideration by involving with it details of physical science. Two words only by way of protest. We are deeply sensible of the advantages which are inseparable from all contributions to our knowledge,—under the heads of astronomy, magnetism, atmospherical electricity, meteorology, the tides, currents, and temperature of the ocean, pendulum observations, and so forth. There can be no reasonable objection to the despatch of expeditions similar to that of Sir James Ross to the Antarctic regions for objects of this kind, so that the risk to human life be not too great, and the importance of the end in view be commensurate with the cost and peril of the voyage. In the same way we would dissociate from the present question whatever relates to the establishment of new whale fisheries, either in Behring's Straits or in the untried waters between Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen. We have sufficient evidence of success in the first of these two cases to justify us in calling the attention of commercial men to the point; with regard to the second fishing ground proposed, it would be but politic that firms interested in the trade should give the matter their best attention. A new and powerful agent of progress in the shape of steam ships can be brought to bear upon future Arctic navigation. It is not for us to set limits to possibility in the face of those marvels which are becoming the occurrences of every-day life. All that we ask is that we should pass with becoming modesty and caution from the known to the unknown. Let us not by precipitancy make enormous sacrifices of life for the attainment of objects which may naturally be realised in a few years, if they are to be realised at all, without serious danger.

For we cannot forget, and the people of this country are not likely to forget, the mysterious disappearance of Sir John Franklin and his brave companions in adventure and misfortune. The efforts that have been made by our own Government, the repeated votes of the House of Commons, the constant sympathy and co-operation of the Russian Emperor, and of the more popular assemblies in the United States, afford the best evidence of the light in which this loss has been regarded, not only by the people of this country but by the whole civilised world. What consolation that mourning lady, of whom we will not speak in terms that might indicate her bereavement, may derive from the interest displayed by his fellow creatures in the fate of her lost and gallant husband, has been afforded her in no stinted measure. The Arctic regions have been ransacked in every spot to which our most daring navigators

had yet penetrated, and even beyond these limits, at no inconsiderable risk of human life. Eight years have been now fully accomplished since Franklin weighed anchor at Sheerness. His return was looked for at the close of 1847; we are now in October, 1853. On the 12th of July, 1845, he wrote a letter to Mr. H. L. Corry, from the Whale Fish Islands in Baffin's Bay, and that is the last sign of life he ever gave to his friends in this country. A few days previously he had written to Colonel Sabine, explaining somewhat of his views and intentions, and calling his attention to the fact that at the date of his letter he was victualled for three years, that is to say, precisely until the 9th of July, 1848. Again, it is our duty to invite comparison between the date named and that of October, 1853. We are well aware that Sir Edward Parry, Sir James Ross, Sir John Richardson, Sir George Back, and other worthies of the Polar Seas, have given it as their opinion that Franklin might have prolonged his resources for a longer period by economising the stores which he took out with him from this country, and by the produce of his fishing nets and fowling pieces. We apprehend, however, that even the farthest period named by them has long since run out, save on the forlorn hope that far to the north, beyond the 80th degree of latitude, he may have found some green oasis in that unexplored Polynia, the approaches to which at least are guarded by barriers of ice so formidable that no ship's prow has yet penetrated beyond. What the portal to the Pole is we know: what may lie beyond that barrier we know not. Sir Edward Parry, Captain Beechey, Sir James Ross, Captain Pullen, and others, are there to tell us what they have seen when they made the attempt to penetrate this hamper which unites the two opposite conditions of fluidity and solidity. Let the mariner attempt to make his way by sea, and he will find himself wedged in a thick and immovable field of ice. Let the attempt be regarded as a voyage by land, and the bold adventurer will see the plain of ice shivered beneath his feet, and may esteem himself fortunate if he escape with life from amidst the shattered fragments. Even if he regain a firmer footing his observations of the heavenly bodies will soon inform him that the treacherous current beneath his feet bears him faster to the south than he can advance towards the Pole in a northerly direction by taxing his energies to their utmost limits.

Of personal testimony in favour of this sea, first, we find that Barentz, an old explorer, who wrote some two and a half centuries back, speaks of floating ice beyond Nova Zembla. From time to time many Russian fishermen and seamen have made

corresponding assertions. Thus Admiral Wrangell, in the year 1822, advanced from the mouth of the Kolyma over the ice to the 72nd parallel of northern latitude, when he saw a wide expanse of open sea. But, as this distinguished explorer himself admits, his discoveries leave the question of the Polar land, of which he had gone in search, entirely unsolved. Indeed, off Cape Jakan, he saw the loom of the land, and the subsequent discoveries of Captain Kellet, in the 'Herald,' confirm his testimony. The northern limit of the great island of Kotelnoi, which lies some 25° to the eastward of Wrangell's farthest, is 4° further to the north. On the 23rd July, 1827, Parry and his companions had reached 82° 45′ N. on the 19th easterly meridian. True it was that from Spitzbergen northwards he had travelled on a Polar sea, but what the condition of this Polar sea was, and what facilities it offered to the travellers, will appear in a subsequent portion of this paper. An officer who accompanied Sir John Ross in his first expedition, stated that in his opinion Smith's Sound, at the head of Baffin's Bay, must run high up to the northward, as he had clearly seen the sun at midnight touching the horizon in that direction. The hypothesis of this gentleman has been fully confirmed by the positive testimony of Commander Inglefield, who has succeeded in advancing up Smith's Sound to the 78° N. What he met with when he got there is best narrated in its proper place. We will, however, venture at once to say that his reception at 78° N. did not appear to give much promise of Elysian fields and oases nearer the Pole.

It should be observed that the question is no longer as to the existence of a great Polar Basin, if by the use of such a term we mean that the northern coast-line of America, Asia, and Europe has now been surveyed with tolerable accuracy and completeness, and that sea has been found to exist beyond. We know that, speaking broadly, there are twenty degrees of latitude between the northern shores of those continents and the Pole, and that this space, as far as it has been yet surveyed, is partly land, partly water, open at certain seasons, and closed at others. The problem of the North-western Passage has been all but solved. We do not say how long a period of human life would be consumed in the completion of the unprofitable and thankless task. The adventurer who made the bold attempt must have a physical organisation impervious to the rigours of climate, a commissariat abundantly supplied, we know not from what source, unless a dozen expeditions ancillary to his own afforded him all requisite co-operation; above all, a singularity of fortune such as no Arctic navigator has yet experienced. By

a combination of so many felicities, as Lord Bacon would have styled them, he might, indeed, succeed in his enterprise; but what benefit would accrue to himself or to humanity from his lucky endeavours we are wholly unable to suggest.

The question, then, no longer refers to the existence of this Polar Basin, which was asserted and denied with equal energy at the beginning of the present century. With the errors of past disputants we have nothing to do. As we look quietly over the arguments on either side, now that we are in a position to judge of their value by the light of actual experience, it appears to us as if there were little room for triumph either on one side or the other. To be sure a Polar Sea has been discovered, but it is a sea jammed full of ice and land, which presents about the same facilities for navigation as one of those Swiss glaciers which have furnished M. Agassiz with a subject for his ingenious speculations. No doubt there is a circular space of which the North Pole is the centre, with a diameter of 2400 miles, and, consequently, with a circumference of 7200 miles, or thereabouts, and this constitutes the Polar Basin. From their sources in Asia and North America mighty rivers pour down their tribute into this great space, to say nothing of the contributions from European Russia and Greenland. We know that the set of the current through Behring's Straits is N. E., and down Baffin's Bay, S. W.; flowing no doubt, through the multitudinous channels which intersect the Parry Islands. We know besides this just as much as our explorers have seen with their own eyes; as when Parry tells us that, being in latitude 82° 45′ N., he saw before him a clear and open space which he could not have reached in ships, and which, when he reached it, could neither be sledged over nor walked over; or when Commander Inglefield adds that, being well up Smith's Sound in 78° N., he saw no land,—nothing but vast blocks of ice fiercely driven against his ship, and so he turned back. There is not one particle of trustworthy evidence beyond this, to inform us of what may be looked for within the 80th circle of northern latitude; and, with the experience of past mistakes before us, we are reluctant to place confidence in any but testimony of the most positive character. As yet our main efforts have been confined to forcing expeditions through to the westward by Barrow's Straits, or down the North American rivers to the Polar Sea, and so along its southern shore, east and west. Truth compels us to record the fact that the result of our efforts hitherto has been, not the discovery of a great open sea, but of ice-bound clumps of land, intersected with comparatively narrow channels of water. On the other hand, we

have as yet no right to assert that the space within the 80th circle of northern latitude is similarly occupied. It is a question which nothing short of actual discovery can set at rest. Of presumptive arguments in favour of the existence of this Polar Sea there is, of course, no lack. The sum of the water traceable into the disputed limits is contrasted with its possible channels of exit. What becomes of the Gulf Stream after it passes Cape North? What of the contributions from the great rivers? What of the balance of precipitation over evaporation in these frigid regions? From this theoretical preponderance of water over land a higher temperature follows; and the theory would seem to be confirmed by the known fact that the break-up of the ice moves from the north. At this point it may not be unadvisable to make brief mention of some suggestions which have been thrown out by a young German geographer, — Mr. Petermann, which have excited a good deal of attention, and which come before us under the sanction of Sir Roderick Murchison, the President of the Geographical Society.

In the address delivered by that eminent man at the anniversary of the Geographical Society, in the month of May of last year, we find the following passage: — 'This laborious 'young German physical geographer (Mr. Petermann), who is 'now naturalised amongst us, has shown that, whether we look 'to the ascertained outlines of the land, the range of the iso-'thermal lines in certain longitudes, the results of the annual 'summer debacles issuing from the mouths of the gigantic rivers 'of Siberia, or to the great predominance of water, and with it 'a milder climate, it is to be inferred that if a steam-vessel were 'to be steered, during the winter or spring months, directly 'N. E. from the British Isles, she might pass into the Polar 'Seas in a fortnight or little more, without encountering any 'serious obstacle, and thus be soon in a position which our own 'ships have been struggling to reach through defiles of land-'locked water, encumbered by ice.' Such is Mr. Petermann's proposition, as attested by Sir Roderick Murchison. The opinion is backed by the fact already mentioned of Sir Edward Parry's progress to N. 82° 40′ 23″, at which point there was no bottom at 500 fathoms, no land, little ice, and much rain. As a confirmatory presumption, Sir Roderick quotes information derived from certain seamen who passed the winter of 1823–24 upon Bear Island (74° 30′), and who neither saw packed nor floating ice, nor suffered from severe cold. The great masses of ice are held together to the land of the North Siberian shores during winter; in summer they are floated away, and render the sea in this region impassable.

We are most anxious to do all justice to the suggestions of this gentleman, both from their ingenuity and from the high standing of Sir Roderick Murchison, who has lent to them, to a certain qualified extent, the authority of his name. It is competent to any of our readers who would wish to look more narrowly into Mr. Petermann's views, and the scientific reasonings on which they rest, to read his little pamphlet, 'The Search for 'Franklin,' &c. for themselves. If we hesitate in according our assent to his suggestions, it is because we find ourselves in presence of grave facts, which appear to us, in the present imperfect state of our information, greatly to militate against their correctness. In the first place, then, the President of the Geographical Society thought it but fair, even whilst stating Mr. Petermann's views with laudatory comments, to add that 'Sir 'G. Back, who was in the expedition of Buchan and Franklin, 'to the north of Spitzbergen, seemed to think that, to say 'nothing of darkness, the temperature would be too low in 'winter to admit working with the ropes among ice.' This objection, however serious, is, after all, but a collateral one, as far as the darkness is concerned. The open sea of which Mr. Petermann speaks might, of course, exist, although it might be impossible to see one's way across it. Not so with the question of temperature. Captain Scoresby, in his account of the Arctic Regions, gives the mean temperature of lat. 78° N., as 17° only. The thermometer ranges more highly in May and June, and reaches its superior point in the month of July. The lower ranges to satisfy the mean are, of course, obtained in the remaining nine months of the year.* 'During these nine 'months,' says Captain Scoresby, who speaks from twelve years' observations in the icy regions, 'ice is annually formed 'in the Spitzbergen Sea; neither calm weather. nor the prox-'imity of land, is essential for its formation. Can it then be 'supposed that at the Pole, where the mean annual temperature 'is probably as low as 10°, the sea is not full of ice?' It is not true that the vicinity of land is indispensable for the formation of ice. If we were satisfied, as most assuredly we are not, that there is not an acre of dry land extant above high-water mark within the 80th or 81st degree of north latitude, we should still be far from the belief that it is possible during the winter or spring months to steer a steam or even a caloric ship to the North Pole and back again with success.

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* Mr. Sharostin, however, declares, that during his residence in Spitzbergen, he found the coasts clear of ice for four, and sometimes for five months every year. (Letter from Captain Sabine to Davis Gilbert, Feb. 8. 1826.)

Captain Scoresby, in the very interesting work from which we have just quoted, describes to us, with the authority of an eye-witness, the process of the formation of ice on the open sea. He tells us that he has literally seen it 'grow' to a consistence capable of stopping the way of a ship with a brisk wind, even when exposed to the waves of the Atlantic, in N. 72°. We cannot afford space to quote his description of this interesting phenomenon at length, but the general drift of it is briefly thus: The earliest shape which ice assumes is called by the sailors 'sludge.' This sludge consists of small detached crystals, which resemble snow when cast into water too cold to dissolve it. This smooths the surface of the sea, as oil poured upon it might do. These crystals would unite, and form a continuous sheet, if the motion of the waves permitted, but they usually break into pieces about three inches in diameter. These pieces again unite, and, striking against each other on every side, become rounded at the edge, when they constitute what is called 'pancake ice.' These cakes again unite, and form larger cakes, say a foot thick and many yards in circumference. When the sea is perfectly smooth — and even within N. 80°, during the nine months named, the swell must occasionally subside, the wind now and then go down,—the freezing process proceeds far more rapidly; in forty-eight hours the ice will have become capable of sustaining a man's weight. Still water, for the rapid formation of ice, is always forthcoming in every opening of the main body at a distance from the sea. Let this process be carried on on a more extensive scale, and any openings that may be made in the central polar ice by the drift of fields to the S. and S.W. will soon be filled up. Such are the statements and views of a very keen observer, whose researches into this subject were carried on during seventeen voyages to the Spitzbergen or Greenland whale fishery.

At this point it is proper to make mention of the glimpses which Commander Inglefield caught last year of the supposed Polynia. This officer having failed in discovering any trace of Sir John Franklin and his party at Wolstenholm Sound, and seeing that the ice was open before him, determined to take advantage of the opportunity, and to dash boldly up Smith's Sound. The strait he found to be six miles across. 'I involuntarily exclaimed,' writes this officer, on entering the Sound, 'this must lead into the great Polynia of the Russians, and as 'the eye streamed forward into the clear expanse of apparently open water, which now occupied from seven to eight 'points of the compass due north of our position, I could not 'but admit to my mind that a great sea was beyond.' The

west coast of this new sea trended away to the north-west, and the eastern coast more and more to the eastward. At noon on the 27th August the 'Isabel' had reached 78° 28′ N., and then nothing but loose ice could be seen from aloft. The hypothesis that Baffin's Bay may find its termination at a more northern point than the one to which Commander Inglefield's researches extended is, of course, not excluded, although we admit that the observed configuration of the land would seem to imply the contrary. There was a northerly current setting up the Straits at about three miles an hour. Commander Inglefield has put it on record that at this point and at this time he could see no obstacle to his northerly progress. A contrary breeze, however, soon freshened into a strong gale, and this gale increased to a tempest, which fairly blew the 'Isabel' out of the Straits, and compelled her to heave to in a storm of wind which lasted thirty-six hours.

The conclusion upon the whole evidence with regard to the Polar Sea within 80° N. would appear to be in favour of a very considerable preponderance of water over land within the limits indicated. We do not know much about the matter, but the little we do know points to such a conclusion. Should Sir Edward Belcher have steered due north up Wellington Channel, and return to tell the tale, he may throw some further light upon the subject. But when we come to ask ourselves if it be possible to navigate the sea with any kind of success, the evidence as yet shows that, during the summer months, all efforts at one point,—and that point one which is marked as peculiarly favourable,—have failed. We see no kind of ground as yet for believing that any further attempts which may be made up Smith's Sound will be attended with greater success than the advance made by Sir Edward Parry to the north of Spitzbergen. What more can be hoped for than little ice, much rain, and no bottom at 500 fathoms? Could the 'Isabel' have steamed her way through the obstacles which were overcome by Parry and his party? Most assuredly not. Parry, indeed, has said that when he quitted the ice, a vessel might have sailed to 82°; that is, 150 miles further than the point at which Captain Buchan met with it, in 1818, in the 'Dorothea' and 'Trent.' Moreover, the S.W. drift of the ice across which Parry so laboriously struggled would seem to point to the conclusion of open water behind, but open water which would soon be closed by the process already indicated. In the summer months, then, the task has hitherto been found impossible. We more than doubt its practicability during any of the remaining nine months, when we remember the descriptions given by survivors of the intense

cold experienced in high northern latitudes during this period of the year. Sometimes the adventurer will be able to penetrate farther,—sometimes not so far,—into the icy barrier which encircles the Pole. The hope of one season will be the disappointment of the next; if, indeed, it may not be productive of yet more fatal consequences by alluring the victim too far within a grasp which may for a moment be relaxed, but is never withdrawn.

Thus much we have thought it necessary to say upon a point which has attracted some attention. We freely admit that the power of the screw-propeller has never been tried in a due northerly direction, and it is certain that more might be effected by the help of this auxiliary than with sailing ships. The openings in the ice seldom last for many hours. A screw steamer might avail itself to the utmost of any favourable chance, whilst one impelled by sails must twist and turn about, and in all probability lose many a golden opportunity. There can, therefore, be no objection, at any future date—if an adequate scientific or commercial cause of sufficient importance to mankind should justify the risk—to further attempts in this direction with these new mechanical aids. It would, however,—we confess it freely,—be somewhat difficult to convince us of the practical utility of such a project, when compared with the risk to human life inseparable from the attempt; and still more so to inspire us with any very sanguine hope that it would be carried to a successful conclusion. As far as Spitzbergen there is safety—any scientific operation which must be carried on in so high a latitude can there be undertaken in perfect security. Mr. Sharostin, a Russian, has passed thirty-nine winters in Spitzbergen, and resided there once for fifteen years without quitting the island. Much may be done from this point by watching opportunities, and proceeding with due caution—beyond it we enter upon unknown yet certain danger.

We may now turn to the other point from which endeavours have been made to penetrate the mysteries of the Arctic Regions, reserving to ourselves the right of making brief mention of Captain Buchan's and Sir Edward Parry's Spitzbergen expeditions, as they fall into the continuity of the tale. We propose then to indicate, in a few brief notes, the progress and results of Arctic discovery between the years 1818 and 1845, the year in which Sir John Franklin sailed from England for the last time; because, from these memoranda, the present aspect of the question, as far as it bears upon the probable fate of the lost navigators, will be best understood. We shall, at least, by this kind of retrospective glance, put ourselves somewhat in the

position of those who have served their apprenticeship amidst the Polar Sea. In recalling to mind the exact boundaries of what has been explored we shall ascertain the quarters to which Sir John Franklin would in all probability have directed his course, and where it is likely that remains of his party may yet be found — if, indeed, any such spot exist within the reach of man. It will also be our duty — our most painful duty — to recall attention to the fact, that the safe return of any one of the previous expeditions may be considered miraculous, even upon the showing of the hardy and gallant sailors who directed the operations. Certainly Sir Edward Parry, Sir George Back, Captain Lyon, Sir James Ross, are not persons of susceptible nerves — not exaggerators, not braggarts. Now, if men cast in this iron mould tell us, that for days and weeks, aye for months together, they despaired of release from the icy prisons in which their vessels were confined, whilst the crystal blocks in which they lay embedded were borne madly hither and thither at the wild will of the unseen current and the overmastering storm; a very strong and very melancholy presumption is inevitable from such statements made by such men as to the fate of the missing expedition. Thus stands the account —

1. John Ross to Hudson's Bay in the Isabella and Alexander - - - - - - 1818
2. Buchan and Franklin to Spitzbergen. Dorothea and Trent - - - - - - 1818
3. Parry's first voyage. Lancaster Sound. Hecla and Griper - - - - - - 1819–20
4. Parry's second voyage. Hudson's Bay. Fury and Hecla - - - - - - 1821–23
5. Lyon. Ross's. Welcome. Griper - - 1824
6. Parry's third voyage. Hecla and Fury - - 1824–25
7. Parry's fourth voyage beyond Spitzbergen. Hecla - 1827
8. John Ross's second voyage. Regent Inlet. Victory Steamer - - - - - - 1829–33
9. Back. Hudson's Straits. Terror - - - 1836
10. Franklin. Lancaster Sound. Erebus and Terror - 1845

In order to make our catalogue of Arctic expeditions complete, it will be proper to add the following names, which for obvious reasons have been omitted from the above list: —

1. Franklin's first land expedition - - - 1819–21
2. Clavering (with Colonel Sabine) Spitzbergen, Greenland. Griper - - - - 1823
3. Franklin's second land expedition - - - 1825–26
4. Beechey. Behring's Straits. Blossom - - 1826–28
5. Back. Land journey (search of Ross) - - 1833–35
6. Dease and Simpson. Shores of Arctic America. Boats 1836–39
7. Mr. John Rae. Melville Peninsula - - 1846–47

We shall have occasion in the conclusion of this brief narrative to call attention to a second and a third series of similar expeditions which have been despatched since 1848 in search of the missing navigators, some of which are yet unaccounted for. It may well be that they may return to us in safety, but it is impossible to feel entire confidence in so happy a result.

It is then by the North-western Passage through Lancaster Sound, that the greatest efforts have been made to pass from the Atlantic into the Pacific. The same object has been pursued upon the old track of Frobisher and Hudson, and with no better fortune. We may, indeed, point with legitimate pride to the survey of the northern coast line of America, from Icy Cape at the head of Behring's Straits (the spot which Cook attained in 1778) to the northern point of Melville Peninsula, as a substantial fruit of Polar research — but, certainly, expeditions undertaken in great ships have had little to do with such a result. The first effort was made in 1818 mainly through the instrumentality of the late Sir John Barrow, to whose unwearied assiduity the subsequent progress of Arctic research should in fairness be attributed. The object of Arctic discovery seems to have been the main idea of his life. He was singularly fortunate in his position, and in the agents who rose up under his hands; if, indeed, it be not a misapplication of terms to apply the term of 'agents' to such men as Parry, Franklin, Back, James Ross, Richardson, and others of the like stamp. Let us style them rather allies in a great cause. Sir John Barrow had the ear of every successive Board at the Admiralty — he could appreciate the merits, and give weight to the suggestions of his friends, and he did so with the most complete effect. The shortest method of attaining a correct idea of how much has been effected by these Polar Paladins is to turn to the map prefixed to Sir John Barrow's 'Chronological History of Arctic Voyages, before 1818.' It will there be found, that the space in our maps north of the Arctic Circle, and between the west coast of Greenland and Behring's Straits, might well nigh have been marked with a wild beast, or a sea-monster, such as we find in our old geography books to indicate perfect ignorance. Mackenzie and Hearne were supposed to have obtained glances at the Polar Sea from the mouths of the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers; but the whole coast line of America, from Icy Cape indefinitely to the east, was a perfect blank. The whale fishers were acquainted with the west coast of Greenland, and the Hudson Bay traders with the bay which bears the name of their company. The eastern sea-board of Cumberland Island had been laid down as it might be. Baffin's

Bay was rather asserted than believed in; and there was an end of the hydrographical knowledge of the time in these regions. It was determined, in the year 1818, to despatch two expeditions; the one with orders to steer north up Davis' Straits, and then westerly, when a sufficient high latitude had been attained; the other was to make its way due north upon the meridian of Greenwich or thereabouts. The direction of the north-western attempt was entrusted to Sir, then Captain, John Ross, and to Lieutenant Parry; Captain Buchan and Lieutenant Franklin were to make their way across the Pole.

Of the first of these expeditions the less said the better. We have no desire to renew the acrimony of past controversies; but it is certain that Sir John Ross failed in carrying out his instructions. He frittered away much precious time on the west coast of Greenland, he sailed up to the entrance of Smith's Sound, but did not attempt to penetrate further north. The expedition then steered S. W., passed the mouth of Alderman Jones' Sound without attempting to enter it, and so to the opening of that great inlet into which Parry penetrated with so much effect the ensuing year. Sir John Ross, however, contented himself with proceeding a short distance to the westward, — and then, but he shall speak for himself:— 'At three o'clock, on the 21st of August, I went on deck, and 'soon after it completely cleared for about ten minutes, and 'I distinctly saw the land round the bottom of the bay forming 'a connected chain of mountains with those which extended 'along the north and south sides. . . . . The mountains 'which occupied the centre in a north and south direction were 'named Croker's Mountains, after the secretary to the Admi-'ralty.' It is almost superfluous to add, that these mountains have been proved to be but the baseless fabric of a vision. Their supposed situation is about the 81st westerly meridian. Parry and his companions sailed over the spot a few months afterwards and proceeded triumphantly until they struck 110° W. without knocking their heads against mountains or continuous coasts of any kind. It will be sufficient if we add, that the only positive result of Sir John Ross's expedition was the circumnavigation of Baffin's Bay, and the confirmation of the statements of the old navigator.

We must dismiss Captain Buchan's expedition to Spitzbergen with parenthetical mention. There is no work from which a general idea of the icy regions can be more pleasantly gained than from Captain Beechey's narrative of the expedition, although nothing was gained from it but honour and a very charming book. We pass at once to the great epoch in Arctic discovery,

when EDWARD PARRY entered upon the scene in the quality of chief commander. There was evidently a peculiar fitness and congruity between the work to be done and the man appointed to do it. Even with the full conviction upon our minds of the awful dangers to which navigators who penetrate too far into the Arctic regions are exposed, it is difficult to read a hundred pages of the four quarto volumes, which contain the history of his adventures, written by himself, and not to feel that however great the embarrassments in which he may be involved,—no matter how appalling the dangers which may threaten momentary destruction to his ships,—in some way or other the cool judgment and unerring tact of the commanding officer will liberate the expedition. A sailor who took service under Parry might have felt that he stood an excellent chance of being locked up for a winter or two amongst icebergs, and of spending the remaining portion of the year in conflict with the elemental powers — but if his captain had promised that he should be paid off at Portsmouth on a particular day at no matter how distant a date, he might have given directions for a jollification at the 'Blue Posts' or the 'Admiral Keppel,' on the day named, in full security that his tryst would not be broken. More than this—he would have known that his perils and labours could not be unproductive of a result under such consummate guidance. If the service in hand were to be carried out, it would be carried out; if the powers of nature proved too strong for the daring of man, at least no stain would be attached to those who had been worsted in the endeavour. It would be improper to judge of Sir Edward Parry's four volumes according to the usual canons of literary criticism. There is no attempt at fine writing about him. The author has been appointed to penetrate to a particular point, to make certain scientific observations, to maintain good health, good humour, and good discipline amongst his crews, and to bring them back safe to England. He does all this, and every day he jots down memoranda of the day's work —careless of form, so he make himself intelligible.

Our contracting space warns us that we must not enter into any minute details of Sir E. Parry's three first expeditions. We omit more particular mention of these on the assumption that they are the best known of all the Arctic voyages. Two maps at this moment are lying open before us: the one, the map prefixed by Sir Edward Parry himself to the account of his voyage, published in 1821; the other is a little 'Chart of the Arctic Regions,' published the other day by Wyld, which professes to give the subsequent discoveries, even down to the advance of Commander Inglefield up Smith's Sound. In

the course of a quarter of a century how much has been effected in a westerly direction beyond 'Parry's farthest!' True it is that to the south—thanks to the two Rosses and Mr. Rae, and also to Parry himself upon a subsequent expedition,—we are acquainted with the extent and character of Prince Regent's Inlet down to the southern point of Committee Bay. Captain Austin and Mr. Kennedy have helped us to a more accurate knowledge of the shores of North Somerset and of Prince of Wales's Land. To the north, Wellington Channel has been navigated by Captain Penny for a considerable distance; but to the west Parry has reached the furthest point which has ever been attained in ships. Let all due honour be given to the active and intelligent officer who made his way further on foot.

A short time after his return to England from his third voyage, we find the same indefatigable officer engaged in conducting a sledge-boat expedition from Spitzbergen in the direction of the North Pole. The credit of the idea, we believe, is due to Sir John Franklin, who commanded the 'Trent,' in 1818, when Captain Buchan in the 'Dorothea' was the chief. None of the Arctic expeditions is more interesting than this one, but we must dismiss it from our present attention with this brief note. As is well known, the attempt proved fruitless. On the 26th of July the party reached 82° 40′ 23″ in long. 19° 25′ E. The thermometer stood in the shade 31° to 36°, and 57° in the sun; no bottom at 500 fathoms. They had only accomplished 172 miles from the spot at which they had left the 'Hecla,' having traversed by their reckoning 292 miles, of which 100 by water before entering on the ice. Parry calculated that, in reality, he and his party had gone over 668 statute miles of distance, as they had been compelled to cover the ground three and sometimes five times over. We leave it to the consideration of all persons in authority whether the result of this enterprise, conducted under such auspices, and terminating in such a failure, should not be esteemed conclusive against any further endeavours of the like kind to reach the Pole by means of sledges and boats, at least in the summer season.

In the whole series of Arctic expeditions we know of nothing more purely horrible than the narrative of Captain Lyon's voyage to Wager River in the year 1824. Such relief to the feelings as may be afforded by the contemplation of human courage and human fortitude, maintained at their utmost point of tension for days and weeks together, no doubt can be derived from this brief history. But the thought will force itself in, why were men cast in so heroic a mould nailed as it were to the rack for so long a time? We know what English

seamen are; there is no occasion for sacrificing a ship's crew every now and then, that we may feel secure that the traditional heroism of the British navy has not departed from it. Does it not make the mind of the reader burn with a more than common indignation when he finds the late secretary to the Admiralty, Sir John Barrow, coolly remarking, 'It must, indeed, 'be owned that there was more than a usual want of prudence 'in sending such a small and sluggish ship alone through a 'navigation which had been proved and condemned as one of 'the most difficult and dangerous of the many difficult ones 'that occur in this part of the Arctic Seas.' Well might Captain Lyon write on entering the scene of his trials, that he felt most forcibly 'the want of an accompanying ship, if not to help 'us, at least to break the death-like stillness of the seas.' It was boisterous enough before they had done with it. The duty required of them was to reach Wager River or Repulse Bay, to cross Melville Peninsula, and so to proceed along the northern shore of America to Point Turnagain. Nothing of all this could be accomplished. As soon as they reached Rowe's Welcome a heavy sea set in, and a thick fog settled down; the tide was falling; every anchor was let go; there was a low beach astern of them, upon which they were dragging down, and on which the surf was rolling to an awful height. It was certain death to all had they been driven upon it, or had the tide fallen lower. There was nothing more to be done: 'Every man,' writes Captain Lyon, 'brought his bag on deck and dressed 'himself, and in the fine athletic forms which stood exposed 'before me I did not see one muscle quiver, nor the slightest 'sign of alarm. . . . And now that every thing in our power 'has been done, I called all hands aft, and to a merciful God 'offered prayers for our preservation. I thanked every one 'for their excellent conduct, and cautioned them, as we should 'in all probability soon appear before our Maker, to enter his 'presence as men resigned to their fate. The officers sat about 'wherever they could find shelter from the sea, and the men 'lay down conversing with each other with the most perfect 'calmness.' But we will not harrow up the feelings of our readers by any further commemoration of such scenes. All honour to the officers and crew of the 'Griper,' but we trust that British seamen may never again be sent in such a ship and on such an errand!

The authorities at the Admiralty appear soon to have lost sight of the history of this voyage. In the years 1836-37 the present Sir George Back, an officer whose character for ability, enterprise, and courage stands deservedly high, was despatched

in a single ship—the 'Terror,' and well-nigh on the same business. Near Southampton Island the ship got firmly wedged in the ice, and for ten months Captain Back and his companions were driven hither and thither at the will of the winds, the currents, and the tides. At times the thermometer stood at 33°, the ice encompassed them on all sides, 'crashing, grinding, 'and rocking.' For four months of the time the case was still more desperate, when the ship was cradled in a single floe, which was borne about without possibility of control upon the current. We cannot, however, dwell upon the details of the voyage. It was unsuccessful, as the voyage of Sir Edward Parry and Captain Lyon in the same direction had been. As in the case of the sledge-boats by Spitzbergen, or the expeditions down Prince Regent's Inlet, we would again suggest the legitimate inference from these failures. Let the passages by Roe's Welcome and Fox's Channel henceforth remain the pages of a sealed book. Indeed, the subsequent additions to our geographical knowledge in this quarter would render further endeavours of a similar kind simply unnecessary.

One more voyage exhausts the catalogue given on our first list, with the single exception of Sir John Franklin's last expedition, upon which we are not, unfortunately, in a condition to speak. In the year 1829, Captain John Ross, in company with his nephew, the present Sir James Ross, sailed for Prince Regent's Inlet in a small steamer called the 'Victory.' The cost of the expedition, which was a private one, was defrayed by the late Sir Felix Booth. Captain John Ross proceeded down Prince Regent's Inlet to Brentford Bay, which is thirty miles south of Cape Garry, the furthest point which had been seen by Parry. The coast, which is a prolongation of the coast of North Somerset,—as we now know divided from it only by Bellot's Strait,—was considered by Captain Ross to be that of a yet undiscovered land, which he named 'Boothia,' after the gentleman who had supplied him with funds. There can, however, be no doubt that Captain Ross conducted his expedition with great spirit, even to a degree of rashness. The ship was pushed down as far as Felix Harbour, and from this point some very important excursions were made by Captain John Ross and his nephew. Amongst other fruits of the expedition must be named the determination of the situation of the North Magnetic Pole—a result attributable to the scientific skill of the present Sir James Ross,—and the partial survey of the western shore of Boothia. It will be sufficient if we add that Commander James Ross in the course of his survey of the north-west coast of Boothia reached some straits, which he crossed, and

found himself upon an island. From this island, again, he passed over to that which Mr. Simpson has since proved to be also an island, and which is now known as King William's Land. This was the furthest westerly point attained by the expedition. They were obliged to abandon their ship at Felix Harbour, and make their way up by Fury Beach to Barrow's Straits. The Straits, however, were found impracticable, and they were compelled to fall back upon the stores at Fury Beach, and so to pass their *fourth* winter—the winter of 1832—in the icy regions. It was not until the night of July 25. 1833 that they succeeded in reaching Navy Board Inlet in their boats. The party was soon aroused with the joyful intelligence that a ship was in sight. By a most singular coincidence this vessel turned out to be the 'Isabella,' of Hull, the very ship in which Captain John Ross had proceeded to the Arctic regions for the first time in 1818. He and his companions now enjoyed a felicity given to few; namely, that of hearing the particulars of their own deaths, and the grief which their loss had occasioned.

We do not propose to enter at all into the particulars of any of the expeditions mentioned in the second list. The trip made by Captain Clavering with Colonel Sabine on board, to Spitzbergen and Greenland, holds forth no lesson, and the same may be said of Captain Beechey's run to Behring's Straits, and of his advance to Point Barrow. The two wonderful expeditions of Sir John Franklin, in company with Sir John Richardson and Sir George Back, will always remain as amongst the most astonishing feats performed by men who survived to tell the tale. We cannot picture to ourselves scenes of greater desolation than those in which a few jaded and starved men might have been seen staggering through a wilderness destitute of food and hope, now plucking a rare tuft of 'rock-tripe,' now sinking exhausted on the ground; the murder of poor Hood, the righteous retribution inflicted on the treacherous Iroquois,—all must be too familiar to our readers to need repetition here. But we must not pass over the fact that the well-nigh entire survey of the coast of North America, from Icy Cape to the northern point of Melville Peninsula, has been accomplished by the exertions of the brave and skilful men whose names are recorded on our second list. Surely, now-a-days, it must be unnecessary to refer in terms of praise to such narratives as those of Captain Back and Mr. Rae, or to Mr. Simpson's description of how much has been effected on the shores of North America by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company.

We now arrive at that point in the history of Arctic dis-

covery which still continues to occupy the attention of the civilised world: we mean the disappearance of Sir John Franklin and his companions. Were the authorities of the Admiralty justified in despatching a further expedition in the year 1845 in search of a North-western Passage? Surely the apprehensions that had been aroused in the public mind by the protracted absence of the two Rosses, some twelve years before, should have been sufficient to inspire hesitation as to the propriety of any such step. Captain Parry, indeed, had been arrested off Melville Island. Sir John Franklin, therefore, was directed to push forward in the latitude of $74\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ till he reached the longitude of Cape Walker, or about 98° W. From that point he was to shape a course southward and westward as directly as might be for Behring's Straits. On the 26th May, 1845, Sir John Franklin sailed from Sheerness with the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' Captain Crozier being the second in command.

We have already mentioned the two letters written by this officer from Baffin's Bay to Mr. Corry and to Colonel Sabine. The subsequent fact that the expedition was seen by whalers is of little account, as we now know that they passed the winter of 1845–46 in a small cove between Cape Riley and Beechey Island, facing Lancaster Sound. Here Captain Ommanney discovered three graves bearing the names of W. Braine, R.M., and John Hartnell of the 'Erebus,' and John Torrington of the 'Terror.' Here, too, were found remains of the observatory, carpenter's shop, and armourer's forge. Upon the hill-side and beach were fragments of wood, metal, and clothing, with stacks of empty meat-tins. They had already consumed largely of their supplies. Subsequently traces were found to the northward of Port Innis, Wellington Channel, which might, however, have belonged to a travelling party which had subsequently returned to the main encampment. These again consisted of fragments of clothing, preserved meat-tins, and scraps of papers. One of these bore the name of M'Donald, the medical officer to the expedition. The mind dwells with anxiety upon these few relics of so much life and heroism, as though it were possible to extract from them some meaning or suggestion. But, no! inexplicable mystery! at this point we are thrown upon the vague chapter of possibilities. Every man has his hypothesis, and his suggestion. All of these, which have reasonable colour and semblance, have been acted upon. Expedition after expedition has been sent out, but all in vain: beyond the few points already named, and the flying phantasmagoria of the two ships seen by the 'Renovation,' we have not a fact to go upon. The

mystery remains as impenetrable as at the first moment it was proposed for solution.

Already, in 1847, the Admiralty had begun to conceive alarm as to the fate of the missing voyagers. Instructions, bearing date January 3. 1848, were given to Commander Moore to take the brig 'Plover' round to Behring's Straits, in order to afford relief to Sir John Franklin and his party, should they have succeeded in making their way so far through the ice. We have heard from the 'Plover' in August, 1852. She has been moved up to Point Barrow under another commander, no tidings have been received of the lost navigators, and the anxiety is now for another expedition which has been sent through Behring's Straits in search of the first. Commander Moore was to be joined by Captain Kellett with the 'Herald,' and together they were to do what was best to be done, to enter inlets, to search the coasts, to question the natives; above all, to send out boat parties to the eastward, which were directed to co-operate with a party which was to descend the Mackenzie River under the command of Sir John Richardson. The service was subsequently accomplished, but it led to nothing. Sir John Richardson, the companion and friend of the gallant Franklin, in a moment postponed every other engagement and consideration to the duty of succouring his former chief. Again he visited the 'barren grounds,' in which, in other days, he had known the extremes of human misery; but not all his devotion, not all his singleness of purpose, could avail against the powers of nature. He was forced to return, delegating his sacred trust to Mr. John Rae, a gentleman every way worthy to occupy his place,—we can give no higher praise.

But we must not anticipate the course of events. It will be our duty presently to mention specifically what has been accomplished, or rather attempted, on the side of Behring's Straits, and on the mainland. To go back a few months: it was as early as February, 1847, that Captain Hamilton wrote to the most distinguished Arctic navigators, requesting their opinion as to the course that should be pursued. Sir John Ross had written to the Admiralty offering his services to proceed up Barrow's Straits in search of the expedition. His idea was that Franklin had got his ships into the drift ice at the western end of Melville Island, a situation from which he would be unable to extricate them, and that as the drift of the ice on the spot indicated was to the southward they must have been carried to land seen at a great distance in that direction. Sir John's proposition was to secure his own ship in harbour at the southern side of Barrow's Straits,—to carry succour, if possible,

to the voyagers, if not, to await them; and meanwhile to survey the western coast of Boothia, in order to decide the question of a north-west passage. The proposal was referred to Sir Edward Parry, but did not meet with the approval of that officer. His suggestion was to push supplies to the northern coast of America by the assistance of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to direct the Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific to send a small vessel to look into Behring's Straits, which vessel was to despatch a boat expedition to the eastward in the manner pursued by Captain Beechey in the 'Blossom.' Sir James Ross advised, independently of this machinery, if no tidings were received of the expedition before the conclusion of 1847, that preparations should be made for sending out two ships in search, of equal power with the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' which should pursue, as nearly as might be, what might be supposed to be the same route. Colonel Sabine looked for the lost voyagers at Behring's Straits, and recommended that an especial look-out should be kept there. He even considered it as probable that they might come down the Asiatic or the American side of the Strait should they have succeeded in reaching the open sea spoken of by Wrangell. Captain Beechey appears rather to have looked to the probability that Sir John Franklin should have got down upon Victoria Land, his first great effort being made S. and S. W. of Cape Walker, and have there been blocked up by the ice. In this case he was of opinion that Franklin would rather have directed his boats up Sir James Ross's Straits and Regent's Inlet than have attempted a long land journey upon the continent of America. We should add that in a second memorandum, Sir James Ross, enlarging upon Parry's idea, suggested the propriety of establishing a dépôt ship somewhere about Behring's Straits, approving specifically of the employment of the 'Herald' and the 'Plover' in the manner afterwards carried out.

Our notice of so many distinct expeditions as were recommended, and despatched, must necessarily be confined in a very small space. It should be remembered that we are now writing six years after these recommendations were offered, and these expeditions organised. It cannot be said, even now, that they were ill-advised or ill-judged. They all proceeded upon the idea that Franklin was blocked up in some inlet or creek in that well-nigh unknown district of the Arctic Sea which lies between the 90th and 120th W. meridian, and between 70° and 75° N., or thereabouts. Either he was still here confined in the ice, or he had succeeded in passing through these land-locked inlets with his ships, or finally, and more probably, he had abandoned

his ships at some point or other of this inhospitable region, and was endeavouring, he and his 137 companions, to effect their escape in boats. But, in what direction? there lay the main point of the question. Some, as it has been seen, were of opinion that Franklin would make for the Hudson's Bay settlements; others looked for him in Barrow's Straits by way of Prince Regent's Inlet; others at a still more easterly point of the same straits. Again, it was suggested that he might have made his way so far to the east, that he would next be heard of in Behring's Straits. Measures were taken to meet all these contingencies. Whatever may be our opinion as to the propriety of sending Franklin upon such an errand at all, certainly the Board has not been remiss in organising and carrying out measures for his relief. These commence even from so early a period as two years after his departure from England.

In the first place, as we have already stated, Sir John Richardson and Mr. Rae left this country for the Mackenzie River on the 25th March, 1848. On the 4th of August they reached the sea, and narrowly searched the whole coast from the Mackenzie to the Coppermine. No traces of the missing voyagers were found, and the explorers were convinced, from the inquiries they instituted amongst the Esquimaux, that no ships had passed within view of the mainland. Sir John Richardson seems to have become more and more impressed with the opinion that the ships were probably shut up in some of the passages between Victoria, Bank's, and Wollaston Lands. Franklin, in his opinion, would have complied literally with the Admiralty directions, and have pushed directly for Cape Walker, and thence to the S. W. without looking to the S. or N. of Barrow's Straits. This opinion was expressed after the result of the fruitless journeys undertaken by Sir James Ross and his companions was known. In pursuance of his own idea, and in compliance with their instructions, Sir John Richardson left Mr. Rae to complete his search in the quarters indicated, and returned to England in 1849. We should add that in the autumn of the same year Mr. Rae was joined by Commander Pullen, who had come with a party of twelve from the 'Plover' to the Mackenzie from Wainwright Inlet. This officer, as he was on his return to England, was met by counter-orders from the Admiralty, which directed him to move back eastward as far as Cape Bathurst, and then strike out to sea direct for Bank's Land. This incident naturally falls into place here in connexion with Mr. Rae's efforts in the same direction. It must be sufficient, if we add, that after a failure owing to the inclemency of the weather, Mr. Rae, in May, 1851, succeeded in

crossing over the straits to Wollaston Land, and examined that district between 110° and 117° 17′ W. without finding any passage to the north, without coming on any trace of Franklin's party, and without obtaining any tidings of them from the Esquimaux, nor were his subsequent exertions attended with better effect as far as Franklin and his party were concerned. Another disappointed hope.

The efforts made by Sir John Richardson and Mr. Rae were to be contemporaneous with the advance of the 'Plover,' Commander Moore, into Behring's Straits, supported by Captain Kellett in the 'Herald.' No success, as far as the main object of their expedition was concerned, attended the efforts of these gentlemen. In a geographical point of view, Captain Kellett made an important addition to our knowledge, by the glimpse he caught of land almost identical in position with that seen by Admiral Wrangell, off Cape Jakan, in 1822. How if there should be a vast mass of land at this point, or, more probably, a mass of islands, like that round Melville and Barrow's Straits? Be this, however, as it may, Captain Kellett in due time departed, and the 'Plover' was placed in Kotzebue Sound for the winter. Lieutenant Pullen had previously quitted her at Wainwright Inlet, from whence, as we have already mentioned, he made his way to the Mackenzie River, and joined Mr. Rae, after a most arduous and dangerous passage. Thus, then, the whole northern coast of America, from Behring's Straits to the Coppermine, had been carefully examined in the course of 1848-49, without tidings of the missing expedition. The attention of the Indians and the Esquimaux, and of all the Hudson's Bay Company stations, and of the Russian stations on the Colville, was earnestly directed to procure any tidings of the lost voyagers. No tidings have ever been received.

In conjunction with these efforts we must now mention the searching expedition sent out under the command of Sir James Ross. This attempt, too, like all others to succour the doomed voyagers, terminated in absolute failure. In this instance, again, the Admiralty cannot be said to be obnoxious to the reproach of having employed inefficient agents, or entrusted them with insufficient means. No name on the list of Polar explorers stood higher than that of Sir James C. Ross, who had returned, five or six years previously, from the Antarctic regions, where, in the course of four years, he had greatly distinguished himself, both as a seaman and a scientific observer. Two ships were put under his charge, — the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator'; the first, a vessel of 540, the second, of 480 tons. The united complement of the two ships amounted to

136 men,—just three men less than Franklin took with him. On the 12th of June, 1848, this expedition left England, and after meeting with considerable difficulty from the ice in Baffin's Bay, succeeded in reaching Possession Bay on the 30th August. Barrow's Strait was examined nearly to the entrance of Wellington Channel. Thick ice choked up the passage, and after an attempt to find winter quarters near Cape Rennell, on the opposite coast, the ships were finally brought up at Leopold Island. The situation cannot be considered a bad one, with reference to the end in view, as being a central point at which the four great highways of this region unite, or nearly so. Sir James Ross, moreover, appears to have had little choice in the matter. At Port Leopold, then, they remained during the winter, and early in the spring of 1849, travelling parties were sent out in every direction. Sir James Ross himself advanced along the northern shore of North Somerset as far as the little island of which Cape Bunny forms part. In every direction save south, nothing could be seen but heavy hummocky ice. To the south the party proceeded for some distance, but came upon no traces of the missing expedition. During Sir James Ross's absence, the northern shore of Barrow's Straits, and the eastern and western shore of Bryant's Inlet had been examined as far as was practicable; but all was in vain. Finally, he appears to have come to the conclusion that Franklin could not have been detained in that part of the Arctic regions, and that the only safe ground of reliance must be placed in the operations of Sir John Richardson on the northern coast of America. What remains to be told is melancholy enough. The story certainly does not bear upon the fate of the lost ships, save in so far as it affords an example of the perils of Arctic navigators. At the latter end of August 1849, the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' succeeded in getting clear of Leopold Harbour, and a course was shaped for the north shore of Barrow's Straits with the view of examining Wellington Channel, and then proceeding to Melville Island. When the explorers arrived about twelve miles from the shore, nothing but an uniform sheet of heavy ice was seen to the westward. On the 1st September the ships were beset in the loose pack. Ridges of hummocks were thrown up around them. The thermometer fell to zero, and the whole body of the ice was formed into a solid mass which formed one entire sheet extending from shore to shore in Barrow's Strait. Every man on board the two searching ships had made up his mind that they were destined to pass the winter where they were, when suddenly the wind shifted from east to west, and the whole body of ice began to drive eastward at the rate of eight

to ten miles daily. Thus, in the centre of a body of ice more than fifty miles in circumference, the two vessels were carried hopelessly along in a position in which human skill and courage could be of little avail indeed. It is almost unnecessary that we should recall the reader's attention to the similar situation of Captain Back in the 'Terror,' twelve years before, in Hudson's Bay. Nothing now was anticipated by the crews but certain destruction; for on the west coast of Baffin's Bay they were well aware that upon the shallow banks they would meet with so many grounded icebergs as to render it well-nigh impossible that they should escape destruction. They were slowly borne along until they were abreast of Pond's Bay, when they saw a number of icebergs stretching along their path, and resigned themselves to their doom. At this moment, as though at a given signal, the field of ice was shivered into fragments; all sail was made, warps were run out, and the crews succeeded in springing the ships past the heavy floe-pieces, and thus reached the open water. It had, however, become impossible to do anything more that season, as every harbour was closed, and signal was made to shape a course for England. The ships were brought home in safety in the last days of October, 1849.

Great disappointment was felt at the failure of this expedition, for expectation had been highly raised. Early in 1849 the 'North Star,' under the command of Mr. Saunders, had been despatched with supplies and provisions to Sir James Ross; but by a curious enough coincidence at the very time the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' were being drifted down Lancaster Sound, as every body supposed, to certain destruction, the 'North Star,' which had been sent to their succour, nearly shared the same fate near Melville Sound in the northerly part of Baffin's Bay. It was on the 21st September that as the 'North Star' was being borne along upon an ice-field, a huge iceberg was descried just across their path. The very obstacle which threatened them with destruction proved their salvation. A corner of the field struck against the berg; the effect of the blow was to spin the field round, cut it open, and release the ship. It is not without great pain that we call attention to such incidents as these; but when Arctic navigators are missing for eight years, it is irrational to dismiss from our calculations all recollection of what has happened to persons similarly circumstanced. On the 21st of September, 1849, there was not one chance out of a hundred that the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator,' the ships that had been sent out to succour Franklin, and the 'North Star,' which had been sent out to succour the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' should have escaped destruction with total loss of all men

on board the three ships. The 'North Star' wintered in Wolstenholme Sound, and was not able to get clear of her winter quarters until August, 1850. That we may for the moment dismiss the ships from our consideration, we will here add, that in August 1850 she fell in with certain other searching ships which had more recently sailed from England and the United States, and which we shall have occasion presently to mention, landed her supplies in Navy Board Inlet, and returned safe to England in the end of September, 1850.

With the adventures of the 'North Star,' the first series of expeditions in search of Sir John Franklin and his companions concludes. Recapitulating these in order, we find that Commander Moore with the 'Plover,' and Captain Kellett with the 'Herald,' were sent to guard the Behring's Straits' outlet, should it so have happened that Franklin had succeeded in penetrating so far east. A boat party from the 'Plover' was despatched under the command of Lieutenant Pullen to the Mackenzie, whilst Sir John Richardson and Mr. Rae, making their way through the Hudson's Bay settlements, carried on the examination of the west from the Mackenzie to the Coppermine. Next, Lieutenant Pullen was directed upon Banks' Land, from Cape Bathurst, whilst Mr. Rae undertook to make what search the powers of nature would permit in Wollaston and Victoria Lands. Sir James Ross, meanwhile, was appointed to follow upon Franklin's course down Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Straits, whilst Mr. Saunders was despatched after him the following year, with supplies and instructions to prolong his examination of the various inlets into Barrow's Strait. We shall consider all the expeditions which have been since despatched until Sir Edward Belcher's, as forming part of a second series of efforts to follow up the search of the missing navigators.

First, let us direct our attention to Behring's Straits. At this point we still find the 'Plover' stationed as depôt-ship: she had passed the winter of 1849-50 at Chamisso Island. In the summer of 1850 she had again been joined by the 'Herald,' and again, the two ships bore up for the north until they were turned back by the pack-ice. But a more serious attempt was intended by way of Behring's Straits, and was actually carried out in January 1850 by the despatch of the 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' under the command respectively of Captain Collinson and Commander M'Lure. The ships were separated at sea. On the 15th of August, Captain Collinson with the 'Investigator' reached Wainwright Inlet, and endeavoured to push for the east, but was turned back by the ice. He reached

the meridian of Cape Barrow, and then having satisfied himself that further progress with the ships northerly and easterly was simply impossible, he was compelled to return to Point Hope. We are most happy in being enabled to state that the Panama Herald of December 25. 1852, mentions that the 'Enterprise' had been recently seen by American whalers. With regard to the 'Investigator,' with Commander M'Lure, we know that she was seen by the 'Herald' off Point Hope on the 31st of July, 1850, steering for Point Barrow, which place she must have reached nearly a fortnight before the 'Enterprise.' We know, moreover, that it was Commander M'Lure's declared intention to push his ship into the ice off Cape Bathurst if he could get there, or upon the 130° W. meridian, and so endeavour to reach Banks' Land. Supposing all to go well, and his ship to be liberated in due course, his next effort would be to get to the northward of Melville Island, and to penetrate in the direction of Jones's Sound. If the ships could not be extricated, this officer was to make his way in boats and sledges either to Leopold Harbour or the Mackenzie according to circumstances. The ship is victualled until September of the present year; but in Commander M'Lure's last despatch (July 20. 1850), he mentions that their provisions might be spun out so as to yield another year's supply. We have nothing further to tell about the 'Investigator' and her crew.

Along the northern coast line of America the most vigilant watch is kept, not only at the Hudson's Bay posts, but by the natives, who have been roused to undertake researches in every direction. It must be confessed, that in this quarter hope has long since given way to discouragement, and discouragement is sinking into despair. It is not conceivable, had Sir John Franklin and his party been compelled to abandon their ships at any point between Melville and Barrow Straits and the northern coast of America, that they would not long since have succeeded in reaching the continent had such been their intention. It is of course possible that they might have perished somewhere in this region, either by a sudden and overwhelming calamity, or in the course of their endeavours to arrive at a place of succour. But the calamity, if it occurred there, must have occurred long since. It seems absolutely incredible, even with what we know of the inhospitable nature of the Arctic regions, that some of the party should not, in the course of these many years, have succeeded in reaching a point, which, on the worst supposition, could not have been above three or four hundred miles distant from the spot at which they were stopped. The northern coast of America, and the westerly region about Behring's Straits, as we have shown, were provided for; it next becomes our

duty to mention the efforts made for the relief of the lost travellers by way of Baffin's Bay and Lancaster Sound, subsequently to the return of Sir James Ross in 1849.

Our rapidly contracting space warns us that our mention of these expeditions must be of the briefest kind. We the more readily acquiesce in this necessity, because, as far as Sir John Franklin is concerned, all these expeditions have been unsuccessful, and because we shall simply be dealing with that small section of the polar regions to which our former remarks must in some degree have familiarised the reader. The ships of which we are about to give a list were directed, with one exception, upon the track of Parry and the two Rosses, and have not succeeded in adding much to the information with which we had already been furnished by these remarkable men. Captain Penny — let honour be given where honour is due — discovered open sea up Wellington Channel. Mr. Kennedy, in the 'Prince Albert,' in company with a most humane and gallant officer of the French navy, Lieutenant Bellot, traced the narrow Straits that separate North Somerset from Boothia, and conducted an expedition upon the main of Prince of Wales's Land, which, taken in conjunction with Sir James Ross's earlier discoveries, and the subsequent expedition of Mr. Rae to Victoria Land, would seem to show that a communication actually does exist between Barrow's Straits and the channel on the north of America by an inlet running south of Cape Walker; in other words, by such an inlet as the one contemplated by the Admiralty instructions to Sir John Franklin. Every credit is also due to Captains Austin and Ommanney for their exertions, and for the additions they have made to our hydrographical knowledge on the west of Prince of Wales's Land, in Melville Straits, and at the mouth of Jones's Sound, and more particularly to Lieutenant M'Clintock for his advance to the most westerly point yet attained. But it is not necessary to enter into details of these expeditions, as they have not succeeded in throwing any light upon the fate of Franklin and his companions, beyond the one point to which we have already adverted; namely, that they passed the winter of 1845-46 at the mouth of Wellington Channel. Thus then stands the list, exclusive of the Behring Straits expedition, consisting of 'Enterprise,' 'Investigator,' and 'Plover,' and of Mr. Kennedy's subsequent voyage alluded to above.

1. Resolute - - Captain Austin.
   Assistance - - Captain Ommanney.
   Pioneer (screw) - Lieutenant Osborn.
   Intrepid (screw) - Lieutenant Cator.

2.	Lady Franklin -	- Captain Penny.
	Sophia (tender)	- Mr. Stewart.
3.	Advance U. S. -	- Lieutenant De Haven.
	Rescue U. S. -	- Mr. Griffin.
4.	Felix - -	- Sir John Ross.
	Mary (tender).	
5.	Prince Albert -	- Commander Forsyth.
6.	Isabel - -	- Commander Inglefield.

All these expeditions have returned home *re infectâ*. Nothing has resulted from their efforts but the single discovery of the first winter encampment. It would, of course, be idle to enter upon any discussion of mere rumours, such as that of Adam Beck and the Esquimaux, which have been raised and set at rest. We must deal with facts, not with rumours; but we are still left drifting about the sea of conjecture.

If we do not speak in detail of the gallantry and ability displayed by Captain Austin, Captain Ommanney, Commander Forsyth, Captain Penny, Mr. Kennedy, and Lieutenant Bellot in the course of the various expeditions above enumerated, it is not that we are insensible to the value and character of their services. More particular mention of one would be injustice to all the others, and considerations of space forbid the attempt to assign to all their due meed of praise. But we should indeed be obnoxious to the charge of ingratitude, were we to conclude these remarks without offering a tribute of thanks to the people of the United States, and more especially to the Senate, and to that princely merchant, Mr. Grinnell, for their sympathy and exertions on behalf of our lost countrymen. If the 'Advance' and 'Rescue' have not discovered any traces of Franklin and his companions, certainly it has not been for want of effort on the part of the brave men who undertook the charge of the expedition. Expressions of praise in such a case, we feel, would be misplaced. The people of the United States have made our sorrows their own: we are mourners in a common cause. To the Emperor of Russia too, and to his subjects, our most heartfelt acknowledgments are due for the assistance invariably rendered by them to our ships and exploring parties. It was but the other day the Imperial Government took the warmest interest in the projected expedition of Lieutenant Pim. The young officer had proposed to pass overland to the extremest point of Siberia, to the seats of the Tchuktchi, the district formerly visited by Admiral Wrangell; and to carry assistance, if it might be, to his absent countrymen from that point. Admiral Matiushkin, however, after full consideration, could not advise the Czar to take the responsibility of forward-

ing the young officer to his destination, and he was compelled to return. On every occasion we have met with the most zealous co-operation from the Russian authorities at Behring's Straits.

Thus, we have exhausted the second series of 'Voyages in 'Search.' Such of them as are still in operation must be carried on as part of the third great attempt which is now in progress. The main feature of difference which distinguishes this attempt from former ones is, that the officer commanding the expedition in chief has been directed to make his way up north by Wellington Channel to the open sea spoken of by Captain Penny. Another officer is to make his way to Melville Island; but Sir James Ross and Captain Austin were previously charged with the same duty. We can scarcely hope that Captain Kellett will succeed in reaching a more westerly point than Lieutenant M'Clintock. This new expedition is composed of the same ships as Captain Austin took out with him on the previous occasion, namely, the 'Resolute,' 'Assistance,' and the two screw steamers 'Pioneer' and 'Intrepid.' To these the 'North 'Star' has been added.

Assistance.	Sir E. Belcher.	Pioneer.	Commander Osborne.
Resolute.	Captain Kellett.	Intrepid.	Commander Cator.
North Star.	Commander Pullen.		

The 'North Star,' by the latest advices, September 7. 1852, was stationed as depôt-ship at Beechey Island, in the mouth of Wellington Straits. Sir Edward Belcher had gone up Wellington Channel on the previous 15th August. On the same day Captain Kellett had sailed eastward for Melville Island. The despatches brought home the intelligence that the season was what is called an uncommonly 'open' one, or, in other words, that the passages were unusually free from ice. What the result of all these efforts may be, it is not for us to predict; but at least we think public opinion will bear us out in the assertion that the sacred duty of searching for our missing countrymen and their gallant chief has not been loosely performed. For six continuous years the search has been prosecuted with unremitting ardour, and without one answering token which could inspire hope of a successful result.

An idea seems to have arisen that Sir John Franklin has, in effect, passed up Wellington Channel into a northern sea; but it is based upon no firmer grounds that we know of than the fact, that he spent his first winter (1845–46) at the mouth of this strait, and that no traces of him have been found elsewhere. Sir John Franklin was not a man to depart from the letter of his instructions; and we know that those prescribed to him another course; leaving him, no doubt, a discretionary power in face of

impossibilities. To our apprehension, it is not compatible with the orders under which he was acting, or with what we know of his declared intentions, that Sir John Franklin should have advanced up Wellington Straits until he had spent a second season on the ice upon the line of his prescribed route. It is simply inconceivable that he should have pushed on into this hypothetical Polynia without leaving at some spot a record of his movements at Cape Riley or elsewhere. The more he was about to diverge from the tenor of his instructions, the more certain does it seem that he would have left behind some notice of his intention. If any inference can be founded upon this absence of information, it would be that he had departed from Cape Riley upon his appointed path, and had there encountered his fortune, whatever it might be. It is just possible that he may have been hurried up Wellington Channel into the Polynia amongst the ice, or into a great bay, without time for preparation. Every appearance at his first encampment would seem to negative this suggestion. There was no evidence of haste, the expedition departed leisurely and in order. All that can be said is, that this contingency too has been provided for. Sir Edward Belcher has been despatched upon this track — we can only trust that he may meet with more success than should, in reason, be anticipated. The discoveries of Captain Austin and Commander Inglefield would seem to preclude all hope by way of Jones's or Smith's Sounds; although, in any case, we do not believe that Sir John Franklin, had he been driven out of Baffin's Bay at the break-up of the winter season, would quietly, and with favourable gales, have advanced through unexplored passages at the head of Baffin's Bay without communication or memorial. To be sure, he may have been driven out of Lancaster Sound, as Sir James Ross was; and, when in Baffin's Bay, may have been overwhelmed by a sudden calamity, such as the one from which the 'Enterprise,' the 'Investigator,' and the 'North Star' narrowly escaped. It is but right that we should here take notice of the decided opinion expressed by Sir John Richardson in the introduction to his recent work ('Journal of a Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land'), which is to the effect, that if the ships had been overwhelmed by some sudden calamity in Baffin's Bay, the disciplined and well-appointed crews of Sir John Franklin, with every requisite machinery at their disposal, would have effected their escape in their boats; and that some, at least, of them would have turned up — to make no mention of the spars and relics of the wrecks. This naturally brings us to another fact in this sad history,

which has attracted much attention, and which has only added to the previous confusion of conjecture.

On or about the 20th of April, 1851, the brig 'Renovation,' bound from Limerick to Quebec, being then at no great distance from St. John's Light, in Newfoundland, sighted a large iceberg. On this iceberg, which stood about thirty feet out of the water, and was about two miles in length, two abandoned vessels were observed. One was certainly high and dry; the other might have had her keel and bottom in the water, but the ice was a long way outside of her. The larger one of the two appeared to be between 400 and 500 tons burthen; the smaller one somewhat less in size. The large one was lying on her beam-ends, with nothing standing but her three lower masts and bowsprit; the smaller one was upright, with her three masts, topmasts on end, topsail and lower yards across. The vessels were distinctly made out by the master, the mate, the man at the wheel, and, if we remember right, by others of the crew. The 'Renovation' did not approach the abandoned ships nearer than five or six miles; the reason stated is, that the ship was underhanded at the time, the master ill, and the weather unfavourable. They approached, however, sufficiently close to be quite convinced that no one was on board, and that no boats could be made out. This is their own tale. It should be added, that the 'Doctor Kneip,' a Mecklenburg brig, which arrived at New York, from Sligo, a fortnight later than the date of this occurrence, and which consequently must have passed over the same region somewhat more to the southward, saw much ice on the banks, also 'two vessels abandoned and water-logged.' There is uncertainty as to the precise date. The 'Doctor Kneip' sailed with emigrants from Sligo on the 3rd of April, 1851, and arrived at New York on the 3rd of May.

Opinions have varied as to the value of this information with reference to Sir John Franklin's expedition. In Newfoundland the story is disbelieved: it is there said, that if an iceberg of the magnitude described had passed along their coast from the north, it must have been seen by some of the sailing vessels which were then out in the waters named, or by some of the vessels which at that season are on their way to or from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick; or, finally, by the weekly steamers which run between Liverpool, Halifax, and the States. Captain Penny, a man of great experience in the ice, believes the two appearances seen were what the whalers call 'country ships;' that is, formations upon an iceberg, which are said to bear so great a likeness to real ships as to deceive the most practised eyes. He adds, that to freeze

ships into an iceberg in such a position would require thirty or forty years; whilst, if they had been jammed into floe-ice, the floes would have been broken up by the swell of the ocean long before they had reached Cape Farewell. 'No iceberg,' writes Captain Penny, 'of one-fourth of a mile would reach such a 'position—it must have been two pieces of icebergs; and the 'vessel being five miles distant, could not observe the water 'over the detached ice.' As it is our bounden duty, we record those suggestions; but can only add, with all due deference to the superior experience of the author, that the testimony by which the reality of the incident has been supported would be sufficient to prove a fact in any court of justice in Europe.

But admitting that these vessels were seen, as reported, by the 'Renovation's' people, two grave questions remain—Were they Franklin's ships?—If they were indeed the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' what inference can we draw from the fact as to the fate of the expedition? Let us presume the first question to be answered in the affirmative—we are still at sea as to the legitimate deductions to be drawn from the admission. The vessels had drifted down through Davis's Straits from Baffin's Bay. Did they come from Lancaster Sound, Jones's Sound, Smith's Sound, or from any point at the east head of Baffin's Bay? At what point were they abandoned by the crews? Are we to suppose that Sir John Franklin had penetrated into the hypothetical Polynia, by Wellington Channel or elsewhere—a great distance in? that then his ships were caught between the field of ice and the iceberg on which they were seen? that he and his companions took to the boats, attained some Spitzbergen near the Pole, where they are now eking out a subsistence, and that meanwhile the iceberg made its way into Baffin's Bay, with the 'Erebus' and 'Terror' in its adamantine grasp, through presumed channels at the north of the Parry Islands, and so out by Wellington Strait and Lancaster Sound, or by Jones's Sound, into Baffin's Bay? It should be remarked that Commander Inglefield talks of a northerly current setting up Smith's Sound at the only season of the year when an iceberg of that size would have moved; so that could not have been its path into Baffin's Bay. If the vessels were actually seen, the fact must be accounted for somehow. We frankly own ourselves unable to offer any conjecture of our own upon the matter; nor, after the most careful and anxious consideration of all that has been written and said upon the subject, can we recommend any suggestion that has come to our knowledge as worthy of public attention.

Thus, then, we have attained the limits prescribed to us in a

paper of this description. Our effort has been throughout not so much to offer theories of our own, as to lay before our readers substantial and ascertained facts connected with the Arctic regions. We firmly believe that a man who would read Parry's first voyage so carefully as to master the peculiarities of Arctic navigation and to understand its dangers, and who would then jot down upon a chart the mere outlines of subsequent discoveries in the same quarters, would be in a better position for forming an opinion about the fate of poor Sir John Franklin and his companions than one who had spent much time in reading the most brilliant essays and criticisms upon the same subject. We feel too — we feel most deeply — that a great reverence is due to those who have gone out from amongst us into the eternal ice, and to the sorrow of those who bewail their loss as a private and domestic grief. Far be it from us to weave phrases in the presence of such a calamity, or needlessly to harrow up the feelings of friends and relatives by ingenious speculations as to the fate of the missing expedition.

In conclusion, let us hope that we have expressed ourselves in no ambiguous terms upon a subject which has so deeply interested the civilised world. There may have been a certain rashness in despatching Franklin, in 1845, upon his fatal errand. That is a bygone question. We trust that we have heard the last of speculative attempts at a North-west Passage by Barrow's Straits. The efforts in search of Franklin rest upon another foundation; but in our opinion, with the expedition of Sir Edward Belcher, enough has been done. The recent despatch of Commander Inglefield in the 'Phœnix' for Beechey Island, if his instructions confine him to the mere support of Sir E. Belcher's squadron, is intelligible enough, and so of any further expedition to Behring's Straits for the purpose of succouring the ships already engaged in that portion of the Arctic regions. Beyond this let us trust that the authorities at the Admiralty are prepared to act up to the spirit of their own declaration. In the last Arctic Blue-book we find it stated, in reply to an application for service in that quarter, that 'My Lords' do not contemplate the despatch of any further expeditions. Be it so—we accept the promise. We are bound to hold our hands at last lest we involve others in destruction for the sake of those who cannot be benefited by so costly an offering. Next winter will be the ninth winter since the 'Erebus' and 'Terror' set sail. That nothing will come from Sir E. Belcher's exertions is what we will not affirm; but certainly, if he does not succeed, it would be madness to repeat the experiment. With regard to this Polynia, which is now the

favourite topic amongst Polar *dilettanti*, we would say that, by the exceeding brilliancy of their promises, they almost shut themselves out from public help. If there be a mine of wealth in the shape of fisheries between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, let the shipowners of Hull look to that. If it be possible to get to the Pole, and back again in a month in a small steamer like the 'Isabel,' let the theorisers transform themselves into 'doers.' We want something more substantial than the testimony of Barentz, delivered two centuries and a half back, ere we can acquiesce in further public undertakings of the like nature. For ourselves, we have been busy with the records of a sterner school, in which we find that men of iron mould, of unflinching nerve, of undoubted skill, the picked men of the greatest maritime nation in the world, have been worsted in the unequal conflict with the powers of nature. All that could be done was done even before the departure of Sir John Franklin. We read in old chronicles that the good Lord Douglas, in an affray with the Moors, in the Sierras of Andalusia, finding the battle go against him, cast into the middle of the tumult a silver case which contained the Bruce's heart. That casket he would recover or die. He did not recover it, and he died. We have acted in the same way, as though to give ourselves an additional inducement for penetrating into the Arctic regions. Foiled in our previous efforts, we have placed two ships, filled with British seamen — Sir John Franklin at their head — far beyond human help, and have since been engaged in frantic efforts to rescue the precious sacrifice.

ART. III. — *The Greek and the Turk; or Powers and Prospects in the Levant.* By EYRE EVANS CROWE. London: 1853. 1 vol. 8vo.

NOTWITHSTANDING the striking diversities and contrasts which are found in the natural qualities and mental development of the different nations of our globe, we can trace on the map the connexion of these seemingly opposite elements by a series of gradual transitions. These transitions become more apparent as nations are more distant from each other, so that the differences of degree gradually become differences of kind, and groups of nations are developed to the eye, which although possessing individual peculiarities, form together a system marked by common characteristics, which distinguish them from the adjoining groups. Such groups are the result of the varied physical circumstances which surround them, and of the cha-

racter and history of the nations which compose them. They present some features in direct opposition to each other, and it is these antagonistic qualities that serve to develop their respective characters. Throughout this opposition, a gradual transition is observable, so that the nations of different groups which are nearest to one another in geographical position offer the least striking contrasts; while the remotest are the most widely different from each other.

Now the Western Christian group of nations, when compared with the Oriental Mahometan, presents to our view that contrast as well as that gradual transition to which we have alluded. Both features are evident to the most obtuse western traveller, when, for the first time, he enters a Mahometan country. Arriving by sea, on the shores of Egypt or of Syria, he sees the contrast; taking the course of Hungary and the Danube, he observes the transition.

Bewilderment is the effect upon an European when entering a Mahometan town for the first time. It is the entrance into a new world. The sights and persons are so strange that he requires time to analyse the causes of his novel impressions. The predominant feeling is one of giddy confusion, for it is not so much the strangeness of the individual objects, as the marvellous mixture of the most heterogeneous things, which gives to the appearance of an Eastern town its characteristic air of novelty. The palace and the mud hut,—the gorgeously dressed bey, and the half-naked water-carrier,—the richly caparisoned nejdi horse, and the half-starved donkey,—pass before his wondering eyes like the quick changing images of a magic lantern. These external differences of social position obtrude themselves everywhere, and present a singular contrast to that external uniformity, we might almost say monotony, which is the peculiar characteristic of western countries, and which exhibits itself so forcibly in the barrack-like rows of our houses, the stereotyped swallow-tailed coat, and the invariable high-crowned hat, worn alike by all classes.

We should, however, be greatly mistaken were we to conclude, that the external variety in the Mahometan East, and the seeming uniformity of the Christian West, spring from internal sources of a like distinctive character. The very reverse is the case. The outward variety in the former is the consequence of the want of mental distinction, while the visible homogeneity in the latter is the result of those strongly marked internal differences which make outward distinctions altogether superfluous. Individuality is the key to this apparent anomaly. It is wanting in the East, and all prevalent in the West. If by

a freak of enchantment so common in the time of Haroun al Raschid, the soul of the Pasha were to exchange its bodily abode with that of a camel-driver, the metamorphosis would not be observed, for each would be equally fit to perform his new duties. The camel-driver would represent the high dignitary with perfect ease, and the Pasha would scarcely make his colleagues suspect the change, by displaying a degree of intelligence or knowledge unusual in his new station. Fiction and reality, —the Arabian-nights Tales, and the history of the Ottoman and Persian empires, are equally striking and equally true illustrations of this want of individuality, which is a permanent characteristic of the Mahometan East. Herein we obtain the clue to its never changing 'still life,' and to those contrasts which separate it, in spirit and in habit, from the Christian West, struggling interminably after the expansion of individual life.

In this light, therefore, the East may be said to be the land of equality, for there the highest personages are separated from the lowest members of society by an outward barrier only, and one which an unforeseen event may at any moment overturn.

This consciousness of mental equality, so prevalent in the Eastern character, powerfully influences the whole social edifice, and may be said to form its basis. It appears in every condition of life, modifies and soothes the harshness of external differences, and stimulates, if it does not altogether create, that sentiment of humanity and benevolence which manifests itself so signally in numerous pious foundations, accords nearly a right of alms to the poor, and extends beyond man to the whole animal creation. It generates that natural ease which is maintained in social intercourse between the extremes of society. Embarrassment, the product of conscious or apprehended inferiority, is incomprehensible to an Eastern nature. It is equally curious and amusing to observe the well-bred manners which the Fakir or the lowest Bedouin, who never saw a town, alike exhibit in every circumstance of life. Unaccustomed splendour and magnificence fail to awe them; and their whole behaviour is equally distant from vulgar pretension and bashful awkwardness.

Most striking is the effect of this feeling of equality on masters and servants. A familiarity exists between them which would utterly shock all European notions. The servant is the usual confidant of his master, and often his ruler, but nevertheless invariably preserves before strangers the outward ceremonious formalities with which the Oriental is accustomed to conceal the secrets of his domestic life. Servants not only

form part of the family, and are treated like children of the house; but this patriarchal household system also extends to the slaves; indeed, the latter are often the favourite children, and their portion that of Benjamin. A biographical sketch of the high dignitaries of the Sublime Porte, in our time, would best illustrate this assertion. A considerable number of them have been slaves bought in the market of Stamboul. It is not therefore surprising that the Circassians are anxious to preserve their privilege of being sold, from all foreign philanthropic encroachments. Like Laban of old, every true believer, says the Prophet, should give to his slave freedom after the seventh year. Although there are true believers who, anxious not to offend the commands of Mahomet, or to diminish the bag of piastres, sell their slaves in the sixth year, such conduct is the exception, and frequently the slave is not only manumitted, but also converted by marriage into a member of his master's family. Sometimes he is employed in offices of high trust before obtaining his freedom, and then manumission is scarcely thought necessary. For instance, at this moment, one of the revenue collectors in Damascus, — his post being as lucrative as it is influential, — is of Circassian birth. He was purchased, together with his sister, by old Mohammed Pasha. The sister became the Pasha's wife, the brother became his favourite. The Pasha and his wife are both dead, but their daughter and heiress is the proprietress of her uncle, the revenue collector, whose social standing is so little impaired by this curious family relation, that he competes among a crowd of suitors for the hand of his fair niece and mistress, with every chance of being successful.

We can judge how firmly this feeling of equality is rooted in the Eastern character, by the fact, that military discipline is insufficient to overcome it. No real class distinction exists between officers and privates. They share the same fare and receive the same cloth for their uniforms, only in unequal proportions; and it is not at all uncommon to hear the corporal discussing with his captain the orders which the latter is about to give, each addressing the other, all the while, by the sweetest titles, as 'my soul' and 'my love.' All the desperate efforts of their French and Prussian instructors to check this familiarity are fruitless. The young officers who enter the army from the military academies of Constantinople are too few to impress on the soldiery their crude notions of European military etiquette. Generally their oriental nature speedily resumes its sway, especially if they are stationed in the provinces. They soon forget

their imperfectly imbibed academical ideas, and 'howl with the 'wolves.'

But if the Mahometan East in this sense be the true land of equality, it is also necessarily the real home of despotism, for there can be no liberty without individuality. Society is like a chain, the more numerous and the smaller the links, the easier and freer will be its motion. The Eastern world has no distinct links; it is like an iron ring, rigid and uniform, and its solid mass, having no motion amongst its parts, can only be moved by an external power: hence its despotism and centralisation. A singular and ludicrous example in social life of this despotism and centralisation, is the law still in vigour among many Tartar and Mongol tribes, which punishes most severely every one who dares to pull the tuft of hair on another man's head,—not because it injures the wearer of that ornament, but because *all tufts belong to the Khan.*

This want of individuality, and consequent uniformity in social life, also explains the immutability and steadiness of the Eastern world. Let him who has any doubts upon this subject wander through the East with the Bible in his hand. It will be the best itinerary he can obtain. He will find the people and the country the same as they were ages ago, when the sacred writers drew their graphic sketches of this cradle of humanity. The only change—and this for the worse—will be met with in a few towns on the sea-coast, contaminated by misunderstood and misapplied occidental ideas. All the rest of the country has remained intact, and has absorbed, although perhaps not digested, the foreign and strange elements which during three thousand stormy years have passed over its surface. A few names and a few ruins are all that remain to tell of that evanescent splendour which Greece and Rome carried into the very heart of the East, thence extending it to the borders of the desert.

Yet the Eastern spirit was not affected by this transient occupation, and the borrowed light was soon eclipsed by the more congenial lustre of Mahometanism. However influential this latter power was, it did not change the nature of the East. On the contrary, it was only a reaction against the temporary foreign influence of the West, and perpetuated the original social character of the Eastern races, society remaining in the same condition in which it had previously existed. The primitive patriarchal system still rules. It is the idea of the regulation of a family extending over and governing a people. The father or prince is the representative of the family, and all the rest are as children,—unable to rely upon their own powers,

and requiring to be supported. The nomad families preserved this patriarchal system in its original purity, and the settled agricultural population have adapted it to their altered condition. The chief among the latter occupies the same place and has the same unlimited influence which the clan or family system gives to the head of the tribe. Whenever this system began to decay it was revived and restored by the irruption and conquests of some nomad race. These nomad races contain the vital elements of the Eastern character, and have acted the part of regenerators in its history. The shepherd and warrior tribes of Arabia, Kurdistan, and Tartary have played in turn this important part, and have successively created the Arabian Khalifs, the Seltzuck Sultans, and the Ottoman Empire. By each of these fresh irruptions, new blood was infused from the heart of the East into the decayed and corrupted limbs; and each invasion was followed by a period of brilliancy and greatness. But the regenerators did not bring any new principle with them. Their ideas did not extend beyond the traditionary maxims of the kindred tribes whom they subdued; so that they were only able to produce a temporary renewal of action, without originating any new development. Hence the successive brief intervals of splendour were followed by new decay. Of this we have a striking instance before our eyes. The successor of Othman, whose ancestors made the world tremble, is now reduced to that state of exhaustion which history tells us was the fate of the latter Khalifs and Seltzuck Sultans; and if his sway were to cease to-morrow, similar results to those which history tells us occurred under the like circumstances would follow; he would leave society in the same state in which it was when, five centuries ago, his race began to rule.

The absence of individuality, which is the basis of the Eastern character, has produced the want of energy out of which grows the idea of fatalism. Energy must have an aim and a motive. These can only exist where individuality has impressed its distinctive marks upon a character, and raised in it the desire to have that character recognised by others. Where this is wanting there will be no exertion, and the virtue of passive contentment is at its highest perfection. Such is the case to a great degree in the East. If contentment be synonymous with happiness, the East certainly comprises the greatest number of happy beings. There are there but few of those cravings and heart-burnings, — those mortifications and disappointed hopes, — which embitter so many Western existences. The Oriental can see no reason or propriety in work so long as he has enough to satisfy his limited

wants. Hence the merchant, as well as the artisan, the fellah and the workman, leave their daily toil as soon as they have had the good luck to earn the few piastres which they require to purchase their evening meal, and after it to enjoy their 'rahat,' repose. The Oriental cannot conceive any pleasure to be derived from action in itself. He works only to be able to repose, and smiles at the running and hurrying European, who reposes only to gain new strength for work. The Oriental is able and willing to go through an incredible amount of exertion, in order to attain that blissful state of conscious inactivity which ceases to be a negation with him, and in fact becomes a positive pleasure; but for steady continued labour, he is totally unfit and indisposed. Even the activity of the hardy Bedouin and Tartar Nomad is limited to short intervals, and the main part of his existence is spent in that dreamy repose to which his sky and his shepherd occupation alike invite him. These short intervals occur at the time of their migration from the south to the north, and *vice versâ*,—then he toils at least as hard as his camel, but when the tent is pitched he rests, and revels in the wanderings of indistinct thought.

Want of individuality, with its consequences — equality, despotism, immutability, and absence of energy — are then the characteristic features of the Mahometan East. These characteristic features are there, as every where else, effects of the influence of race, climate, religion, and political history, — the two latter being as much effects as causes.

Three primary races share amongst them the Mahometan East — the Arab, the Turk, and the Persian. Each possesses its subdivisions. Although different in outward appearance, and without the slightest affinity in language, there is a remarkable resemblance in the characters and the ideas of these three families, an unity or family likeness which distinguishes them from all other races. This unity is only active, when placed in opposition to the West. In itself it is passive. It is rather a neutral state of undeveloped differences than a real identity, more an absence than a similarity of outward characteristic marks.

This undeveloped national character is the natural consequence of the absence of a national union. Each one of these three races forms a sort of conglomerate, in each of which even language, divided as it is into numerous dialects, can hardly be said to form a complete bond. They more nearly resemble a number of kindred families living in each other's vicinity, and holding connexion with their immediate neighbours only, but having no consciousness of a common feeling with the rest.

This is the consequence of what we have observed of the condition of individuals in the East. In both cases the same absence of individual peculiarity is apparent. The races, as well as the individuals, continue in the primitive state in which habit is all powerful, and neither one nor the other rises to the independent action which emanates from reflection. Both are, therefore, undeveloped and characterless.

If we study the physical characteristics of these Eastern races, we find nothing in their outward appearance, nor in the structure of their heads, which explains the great difference between them and the Occidental nations. On the contrary, some Easterns equal, if they do not surpass in these respects, the most favoured Europeans. But whatever their mental conformation may be, it remains unaffected by admixture with foreign races, and is now what it was at the beginning.

The Eastern nations have always struggled after purity or isolation of blood. Not only have they rejected all union with Western races, but they have kept up a system of exclusion among themselves, amounting to a positive antipathy, scorning all contact with other families. This proud abnegation is preserved unmitigated to the present day, and extends to the very lowest ranks of society. Their mutual aversion is indeed carried so far, that it ceases not between married people; so that when a Turk takes an Arab wife, she, in the pride of her desert blood, never calls her husband by any other name than 'the Turk,' and the children follow the example of their mother, regarding their father almost as a stranger. The horror of all contact with foreign blood, and the corresponding pride of race, spring from the same source — the strong patriarchal feeling which binds together all members of the same family or tribe. They are born, live, and die together; and, what is equally important, all these events happen on the spots which their race have inhabited for ages. This adherence to kindred and soil is a distinctive feature of the East. It is preserved under all circumstances, and we can as little account for it as for the contrary tendency to expansion in the West.

The climate, and other physical conditions, under which these races have been bred, have powerfully affected this phenomenon, although they do not explain it. We find that extremes of climate are alike unfavourable to the development of race. In the extreme north, the overpowering influence of natural forces repulses all human exertion; and again, in the extreme south, there is no stimulant to call it forth. Stagnation is the consequence in both cases. In one, nature is too unkind; in the other, too favourable. In the greatest part of the territory in-

habited by the Mahometan races, the soil yields all that is required by the scattered population, almost without exertion on their part. The mild climate not only dispenses with many wants belonging to a less favoured sky, but seems also to restore with less difficulty the consumed vital powers. We cannot but be astonished at the frugality of Eastern people, amounting, according to our ideas, nearly to starvation. A cupful of camel's milk and a handful of dates impart to the Bedouin Arab strength enough to walk or ride for sixteen or more hours in a day. Under these circumstances, to which must be added from six to nine months of enervating heat, it is not surprising that all vigour is prostrated, and a sort of dreamy condition produced, which enchants and absorbs the vital forces of the man.

We can best understand how much in the Oriental character is to be attributed to these physical conditions, if we observe the change which slight variations in climate and soil have produced in these races themselves. The most striking distinctions are those observable between the mountaineers and the inhabitants of the plains; and again, between the settled and the nomad populations. In both cases, the marked transition is so gradual, and follows so clearly the changes in the character of the soil and the climate, that it can only originate in these causes. Let us take Syria as an example. The whole native population from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Tigris belong to the same race and speak the same language, and yet what a marked difference exists among them. The towns on the coast have indeed been too much exposed to foreign influence to be fair specimens of this difference; but contrast the tall, athletic, and fierce-looking inhabitant of Lebanon with the mean, clumsy, and enervated villager of the plains of Aleppo and Damascus; — and again, compare the latter with the Bedouins, whose aquiline features, flashing eyes, and slender and muscular body, proclaim a variety of character, which, on the first glance, it is impossible to misapprehend.

Both the mountaineer and the free son of the desert have to encounter difficulties in procuring the necessaries of life, from which the inhabitants of the luxuriant plains are altogether exempt. These difficulties require and provoke much greater energy, and exert a considerable influence on the social existence and moral qualities of the two former. A certain degree of independence, totally unknown to the fellah in the plain, is the result. But this feeling of independence does not become individual; it belongs only to the clan in the mountains, or to the tribe in the desert. The Bedouin, Druse, or Metuali, *in-*

dividually, is the same cowardly fellow as the Alepine or Damascene, having no self-reliance or self-independence; but, in connexion with his tribe or clan, he exhibits a strongly marked personal feeling, and the whole tribe or clan forms a composite body, conscious and jealous of its rights, and ready to uphold them against any encroachment. This, the frequent feuds among the tribes of the desert, and the rivalries of the Sheik families in the district of Lebanon, sufficiently prove. Both have been able to maintain a considerable amount of resistance against all attempts to subjugate them. The expedition of the Mushir of Damascus against the rebellious mountaineers two years ago, and a similar attempt at present, are a proof that their spirit, though sometimes subdued in appearance, is far from being broken in reality.

But these slighter differences of climate and soil, which nevertheless influence the character of the mountaineers and the pastoral nomads, are not sufficient to change their Eastern nature. Though, in a less degree, they are still under the influence of those physical conditions which give so strong a bias to the life of the Eastern races. They likewise need small efforts to satisfy their limited wants; small indeed compared with those of the European. Their country is so scantily inhabited, that it will probably be ages before the increase of population overpowers the benignity of nature, and forces them to greater exertions. They therefore are not subject to those natural stimulants which awaken industry, and create the energy which is essential to further development.

If such be the case with the hardiest of the Eastern tribes, we may reasonably expect a religious and social system corresponding to this state of body and mind. Partly, then, as a consequence, partly as an expression of the peculiar character of the Eastern races, moulded and modified by physical causes, Mahometanism arose,—the greatest and most distinctive feature of the East at the present day.

The less individuality is developed, the greater and the more extended must be the sway of authority. Hence we discover in the East, existing from the earliest times, those all-absorbing theocratical powers which influenced and regulated the minutest functions of individual life. The Eastern races had not come to maturity, and, consequently, felt the need of a director and precise guide. They found both in Mahometanism.

We are apt to judge historical events either from our own isolated point of view, or, at least abstractedly, without considering the tendencies of the times, and the circumstances when they occurred. Until lately, this was the mode adopted with

regard to Mahometanism. Tried by our own ideal standard, its shortcomings were condemned, while the good in it was passed over in silence, as a matter of course. Consequently, Mahometanism was assumed to be a system of lies invented by one man for his own personal interest, which, by mere chance, had become the law of one-fifth of the whole human race, and the basis of a brilliant epoch of arts and literature. The stationary civilisation of the East, and the resistance there made to the introduction of all foreign elements, have been solely attributed to the evil influence of Mahometanism; and it therefore was believed to be the cause, and not the natural growth, of the Eastern character. It is only of late that a less prejudiced age has been able to appreciate the real effects of this extraordinary phenomenon in the history of the Eastern races.

At the birth of Mahometanism, the people of the East were divided into many separate religious and social unions, which, growing like parasitical plants, and intermingling with local and individual laws and habits, rendered all further development impossible, and became the most active agent in an ever-progressive debasement of the races themselves. At whatever fragment of this chaotic mass we look, we perceive an absence of true vigour, mental and physical. The Arab tribes had fallen into a corrupt idolatry, which, with its vices, was in a fair way to enervate the whole family. The Persian Zend religion had become a mystical jugglery for the benefit of its acolytes. Even Eastern Christianity had entangled herself in a labyrinth of sectarianism and of miscalled philosophy; the great fundamental truths of her religion were buried amidst petty jealousies and party animosities.

The social state was not less decayed. The Eastern Empire was exhibiting its last convulsions, covering them with an attempted show of grandeur, which made it quite grotesque, and turned pity into contempt. Her Emperors—the successors of the rulers of the world, were trembling in their palace before every stray barbarian tribe that chose to insult them under the walls of their capital.

The immigration of the Sclavonic tribes had extinguished the last rays of Greek glory which had lingered around the wreck of its national existence. Even the divine spirit of Christianity, stifled by formalism and heresy, failed to revive this lifeless body.

In Persia, the successors of Nushirvan the Just exhibited the same spectacle as those of Constantine the Great. The leathern apron of the blacksmith—their royal standard—served no longer as a point of union to the nation; it became

the bloody emblem of party and of family wars. The sacred fire, whose glare had once been reflected in the waves of the Hellespont, still burned indeed on the altars of Susa and Ctesiphon, but it had ceased to warm the hearts of the Parsee. Its flame, contaminated by the admixture of base superstitions, had lost its ancient glory, and ceased to be the beacon of the national existence. The sun of Persia was fast setting among the dark clouds of barbarous hosts which surrounded it on all sides.

The numerous branches of the Semitic race were in a yet more miserable condition. In Syria they had all yielded to foreign rule. The latest independent State had fallen with Jerusalem centuries before, and all traces of former greatness and national existence were obliterated. They were, so to say, in an intermediate condition between life and death. The memory of bygone ages of grandeur was too tenacious to be altogether extinguished, therefore they did not assimilate with their conquerors; but they could not raise themselves out of this state of degradation by their own power. On the other hand, their kindred in Arabia and in the desert had desecrated the Kaaba, the palladium of their race, by introducing foreign idols into the sacred precincts of this symbol of national unity. With the foreign gods foreign corruption came; and the spirit of the people was gradually becoming extinct.

The whole Eastern world thus exhibited that state of decay which indicates a resurrection, and paves the way for the advent of new ideas. Everything was corrupt and degenerate,—religion and morality — nations and empires — arts and sciences. The sublime ideas of Christianity, which had regenerated the nations of the West, had little effect upon the Eastern races. Its character was too spiritual for their more material nature. They were unable to comprehend the 'kingdom which is not 'of this world.' Their feeble, childish spirit could not encounter the freedom of action, and the weight of responsibility which Christianity implies. They wanted a faith more congenial to their nature, and were, therefore, ready eagerly to grasp the easy fatalism of the creed of Islam.

In this their desolate state there arose a longing after some new idea which would raise the Eastern world from its abject condition. This primarily took hold of the Semitic race, which had fallen the lowest, but had not forgotten its past splendour. Here we see not only the fragments of the Jewish nation, which were dispersed all over Arabia, but the Arab tribes themselves, longing and hoping for the Deliverer, who should unite the kindred families of the Semitic people, and revenge the wrongs they had suffered. The attempts of several re-

formers and prophets before Mahomet arose, prove the extent of this desire. These hopes were much fostered by the fugitive Jews, who carried with them into their exile the expectations of a coming Messiah. They thus strengthened the anticipations which the Arab tribes preserved of an impending glorious future of their common race.

At this moment Mahomet appeared, and was hailed as the expected Deliverer. The traditions of his own people formed the basis of his doctrines. But he did not stop there. He also incorporated those of other branches of the Semitic race, and thus laid the foundations for a comprehensive religion for the whole race. According to his assertions he did not promulgate anything new, but came only to re-establish the old faith of Adam, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, which, he pretended, had been corrupted by the world.

The essence of this new faith was the unity of God. He maintained that there never was, and never could be, but one true religion; the particular laws and ceremonies might change, but the substance of real religion was eternal and unchangeable truth. The system of laws which Mahomet erected on this broad basis, was modelled according to the nature of the Semitic race, and was accommodated to their existing habits and customs. It had for its object the sanction and consolidation of old usages and traditions, rather than the introduction of new ones.

The common and most characteristic mark of all these laws and regulations, as adopted by him, is their generality, fitting them for the widest possible range, and making them acceptable to all those idolaters who could raise their minds to the worship of One Divine Being. This tendency shows itself in the adoption of so many Christian, Jewish, Sabian, and Magian ideas and rites. For instance, all ideas about prophets were taken from the Christians and the Jews. Those about angels and genii, paradise and hell, from the Jews and the Magi. The like with all points of religious practice. The ablutions before, and the prostrations during prayer—the almsgiving—the fastings and the pilgrimage to Mecca, were already customs of the Arabs themselves, and with the exception of the pilgrimage were also practised by the Jews and the Persian Magi.

By taking these elements from the different religious communities similar in ideas, character, and condition, and uniting them in one centre, the ancient, local, and special theocracies were broken up, and, for the first time, a theocratical union of these races was accomplished. This new theocracy was essentially different from the old ones. They had been confined to

individual nations, and in many cases to portions of nations only. Mahometanism, on the contrary, was based on an idea which does not belong to any one nation, but is common to all mankind. The comprehensiveness and grandeur of the fundamental idea pervaded and influenced the whole structure. It invited all the races of the East to worship the One God, and to practise charity and benevolence. It abolished the monopoly as well as the class distinctions of the priest caste, and rolled up the curtains of the sanctuary that every believer might enter in.

With the priest caste were abolished all their fantastic ceremonies; in place of which the worship by simple prayer was instituted. In lieu of bloody sacrifices to appease an offended Divinity, the distribution of alms to the poor, and the exercise of kindness to every human and animal creature, were commanded. Vice in every shape, and amongst all classes, was condemned and stigmatised as an offence against Allah, while equity and benevolence were made the keys of paradise. One nation after another flocked to embrace these simple and grand doctrines, which were wide enough to comprehend without extinguishing those minuter shades of opinion, in which each people had given expression to its peculiar mind, and which it jealously desired to retain. The Eastern races perceived in Mahometanism the identification of their common Orientalism, and hailed it as a standard round which they could array themselves, and resist all encroachments of heterogeneous or foreign elements.

Mahometanism became thus in the East what Catholicism was at that time in the West. Both were preparations to a maturer national life. Both were destined to shelter the growth of the new nationalities then striving to emerge out of the chaos into which East and West had been plunged by the convulsions which followed the great migrations. These two systems, one in the East and the other in the West, united all homogeneous, and rejected all heterogeneous elements; establishing two distinct groups of nations, whose associated strength served to protect the subordinate nations until each should be strong enough to assert its claim to an independent existence.

Thus two hostile camps, containing the regenerated nations of the East and the West, stood arrayed against each other, and a war of centuries ensued. The two adverse elements were, for the first time, brought into collision in their entirety. There had been wars of conquest, but never before wars of ideas, between the East and the West. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans fought against the Asiatic States for religion.

On the contrary, the latter adopted the gods of the nations which they subdued, and incorporated them with the national worship, without ever imposing their own on the conquered.

The contrast in ideas, habits, and customs which had been gradually developed between the Eastern and Western races, had previously remained unnoticed, or at least had not been conspicuously manifested, because there was no union between the homogeneous races, until it was effected in the East by Mahometanism, and in the West by Catholicism. The strife which then began, while it served to strengthen the contrast between the two opposing elements, nourished the vitality of both. It increased the distinctiveness of the Eastern character, by threatening it with absorption; and became the chief agent for effacing the last remains of the old superstitions, and leading to an universal acceptation of the purer laws of Mahometanism. In the West the crusades, by undermining the feudal system, raised the middle classes, and smoothed the way for the modern systems of government. On the other hand, by facilitating the extension of hierarchical power, these religious wars led to the rapid corruption of the priesthood, and the advent of the Reformation speedily followed.

The strife of East against West subsided when the balance between their respective elements was established; but the contrast exists unimpaired, and shows itself whenever they come into contact. In the East we see an innate tendency to steadiness, repose, and indolence, — in the West to progress, activity, and energy. This causes in the former the disposition to cling to soil and family, and the want of individuality to which we have before alluded; and produces in the latter that roaming and investigating spirit which leads to great enterprises, and that feeling of personal dignity which finds its expression in the idea of honour, an idea which belongs so exclusively to the Western races that no word expressive of it can be found in any of the Eastern languages. In the social sphere this contrast shows itself in the equality and submissiveness to unity of rule which form the basis of all the despotic states of the East, and in the West by the spirit of liberty which makes the Western races energetically seek for constitutional and democratic forms of government.

A well known and characteristic feature in the contrast between East and West is the position of Woman. In the former, the Mahometan doctors dispute about the existence of her soul. In the latter, Woman animates the whole social sphere. In the former polygamy, in the latter monogamy, is the basis upon which the family relations are constructed.

But this contrast between East and West does not confine itself to these general features. It pervades all the minutiæ of daily life, as the loose dress and tight dress — the shaven head and the full grown beard, compared with the flowing hair and shaven face, sufficiently show. The distinction in gestures, and other symbolic actions, is likewise remarkable. The Oriental expresses his veneration for a holy place by taking off his shoes and keeping his head covered. The European takes off his hat, but not his shoes. The Oriental beckons to his acquaintance with his fingers turned towards the ground, and would esteem the western habit of beckoning with the fingers pointed upwards as a mortal insult.

In proportion as the great opposing tendencies, which we have before described, developed themselves, the two rallying centres, Catholicism and Mahometanism, lost their absorbing power. They had sheltered the infant nations against foreign influences, and now the bond which had been useful — perhaps necessary — for the preservation and support of the young institutions, became, by degrees, an intolerable yoke — impeding, instead of promoting, their growth. Consequently, many of the Western nations, strong enough to stand alone, threw off the heavy chains of Papal power, while others impatiently shook the fetters which they were as yet too feeble to break. The same fate now impends over Mahometanism. The Crescent has sunk low in the horizon, and is no longer that faithful guide to every believer which it was for centuries. The nations of the East, though more tardy in the development of their ideas, are now in the same state in which the Western world was shortly before the Reformation. Under the apparent unity of Mahometanism, national differences have been born and matured, which, though as yet undeveloped, are only waiting for an occasion to manifest themselves. The East presents to our view that state of uneasiness which, in the life of nations, is the symptom of an approaching crisis. There are, moreover, powerful and unmistakeable signs that the eruption is not far distant.

The gradual decay of Mahometanism shows itself from two sides — the religious and the national. In the religious the tendency is to get rid of all the Semitic and Arabic elements which are incorporated into Mahometanism, and to establish an abstract and pure Theism. Already the Persian Shiis have taken that direction, by rejecting the Sunna — the traditions — and disavowing the successors of Mahomet. Many independent Tartar tribes have done the same. The most curious instance of this tendency are the sect of Wehabites, whose numbers are daily increasing in Mahomet's own country, the very heart of

Arabia. During Ibrahim Pasha's expeditions in the Nejd they were able, successfully, to oppose him with an army of 60,000 men, pillaging and dispersing several caravans of pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Their principle is to reject all tradition, disbelieving in Mahomet's mission as prophetical, and adhering strictly to the unity of God. It is a remarkable and interesting circumstance that these reformers belong almost exclusively to the pure Arab tribes, which were the first champions of Mahometanism, and which, of all the Eastern races, have the greatest vitality and energy. Moreover, that strong, although imperfect, feeling of independence which they have cherished through good and evil fortune, contains the germs of further development.

In addition to this religious movement there is also a national one, tending to the dissolution of Mahometanism. Until recently this had only a negative operation, Mahometanism gradually ceasing to be the one focus of the Eastern races, in which all their differences had been if not absorbed at least neutralised. Now many of the Eastern races begin to feel an obscure longing after a separate national existence. This feeling expresses itself more in dissatisfaction with their present condition than in any clearly defined struggle after a definite object.

The effect of this is manifested in a growing animosity among the different races, tending to draw a line of demarcation between them, and to produce different characteristic features in each. Separate nationalities must grow out of such a state of things, and with them a conscious feeling of their individual existence, apart from a common Orientalism. Although this fermentation has not yet worked long enough to produce great results, its operations may be distinctly traced, especially in those races which are brought into daily contact: we refer to the Turks and the Arabs. At first Mahometanism sunk all differences between the conquerors and the conquered: now the contrast between them grows every day stronger. So long as Mahometanism was the all-uniting, all-governing spirit, there were wars for supremacy among the rulers, but no hatred of races. Hatred of race is, however, now growing out of the feeling of animosity, and jealousy rankles in the breasts of Turks and Arabs. All new regulations of the government are accepted with the greatest reluctance and distrust, and are resisted as long as possible. This *vis inertiæ* is the greatest obstacle which as yet the Turkish Government finds in the Arabs.

Another difference arises out of the different forms which the

original patriarchal system assumed in the two races. Every where, and under all circumstances, the Arabs have more or less preserved aristocratic distinctions and feelings among the descendants of their ancient chiefs, who, although deprived of every influence, still retain their standing in the mind and estimation of their people. Turkish policy has always endeavoured to oppress these prominent families, by encouraging rivalries between them, and frequently instigating one member of a family to intrigue against another member of the same family. All these efforts have, however, proved vain. The veneration for high birth and ancient lineage is too deeply rooted in the Semitic race to be eradicated. These old families form the natural rallying point of the people in every difficulty. They are regarded as their leaders by birth. They were the chief promoters of the disturbances in Syria occasioned by the attempted introduction of the conscriptions. They head the revolt which is again existing in the Haurau, in which the Turkish forces have lately been completely routed by the Druses and the Sheiks of the desert.

Not a trace of aristocracy is to be found among the Turks. The attempt made to create a species of military landed aristocracy in the Spahis has failed. Upon the introduction of the new military system by Mahomet the Spahis lost that little influence which they had possessed. This absence of all class distinction among the Turks may be principally attributed to their position as the ruling people, which obliges them to remain as united as possible in order to maintain their dominion. Thus the whole race may be said in some respect to constitute an oilgarchy, ruling over the conquered inhabitants, and keeping up their position by avoiding all alliances with them. Their pride of race lies in the name of Osmanli, which belongs alike to the Pacha and to the Turkish barber. The Padishah, the successor of Othman, the founder of their rule, represents their lofty position, as a conquering race, and embodies in his person their history as Osmanlis. Hence the awe and reverence which they manifest for him, and which is distinct from that feeling of slavish subjection which fear produces in other despotic States. He, in fact, occupies the same position which the head of the family or tribe fills under the old patriarchal system.

This hatred between the Arab and Turkish races is also generating a new and most important phenomenon. It is gradually diminishing the long-felt aversion between the Christian and the Mahometan Arabs, and bringing them into closer connexion. During the vigour of Mahometanism, the existence

of the Christian portion of the population was one of indescribable suffering. They experienced from their kindred, the Mahometan Arabs, greater hardships than from their common rulers the Turks. In great measure this is now changed. The Mahometan Arabs begin to feel towards the Christian Arabs the unity of a kindred race. Their growing hatred of a foreign yoke serves to cement this alliance between them. In 1850, during the revolt of Aleppo, the Mahometan insurgents took the greatest pains to induce the Christians to join them, in order to relieve Syria from the Turkish rule. The Christians, who were not liable to the military conscription—the proximate cause of the insurrection—refused to join in a revolution which did not immediately concern them, and which promised little success: then only was the Christian quarter pillaged.

It is not from such outbreaks that the Eastern Christians expect any advantages. Excluded for centuries from all influence in the State, and all union of race, dwelling more like strangers and half slaves under their Mahometan masters, they have found from time to time a connecting link in their religion, which, while it severed them from their neighbours and kindred, and deprived them of all rights at home, has naturally led them to seek for support among the European brethren. On the other hand, the unprotected state of the Christians prompted the Western Powers to use their interest to screen them from the oppressions of their Mahometan rulers. Thus each Christian sect in the East has found some western protector. The Roman Catholics look to France; the Eastern Church clings to Russia. The few Protestants seek the good offices of Prussia and England.

What was at first a matter of humanity has at length become a matter of policy with the Western Power; and notwithstanding the famous Firman of Gulhane has declared that 'all subjects of whatever religion and class they may be, are equal before the law and subjected to the same code,' and 'that difference in religion is a matter of conscience which belongs to God,' the convenient protectorate which afforded such good opportunities for meddling with the internal affairs of the Turkish Empire, is still maintained to the great detriment of the Turkish administration. Amongst these protected Christian sects, the Protestants are of course too few in number to come under consideration. The Roman Catholics, although more numerous, are scattered over the whole Turkish Empire, and, with the exception of the Maronites of Lebanon, are nowhere to be found in a compact body. Moreover they have no common centre. They are nearly all converts, more or less recent, from the

Greek Church, yielding an imperfect submission to their spiritual head the Pope, and anxious for the preservation of the ancient privileges of their church. This want of a uniting centre frustrates the most assiduous endeavours of France in the East to derive any influence or weight from such scattered and powerless elements, although as their protector she has availed herself of the opportunity of harassing the Turkish Government.

Far more numerous, and infinitely more important, are the followers of the Greek Church, who are spread in a continued chain from the borders of Arabia all along Syria and Asia Minor to the Black Sea. They are the remains of the old Greek element strongly mixed up in Europe with Slavonic and in Asia with Arab blood. Although most of the latter have lost their language, and have adopted the Arabic tongue as well as Arab customs from the people into whose race they are engrafted, they still retain a common feeling of union with their coreligionaries, whose head is the Patriarch of Constantinople. Too weak himself to afford protection to this flock, the Patriarch has found a willing and efficient supporter in his powerful colleague the Czar, the head of the Russian Church. This support proves so ample, and has been so willingly and so lavishly bestowed, that a great portion of the Eastern churches, now under the Patriarch of Constantinople, look with hope towards the time when there will be one flock, under the supreme headship of the Czar. In anticipation of this golden age, the expectant priesthood of the Oriental Church receive and enjoy the magnificent presents which their faithful protector bestows upon them, humbly desiring their prayers, — and of course, as in duty bound, they praise his name before their people.

When in 1850, during the insurrection in Syria, Mustapha Pasha of Beyrout defeated the Metuali insurgents near Malula, his troops, intoxicated with victory and arrack, forced the convent of St. Thecla, from which they alleged hostile shots had been fired, they wounded two monks and pillaged the church and convent. The monks of course were not slow in appealing against such injustice, but as the case was not quite so clear as the pious brethren asserted, the Turkish authorities did not listen to their demands for indemnification. Not so the Czar, their zealous protector. His magnanimity supplied them with funds to restore their church with a splendour of which they never dreamt before its fortunate destruction; and the good people of Malula and other Greek villages are now in the habit of asking the Frengi traveller, when the good Moscow Czar will come to deliver them from their present oppression. We give this as one instance out of many we could adduce.

The race enmity between Turks and Arabs tends to bring Mahometan and other tribes, as well as Christian Arabs, nearer to the Europeans. The feeling that the protection of the West is worth possessing, is gradually spreading in the East. Fifteen years have not elapsed since the first European dress was seen in the holy precincts of Damascus. The few travellers who visited that place had to adopt the costume of the native Christians, who are recognised by their black turbans. They were obliged to descend from their horses or mules before entering the gates of the city, and were required to walk, not to ride through it. Now the European may go about in his high hat without molestation. He is not even disturbed while witnessing the departure or arrival of the Mecca caravan, and may now gaze at the holy standard of the Prophet, a sight from which formerly all Christians were excluded under pain of death. Nay, what is more than all this, the fanatical Ulemas of the great mosque, two years ago, presented a petition containing their complaints against the mal-administration of the funds belonging to the pious foundations of their mosque,—not to the Mushir, whose duty it is to forward such memorials to the Sublime Porte,—but they presented it themselves to the English Consul, seeking his aid and influence to obtain justice.

If we thus see orthodox Mahometans overcoming their aversion to Europeans, and preferring their mediation to that of a fellow Mahometan belonging to the hated Turkish race, it is not surprising that the infidel Druses and heretical Metualis show no hesitation in seeking to avail themselves of European protection. The mountains of Lebanon and the Hauran became during the religious and political persecutions of Byzantium and Bagdad, a stronghold for all fugitives and all persecuted races. They had afforded a place of defence to the Christian Maronites, and they rendered the same service to the Druses and the Metualis. We should diverge too far were we to enter into the different hypotheses about the history and origin of these tribes. No speculations have as yet offered a satisfactory solution. Suffice it for our present purpose to say, that they both form the most warlike part of the Syrian population. Divided into clans under hereditary Emirs, they bear in their institutions much resemblance to the old Highland system. The most curious ascertained fact in the religion of the Druses, and which greatly influences their political character, is the existence of a priest caste under the name of Ockals or 'the Initiated,'—from which even women are not excluded. In their outward worship they conform to the system of Mahometanism, but their actual religion seems to be chiefly composed, if not altogether based,

on the old Syrian worship of the creative powers of nature. This is, however, concealed with the profoundest and most mysterious secresy, so that it has hitherto been impossible to ascertain any thing positive upon the subject.

The same apocryphal uncertainty, embellished by strange tales and opinions, exists with respect to the Metualis. They are, however, generally supposed to be an heretical sect of Mahometanism. One thing is certain, that in nearly all the feuds of the Mountaineers, and in their opposition to the Turkish Government, the Druses and Metualis are allies, and their domestic and social institutions, habits, and customs are of a kindred character. Since the wars in which these two people were induced to join the Turkish troops against Ibrahim Pasha, under the promise that their ancient liberties and privileges should be secured to them, a continual struggle has been going on between them and the centralising Turkish Government, which is increasingly anxious to break down the power of the Emirs, and to assimilate these mountain tribes to the rest of the Empire.

In all these struggles Druses and Metualis are alike looking towards England for help and protection. They consult the English Consul at Damascus upon every emergency, and it was owing solely to his efforts that they did not break out in 1851, on occasion of the threatened introduction of the conscription. Besides the efficiency of British protection, a singular idea is spread all over the Mahometan East, which encourages their favourable estimation of the English. They suppose that the English (a generic name for Protestants) are of the same religion as themselves. They allege that all other religions have a Kitab (book of revelations), viz. the Mahometans the Koran,—the Christians (under which name members of the Greek and Roman Churches are comprised) 'the Ingil,' *i. e.* the Gospel,—and the Jews the Pentateuch; but the English and Druses have none. It is impossible to tell how this idea originated; most probably some of the Greek and Roman Catholic priests supplied so valuable a piece of information. However this may be, it is undeniable that their trust is in England. These expectations assist in securing for the English that influence in Syria which is now not slight, since the name serves as the best passport everywhere, and even through those districts into which the officials of the Turkish Government themselves dare nor penetrate.

Thus Mahometanism, the common centre in which the Eastern races have been hitherto united, is now gradually losing its hold over them as a combined group of nations, and the different reli-

gious and national elements are separately emerging from that union in which they have been all but absorbed. The Eastern States, built on a theocratic union, naturally resent its growing decay, and seek for a substitute for that bond which has hitherto kept them together. The Ottoman Empire, the great representative of the Mahometan East, whose Padishah is Emir al Muemin (Ruler of the Believers), has been for some time struggling to prevent this stealthy but gradual dissolution.

Thus, since the late Sultan Mahmoud,—indeed contemporaneously with his predecessor, Selim,—the chief care of the rulers has been given to counteract the impending fate by closer centralisation of all power in Constantinople, by the abolition of all provincial, national, and religious dissimilarities, and by an imitation of European institutions. The reduction of the former great pashaliks, the division of the great military and civil offices, the establishment of an army after the European system, the proclaimed equality in the eye of the law of all subjects whether Mahometan or Rayas,—distinctly exhibit this tendency. But these ideas, which have animated the rulers, have found no sympathy in the governed. On the contrary, they have excited distrust and aversion among the immense majority of the people. Besides the heterogeneous national and religious elements which are embraced within the comprehensive Ottoman Empire, and which long to shake off the heavy yoke of the imperial government, the Turkish population itself looks with silent indignation at the violations of those old habits and customs which are revered, like sacred relics, by all Eastern people, and they reluctantly comply with the new-fangled commands which they dare not disobey. The unwillingness of the people to behold a senseless centralisation, and a servile imitation of misapplied Western ideas, substituted for home-grown habits of centuries, indicates a true feeling and sense of their position, which cannot be disregarded. This retrograde tendency — as it is called — may be and is partly influenced by ignorance and bigotry, but it declares the hollowness of the basis on which the new institutions are said to be built.

The attitude of the Ottoman Empire during the pending dispute with Russia must have opened even the most biassed eyes in this respect. In vain were all the resources and springs of administration concentrated at Constantinople, the unwieldy machinery would not work, and was tossed about according to the interests, not to say whims, of friend and foe. It was a body without soul. Centralisation requires homogeneous elements, or at least supposes unconsciousness of the existing differences. Neither of these conditions is to be found in the

present case. The Ottoman, like the Austrian, empire is an aggregate of small nationalities, which, divided among themselves by differences of race, language, and religion, such as render a true national union impossible; while, on the other hand, these heterogeneous elements, which hitherto have been in a passive state of inertness, begin to show signs of a new and vigorous life, and endeavour to obtain a corresponding degree of free action.

Any attempt to suppress this tendency by centralising all action in the Government alone, will only lead to disruption. And what then? Anarchy, or a Russian satrapy. For none of the small fragments of nationalities would be strong enough to incorporate the others, while each of them is jealous enough to sacrifice at any moment every thing to a momentary triumph over its neighbour. This hatred and jealousy was always the keystone of Turkish policy, and is as true to-day, when the Catholic Clementi and Miridithi tribes serve the Mahometans with marvellous zeal against their kindred the Greek Montenegrins, and when the Greek high clergy forms the best and most subservient tool for the oppression of their own Greco-Slavonic flock, as of yore, when hundreds of thousands of Bosnians turned Mahometans in order to rule and oppress their own Christian countrymen, and to vent their revenge against their neighbours belonging to the Latin Church.

Whose interests would be most served by letting loose these passions without control,—those of the distant heretical English or those of the neighbouring orthodox Slavonic Muscovites? are the Greeks, forming hardly more than a fifth of the population of European Turkey, equally despised by Osmanlis, Servians, Bosnians, Albanians, Moldavians, Wallachians, and even by Bulgarians, and requiring the united aid of the three greatest Powers in the world to keep up a sickly existence, likely to bring order and fresh vigour into this chaos, and to become the regenerators of Eastern Europe and the founders of a restored Byzantine empire? These are two questions which we leave, without further comment, to the reader's consideration.

One way out of this dilemma would be a federalism under the supremacy of the Sultan; a state of things quite in accordance with the true spirit of Mahometanism, which, until lately, never interfered with the internal affairs of its non-Mahometan subjects; a federalism which would insure to the different nationalities the freedom necessary for the development of their national life, and counteract at the same time all intrigues of Russia by the interests and sympathies of the people themselves. These can and will be dangerous only as long as this

growing desire for a national development is not satisfied, for they prefer the lesser of two evils, the incorporation with the kindred Russians to the absorption by the Turkish centralisation; but they will certainly not hesitate for one moment between a half independent national government and a Russian despotism.

Already the little concessions which have been made were sufficient to foil the exertions of the numerous Russian agitators sent to excite disturbances among the Slavonic Rayas; and perhaps the want of appreciation of his kind designs on the part of these latter may have had some cooling effect on the benevolent ardour of the mighty Czar, and induced him to listen with more readiness to the mild representations of the Western Powers; for had he been sure of the co-operation of the millions of rayas, neither the protests nor the fleets of all Europe would perhaps have checked his advance.

Federalism and not centralisation ought to be the basis of a regeneration of the Ottoman Empire. Stamboul may be the centre, or rather the apex, of a great confederation of nationalities; and the ardent desire for a national existence might thus be satisfied, while the ambitious designs of foreign rulers, eager for the partition of Turkey, would be frustrated.*

The other attempt to engraft the fruits of a foreign and dissimilar civilisation upon the old stock will prove equally vain, if not more dangerous, because it presupposes the possibility of blotting out from the memory of a people the history of centuries, and effacing the characteristic traits which long ages have imprinted upon the physical and moral nature of the Eastern races. In fact it attempts to begin a new era by falsely imagining that a tabula rasa is in existence. Institutions and civilisation are not transferable at the sudden wish of an autocrat, although this wish may be dictated by the desire to benefit the people. They must develop themselves with the natural growth of the forces of the people, and be the expression of their wants.

It is true that we have spoken of a seeming approach of

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* As our readers will have observed, it was our intention not so much to consider the Turkish question under its political aspect, as to treat of one of the agents whose influence will be felt in the solution of this embarrassing problem, — namely, the Western Asiatic races and their representative Mahometanism. The author of the book which heads our Article has not, in our opinion, fully appreciated this important agent in the various solutions which he suggests, which is the more to be regretted as his work offers many sound and interesting suggestions.

some of the Eastern races to the Western nations, but this we have described to be the consequence of their hatred towards each other. Their hatred and contempt of the Giaour and Frengi is as burning as ever, perhaps even more so, because they are forced to implore his aid. Shylock was not despised and abhorred the less after he had supplied the wants of the Christian than he had been before. The Eastern seeks Christian aid in the same spirit and with the same disgust as he would eat swine's flesh were it the only means of saving him from starvation. This aversion to Europeans is like that towards the above-named dainty, — it is the growth of ages and is instilled into their minds from earliest youth; it is therefore more difficult to eradicate than if it were produced by reflection or personal experience. Need we have any further proof of this than the readiness with which, not only the refractory Albanians and Bosnians, but also the Egyptians and Arabs, nay, even the Druses and Metualis, forgetting their grievances, and their hatred of their Turkish rulers, flock under the standard of the Prophet in order to resist foreign encroachment?

It is not by roughly transplanting Western institutions into the East, that the contrast existing between the two will be softened. Such a course will only produce greater opposition. Approximation must be gradual. It must be accomplished by breaking down the barriers which have hitherto kept the opposing elements separate, and by facilitating an intercourse beneficial to both parties. The people, not the rulers only, of the East, must be brought into frequent contact with those of the West, and this contact must take place where the contrasts are not so strongly developed, namely, between adjoining races.

It is a singular but undeniable fact, that maritime intercourse, unless connected with colonisation, never leads to an assimilation or even a permanent exchange of ideas between nations; for which reason an insular position is the best for the undisturbed development of a people. Ideas are diffused by land. Contiguous races have therefore a similarity of ideas and habits which we do not find between remoter races, although belonging to the same degree of civilisation. Affinity of race — frequent contact in peace and war, past and present — physical circumstances, such as navigable rivers and open plains, — act as so many connecting links between the adjoining races. Such links may be found between the Eastern and Western races.

The course of these lines of union seems to follow the sun; at least, with very few exceptions, they tend from East to West. The most remote in distance and character from the East is

certainly the Anglo-Saxon race, which, with its strongly developed individuality and national feeling, presents the most perfect contrast to the Oriental nature, and may be said to be the representative of the Occidental character. The Romance races—the Italian, Spanish, and French—follow next. They exhibit much less development of individuality; still they possess a decided Western character and strongly marked national feelings. The Germans, placed in the heart of Europe, stand in the middle between the two antitheses. Their feebly developed national feeling, and their cosmopolitan nature, give to them a sort of neutral position between East and West. They are on one side connected with Western civilisation, and on the other touch the Magyar people, which is Oriental in its descent, traditions, and to a great extent in its habits and ideas. An European colony, of Eastern origin, and of a kindred race with the neighbouring Turks, the Magyar race has been drawn by historical events into the circle of Western civilisation, many of whose ideas it has adopted. It thus forms an intermediate link between the Eastern and the Western nations, and seems destined to bring them nearer to each other. Its geographical position indicates the same destiny. Enclosed on the North and South by high mountains, its river system forms a natural channel from the West to the East. The mighty Danube, proceeding from the very centre of Germany, and receiving the tribute of all the rivers of middle Europe, seems to be the natural high road for commerce and civilisation. It has already opened the long closed barriers between Magyar and Turk, and late events have not a little contributed to renew the contact between these two kindred people, which had been interrupted for ages,—with this difference, however, that the arm which was formerly raised only to slay, has been now extended to receive and to defend as brothers, their long estranged kindred and ancient enemies.

It is a most remarkable circumstance in this respect, that during the brief interval when the boundary between Hungary and Turkey was under the control of the independent Hungarian Government in the years 1848–49, that by a reasonable alteration of the almost prohibitory Austrian tariff previously existing between the two countries, and again restored since the termination of the war, an incredible amount of commercial intercourse immediately commenced, and Turkish merchants came in considerable numbers even to towns situated in the very heart of Hungary.

Steam—the irresistible spirit of the nineteenth century—has already opened the iron gates of the Danube, and induced the

grave Osmanlis—those professed scorners of commerce—to try to compete with the Austrian Lloyds for the traffic of the Bosphorus. The iron rails, which like veins and arteries seem to convey life over the earth's surface, already connect Hungary with the West, and are now branching towards the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. A few years yet, and Stamboul will be touched by the network of European railways.

The Danube and the railway can and will then be the mighty media for the exchange of material and mental produce between the East and the West. They are the most powerful agents for bringing the Oriental and Occidental populations nearer to each other. The gradual approach of the two great opposing and dissimilar elements through the two kindred races of Turk and Magyar will soothe the harshness in both; but whether a contrast, founded on such wide and natural dissimilarities of race, will ever cease, or be even considerably mitigated, is a secret which is now buried in the unfathomable abysses of futurity.

Art. IV.—1. *The Estimates of the Army, Ordnance, and Naval Services, from* 1*st of April,* 1853, *to* 31*st March,* 1854.

2. *The Peril of Portsmouth. French Fleets and English Forts.* By James Fergusson, Esq. London: 1853.

3. *A Flying Shot at Fergusson, and his Peril of Portsmouth.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Jebb, C. B. Royal Engineers, London: 1853.

4. *Copies of a Correspondence between the Board of Treasury and the Board of Admiralty on the subject of Manning the Royal Navy; together with Copies of a Report of a Committee of Naval Officers, and of Her Majesty's Order in Council relating thereto.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

We confess that we have always been totally unable to comprehend the principle on which certain persons have objected to any outlay for perfecting such a defensive system as should not only place this country in a posture of security against a possible attack by foreign Powers, but also remove the temptation offered by the state of weakness into which our defences have fallen during a long peace. No man would neglect to insure his warehouse or his ricks, because his neighbours declared that they were animated by the most friendly feelings towards him, and

had no intention of applying the torch to his property. National defence is national insurance; and we do not think any Government can maintain a character for prudence, that neglects to complete the insurance of this country against aggression, although we may not only continue to receive the most pacific assurances from foreign governments, but even give them the fullest credit for sincerity in their professions.

Neither do we understand the merit of making a mystery of what we are doing, or of hesitating to name the quarter from which we might most reasonably anticipate an attack. On the contrary, we are of opinion, that by showing to the world how completely we are prepared for a contingency so frightful to contemplate as an invasion of England: by showing how desperate an attempt would be, and how many chances there are against its success: we remove one of the strongest inducements to make it. France is the country whose geographical position affords the most favourable opportunities for attacking us: the invasion of England has been as common a topic of conversation there as among ourselves, and is looked upon by the educated class of Frenchmen with equal alarm; but they are wholly without influence to prevent it, should the army and the masses determine on an attack. How much wiser, then, it will be to discuss freely and openly our situation, if by so doing we can convince the firebrands who would hail with acclamations an outrage that would once more set the world in flames, that such an attempt must almost as inevitably as deservedly be utterly and disgracefully defeated. Let it then be taken for granted that the blow, if it must come, will be struck by France: if sufficiently defended against her attacks, we need fear those of no other nation.

It is desirable that we should ascertain two points; that the premium we are called upon to pay is not too high: and that the insurance, when completed, will be valid. With regard to the first, we are confident, that if any reader will picture to himself the horrors which would attend the violation of our virgin shores by a hostile army,—and the utmost force of his imagination can not overcharge the picture,—he will confess that no price can be too high to pay for immunity. The remarks which we are about to offer on the different branches of the public service immediately connected with the defence of the country, and on some of the schemes for improving them, cannot fail to be interesting in themselves; and while they will show how much has been effected, and how much more is in progress towards the attainment of that great end, it will be highly satisfactory to find that a system of defence, calculated, as far

as human foresight can make it so, to secure our country against aggression, can be completed without adding materially to our present expenditure, and with a confident hope of future diminution.

It was observed by the Secretary at War, in bringing forward the Army Estimates for the present year*, that we now maintain an army greater by 21,000 men than in the year 1835, — the model year of the economists, — while the gross estimate for 1853-4 is only 117,234*l.* in excess of that for the former year. But if the estimates be examined in detail, it will be found that considerable additional expenses have been incurred in the interval on the recommendation of Commissioners, Parliamentary Committees, and other authorities; and that, on deducting these, it will appear that even with this powerful addition to its numbers, our army actually costs less than the smaller force of 1835.

This result is partly owing to the diminished cost of a soldier's maintenance, which averages now, officers and men inclusive, 40*l.* 3*s.* per head, instead of 42*l.* 16*s.* in 1835; partly to reductions in the non-effective branches, but in a very great degree to improved management. The condition of the soldier has been greatly improved in the mean time, by the reduction of stoppages for rations abroad: by the introduction of rewards for good conduct; of barrack libraries; of schools, both for children and adults; of improved barrack accommodation, which however is still susceptible of much amendment: and in other minor matters.

The discipline of the army is good, and the want of experience in field duties, to which most of our officers and men, excepting such as have served in India, are strangers, owing to the employment of our troops in small detachments, has been greatly corrected by the exercises at the camp on Chobham common, where the service of an army in the field has been carried on in all its branches.

A militia force of 65,000 active and zealous young men will, before long, be sufficiently trained to act with effect, in conjunction with the troops of the line and the artillery, if required; and we may look forward to the efficiency of this economical force, enabling the Government, at no very distant day, to dispense with a portion of the regular army, which it is now requisite to maintain at home. We hope that no future assemblies of troops for training and evolutions will be seen without a portion of Yeomanry and Militia brigaded with the line.

The enrolled pensioners form an available force of 15,837 old

* See 'Times,' February 26. 1853.

and experienced soldiers. Under the above heads, and not including the constabulary force, which under certain circumstances would increase the defensive strength, we have, in round numbers, the following force in Great Britain and Ireland.

	Cavalry.	Infantry.
Regular Troops - -	7,000	45,000
Yeomanry and Militia - -	14,000	65,000
Enrolled Pensioners - -		16,000
	21,000	126,000

The number of men voted under the Ordnance Estimates is, in round numbers, 15,000 artillery and 2,000 sappers and miners. Of these, 10,000 artillery, including 1,200 horse artillery and 660 sappers, of whom 400 are employed on the trigonometrical survey, are in the United Kingdom, making a grand total of: —

Cavalry and Horse Artillery.	Infantry and Artillery.
21,200	135,460

The Ordnance estimates show an increase of above half a million over last year, a large proportion of which is due to works of defence in progress or to be erected. The charge is 246,627*l.* for works to be executed, of which 201,576*l.* at home, and 33,910*l.* abroad, together, 235,486*l.*, are for fortifications alone, not including the necessary barracks and store-houses in the new works.

The former of these sums is allotted, in various proportions, to the erection and improvement of works at the mouths of the Thames and Medway, at Dover, on the Sussex coast, at Portsmouth and Gosport, Portland Harbour, Guernsey and Alderney, Devonport, Milford and Liverpool; the harbour defence of which last important place has been resolved on since the year 1839, money has been voted for the purpose in 1846-7, and 1852-3; but most unaccountably, little or no progress has been made towards its completion up to this time.

No argument is needed to prove the necessity of rendering all the above places capable of defence; but, relying as England must mainly do, on her fleet for successful resistance to an attempt at foreign invasion; and giving due credit to the report, that when the difference arose between this country and France respecting Tahiti, King Louis Philippe had determined to make a sudden attack on Portsmouth, the success of which his officers did confidently anticipate, it will not be amiss to consider briefly the present condition of that, our greatest naval

arsenal, the destruction of which would cripple our fleet to an almost incalculable extent, and whose position, — but eight hours' steaming from Cherbourg, — would render it the most probable at which to aim a sudden blow.

Mr. Fergusson, a gentleman known as the author of 'An 'Essay on a proposed New System of Fortification,' has, in the work whose title stands at the head of this Article, taken a very able view of the condition of Portsmouth, as regards its defences, both by sea and land; and has suggested a scheme of defensive works on his new system.

Our military readers, and probably many non-professional ones, will remember to have seen in the Gallery of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, a formidable looking model of a fortress, circular in form, with tier rising above tier of ramparts bristling with cannon. This was the embodiment, on a small scale, of the theory of fortification intended by its author to supersede those systems hitherto in use; and they who amongst the multitude of objects presented to them, overlooked this one, and yet feel a curiosity to behold it, will find the model at the United Service Institution in Scotland Yard.

A civilian, although he has 'from boyhood made fortification 'his favourite pursuit,' may not at first sight appear to be the fittest person to originate a system of fortification that should place the besieged on a footing of equality with the besieger, which it has hitherto baffled the most scientific military engineers to effect; nor would he be thought likely to receive a very cordial reception from them, when he ventured to trespass in their peculiar province. It is therefore no slight evidence of the merit of Fergusson's system, and of the liberality of our engineers, that this system has attained, during the summer, a very full and fair discussion on its merits, in the theatre of the United Service Institution, when many able officers spoke on both sides, and we believe the balance of argument was in favour of Mr. Fergusson.

Lieut. Colonel Adams, Professor of Fortification at Sandhurst College, had in the previous summer delivered a lecture in the same theatre on Fergusson's system, in which, after pointing out 'the most striking advantages of the system,' he declared that 'he could confidently leave it to work its own 'way to success.' This lecture is, by permission of Colonel Adams, appended to the 'Peril of Portsmouth.'

To an uneducated eye the lines of a fortress present a complication of zig-zags most difficult of comprehension; we will endeavour in a few words to make their object clear.

The great principle of the modern system of fortification is

to prevent the approach of an enemy within the extreme point of depression of the guns mounted on the walls; and for this purpose, every face or front of the works is so placed that it is flanked or enfiladed by the guns on some other face. This, called the bastion system, which in theory is beautiful, almost perfect, entirely fails in practice to fulfil the conditions required in a fortress: so infinitely superior is the science of attack to that of defence, that the military engineer can calculate almost to a day the time required to reduce any place. The main defects of this system are, the insecurity of its flanking defences from their liability to be enfiladed, and the inability to use direct fire from the salient, and therefore the most exposed points. Accordingly, the first operation in a siege, after establishing the first parallel, is to erect batteries on the prolongation of the faces flanking the part to be approached; and the zig-zags between the parallels are carried forward in front of the salients or capitals of the bastions, whence there can be no direct fire on them.

The principle of Mr. Fergusson's system is, by enabling the fort to bring a preponderance of fire on any point, to overwhelm the batteries of the besiegers. To obtain this end, he rejects bastions and outworks, and replaces them with a work of a curvilinear outline, adapted to the form of the ground; and from a very wide and deep ditch, procures earth to form a mound from 60 to 80 feet high; this mound he fashions into four tiers of ramparts, the first on the level of the country, the others rising sixteen feet one above the other. Colonel Adams calculates that a Fergusson fort can bring nearly 100 guns to bear on any point at a distance of 600 yards, if the embrasures are cut to allow a gun to traverse 20° each way. A second great advantage claimed for this system is its immunity from enfilade. A third great advantage is the economy of its construction as compared with a fort having masonry revêtements; the expense of the masonry of a front of fortification being from 60,000*l.* to 80,000*l.*, while the earth-work is only 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* In a Fergusson fort there is but little masonry, but a larger amount of earth-work, and a much greater expenditure in ordnance; when completed, however, it is calculated not to have cost one fourth of the sum required for a bastioned fort on the same ground. A fourth advantage claimed for this system, and one of great importance in this country, is, that it does not require a garrison of disciplined soldiers; the sole manœuvre being the working of the guns, a proportion of artillerymen only is required, the remainder may be composed of infantry, militia, seamen, coast-guard men, and dockyard battalions.

The most important objections raised against this system are,

the complete immunity of the besieger from sorties, and the consequent facility he will have in making his approaches, even up to the edge of the ditch; that not only are the lines of a Fergusson fort open to a destructive enfilading and ricochet fire, but that from the magnitude of the mark, this fire may be maintained as efficiently by night as by day, while the enfilading batteries would be perfectly protected by thick épaulements from the fire of the fort; that riflemen in pits would silence every gun in front of them; and lastly, that the cost is vastly underrated. We conceive that Colonel Adams has refuted the former of these objections in his lecture; but, on the score of cost, we will offer a few remarks, for that is one of the strongest arguments for the application of Mr. Fergusson's system to defensive works in this country. His estimate for the cost of a work in front of Gosport, to which we shall allude presently, is 200,000*l.* A critic*, who is said to be an officer of the highest professional and practical ability, has objected that this estimate would be exceeded twice or thrice. We may grant this point, but the non-professional reader will be surprised to learn that the same line fortified according to the rules of fortification would cost little, if any thing, less than 1,000,000*l.*†

Amongst the critics of the Fergusson system of fortification, the author of 'A Flying Shot at Fergusson' deserves mention. It is a very amusing little brochure, more replete with jokes than arguments, in which the gallant author does, to his own evident satisfaction, completely demolish a Fergusson fort. It is remarkable that although Colonel Jebb is 'startled' at a civilian claiming to have discovered that which for many a long year has puzzled the most eminent engineers: viz., how to restore to the *defence* the superiority it possessed over the *attack* previous to the

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* In the U. S. Magazine for February, 1853.

† Since the above was written, we have read some remarks by Lieutenant-Colonel Portlock, R.E. (at page 281. of Colonel Chesney's 'Observations on Fire Arms',) on the changes in the system of defensive works, which will result from the modern improvements, giving greatly increased range, and accuracy of fire to small-arms. The Colonel infers that the Engineer will gain some one of the following advantages in all fortresses.

1. The power of using larger lines of defence.
2. The diminution in the number of salients.
3. The power of uniting naturally strong and salient points, by simple lines, without intervening salients.
4. An effective co-operation of cannon and musketry in defence.

Thus, Colonel Portlock, arguing from entirely different premises, makes a near approach to the principles of the Fergusson System.

invention of gunpowder: and although he satirizes, with some degree of justice, Mr. Fergusson's assumption of impregnability for his system; he yet makes a statement which clearly admits the superiority of that system over those hitherto in use; for in describing his method of attacking such a fortress (p. 16.), he tells us, that in order to evade the overwhelming fire of the besieged, he should adopt the 'novel expedient' of placing the besiegers' guns in 'sunken batteries seven feet deep, without 'any parapets,' and so afford the besiegers a less definite object to fire at. The Colonel likewise admits (p. 1.), that Mr. Fergusson is 'supposed to have had the best of the discussion at the 'United Service Institution, and his flag still flies triumphant 'on his so called impregnable fortress.'

We will now proceed to consider how Mr. Fergusson proposes to apply his system to the defence of Portsmouth. The land defences consist 'of three separate and distinct lines of fortification, 'the oldest being those of Portsmouth, the trace of which belongs 'to the age of Charles II. and William III., though somewhat 'improved since their days; those of Portsea are of the time of 'George III., and very far superior, both in trace and profile; 'while those of Gosport are little better than field-works, con-'sisting merely of an earthen rampart, unrevêted, and without 'outworks; the only defence against even an attack *de vive force* 'being a shallow cunette of very miserable dimensions.' (P. 31.)

We need not here consider the works of Portsea and Portsmouth toward the land, the island of Portsea being by nature so difficult of access, as to require but little to make it almost impregnable on that side. Gosport is the weak point, and the very inefficient works there, being still further weakened by the ground in front of them being built over, within musket shot, such cover is afforded to an attacking force that it is probable they would be carried by a *coup-de-main*, when the harbour and dockyard would be laid at the mercy of the enemy. It may be observed, that if our fleet were decoyed to a distance by a simulated attack elsewhere, there could be little resistance offered to an enemy disembarking west of Stokes Bay. The Government plan for improving the defences, so far as it is at present developed, consists in the erection of a fort, estimated to cost 45,000*l.* It is said that three principal works, connected by smaller forts, are to form a line of defence from Elson's Hard to Stokes Bay, about 2000 yards in front of the dockyard. If this be correct, then the estimate for the whole will probably far exceed that of the work proposed by Mr. Fergusson.

Mr. Fergusson proposes to form a line of defence on his system, as above described, from Frater Point on the harbour,

to Gomer's Ponds, on the western extreme of Stokes Bay. From the front of this line, the dockyard would be 4,500 yards distant, far beyond the range of shot or shell; the ground is more open, and much of it being waste and marshy, it is less costly to purchase, and is better adapted for defence. A ditch 200 feet wide, with 15 feet of water in it, and a covered way in front, would afford earth for the ramparts. The line selected being three miles long, there would be twelve miles of rampart, capable, if fully armed, of mounting 3000 guns, and in any case certainly able to bring three guns to bear on one of the enemy's. A return on the right, to prevent an enemy from turning the works on that flank, and a military canal from the left to Fort Monkton, to prevent a landing in Stokes Bay, complete a summary view of Mr. Fergusson's proposal; which we do not assert to be the best possible work for the purpose, but which, from its evident advantages over the few detached works which it is understood are to be erected, including the superior economy claimed for it, unquestionably deserves the utmost consideration. We differ on this point from Colonel Jebb who (p. 32.) holds economy of construction to be a secondary consideration. The situation of this country makes her case very different from those which are liable to become the battle ground of nations, and where consequently first-class fortresses are absolutely necessary. There are other works proposed on Portsea Island, and at Porchester Castle,—for a description of which we refer the reader to the book itself, reserving the few additional remarks we have to make for that portion which relates to the sea defences of Portsmouth, on the strength and weakness of which we differ very materially from Mr. Fergusson.

In considering the attack of Portsmouth by a squadron passing the batteries and entering the harbour, the author sets aside, as incapable of forcing the entrance, sailing ships, because they require a leading wind; and paddle-wheel steamers, because they are deficient in broadside guns, and 'the batteries are sin-'gularly well placed for hitting or disabling their paddles, and 'the parts of their machinery above water.' We would remark here, that if the batteries are so *singularly well* placed, they can scarcely deserve the severe judgment which Mr. Fergusson subsequently passes on them, He proceeds thus:—

'But it could be attempted by screw line-of-battle ships, and if I am not very much mistaken, with every prospect of success. The French now possess four such ships, the "Napoleon," the "Charlemagne," the "Austerlitz,"* and the "Jean Bart," and are understood to be building

* It may not be generally known, that when the French fleet passed Malta, on its way to the Levant, in May, of the three screw-ships in

others. These vessels carry from 90 to 100 guns of the heaviest calibre; and though the speed of the "Napoleon" is probably not so great as reported—thirteen or fourteen knots an hour—they are all equal to at least ten knots an hour in smooth water, and with a flood-tide in the springs, both of which they could easily command.

'At this rate of speed, about ten minutes would elapse from the time when they first came within effective reach of the guns of Southsea Castle till they were safely past all danger and anchored inside the harbour.' (P. 15.)

Having thus summarily given possession of Portsmouth Harbour to four sail-of-the-line, the author proceeds to consider the means of resistance, inefficient as they are, in his opinion, to detain an enemy even for ten minutes. He enumerates 12 guns mounted on Southsea Castle, 21 on the King's Bastion and the adjacent faces, 10 on the flank of the Platform and the orillion of the Point Batteries, 12 on the Point Battery, and 24 on Blockhouse Fort; in all, 79 pieces, most of them heavy ordnance. Then, stating how ineffective most of these guns would be, he clenches an argument which he seems to think unanswerable, with a quotation from General Lewis's 'Aide Memoire:'—'No battery or batteries, however strong, can 'stop or prevent any ship of war or steamer from entering a 'harbour when the navigation is free and the course nearly 'direct, if she chooses her time.' We must beg to inform Mr. Fergusson that this opinion is very far from supporting his argument, inasmuch as the navigation into Portsmouth Harbour is *not* free, the course is *not* nearly direct, and she can *not* choose her time. Although ships of the line do now, by aid of steam, pass in or out with their lower deck guns on board, they can only do so at high water spring tides, and, in these days of peace, when the ramparts are manned only with a crowd of admiring friends, a slow rate of going and the utmost circumspection are required to conduct a heavy ship in safety through the narrow and tortuous channel leading from Spithead into the harbour; even with frigates, the period for passing is very limited, and the passage never attempted till the stream of tide has slackened.

If such be the case under favourable circumstances, it is evident the difficulties must be multiplied many fold were the passage to be attempted during a heavy cannonade between the batteries and the ships; when, even if the pilot could see his way through the clouds of smoke, the helmsman could scarcely comprehend his orders or signs. Let us, however, suppose, that the adventurous enemy has reached the commencement of the

in the fleet, not one could use her screw. It is notorious that the 'Napoleon' is shaken to pieces.

channel between the buoys of the Spit and the Boyne: he is then less than a mile from the anchorage at Spithead, about 2000 yards from the angle of the King's Bastion, and half that distance from Southsea Castle, towards which his bows are directed, until, having rounded the end of the Spit, his course is pretty direct to the harbour's mouth. On arriving within 600 yards of the King's Bastion, and 1,300 yards from Block-house Fort, which is right ahead, he enters the narrowest part of the channel, now marked by buoys, which assuredly would not be left there to guide a foe, while the leading marks would almost certainly be obscured by smoke. The width of this part is not 200 yards, and if some of the leading ships did not here take the ground, they would be fortunate indeed. But let them pass through that difficulty, and, notwithstanding that they have followed the singular recommendation of Mr. Fergusson, and have 'coiled their hemp cables in their bows, and stowed there 'the spare sails and hammocks!' further, suppose that they have not caught fire, and approach the mouth of the harbour. Will they find it a haven of refuge after the perils of the passage, or will they not rather find guardships and blockships laid across ready to pour in a storm of shot as one by one they opened that narrow entrance, such as no ships in the world could withstand? They who witnessed the tremendous effect of the concussion shells this summer upon the 'York' hulk, will be disposed to think that, instead of our sinking ships to prevent the entrance of an enemy, it would be the sunken foe that would cause an obstruction to ourselves in the mouth of Portsmouth harbour.

We are of opinion with Mr. Fergusson, that a battery of heavy guns between Southsea Castle and the King's Bastion would be a valuable addition to the defences on the sea side; but there are many points whose weakness claims precedence, as, for example, Sconces' Point and Warden's Ledge, for forts at which places 25,000*l.* and 15,000*l.* have been voted this year.

Mr. Fergusson devotes several pages to the discussion of various modes of invasion which may be apprehended, and of defence which may be adopted, into which we need not follow him: the public mind having become fully alive to the necessity of providing a system of defence capable of resisting successfully the attacks of an enemy; or, what is more ardently to be desired, of strength and completeness sufficient to deter him from so rash an attempt.

The Navy estimates for the present year greatly exceed those of 1835-6, with which year we will again make a comparison. The votes for the two years stand thus:—

	Effective Branch.	Non-effective.	Total.
1835–6 - -	£2,416,300	£1,561,423	£3,977,723
1853–4 - -	4,763,440	1,319,103	6,082,543

On comparing the estimates, it appears that the excess of the present over the former year may be broadly stated to lie under the five following heads: —

	1835–6.	1853-4.
Wages - - -	- £993,054	£1,736,236
Victuals - - -	- 339,825	615,426
Wages to Artificers in Establishments at home	350,612	683,648
Naval Stores - -	- 361,713	1,023,011
New Works - -	- 62,440	256,948
	£2,107,644	£4,315,269

The two first items being dependent on the number of seamen, which is proportioned to the requirements of the public service, we need only show the numbers for the two years.

	Seamen.	Boys.	Marines.	Total.
1835-6 - -	15,500	2,000	9,000	26,000
1853-4 - -	31,000	2,000	12,500	45,500

The increase under the other heads may be referred mainly to the expenses entailed by the progress of steam navigation: to the erection and working of establishments for making and repairing machinery, — the steam factories at Woolwich and Portsmouth alone employ 1,200 artificers; — to the enlargement of old, and the excavation of new docks, capable of receiving ships of the greatly increased dimensions now built: to the purchase of engines, machinery, coals. These are a few of the most important sources of increased expenditure; but the result is, that we possess the largest and most powerful navy in the world, composed in part of the finest ships ever seen.

As our object is only to present a general view of the present condition of our national defences, we shall not enter into any detail of the numbers and force of the ships of the Royal Navy, as a whole, but merely note some particulars of the steam branch of the service, which has become so important.

In 1835, the navy possessed only 16 steamers of all denominations.

In 1845, the force had increased to 55 vessels, of the gross nominal power of 11,500 horses.

In 1853, thereare about 170 steam vessels of a gross nominal power of 45,500 horses, besides eight or 10 line-of-battle ships

and frigates building. In 1845, the average horse-power was a little over 200: it is now about 266, showing a large increase in the power, as well as in the number of our steamers. The nominal horse-power is by no means to be taken as a measure of the actual power: for example, the engines of the 'Agamemnon,' nominally of 600, actually work up to more than 2000 horses. The original cost of engines is from 55*l.* to 60*l.* per nominal horse-power; thus, the machinery of our steam-navy, at the present time, represents a capital of above two-and-a-half millions.

We will close our remarks on this branch of our subject by stating, that a few weeks would enable us to send to sea a fleet of seventeen sail of screw line-of-battle ships, a number which next spring will see largely augmented; and we may challenge the world to show two ships, in their respective classes, superior to the 'Duke of Wellington' of 130, and the 'Impérieuse' of 60 guns. The naval review of the 11th August was unquestionably a brilliant demonstration of the steam power of the British navy; but it has led, not unnaturally, to some exaggerated notions, and an undue depreciation of vessels whose sails are their only means of propulsion. The most important step hitherto taken in the adaptation of steam to the purposes of maritime warfare, was the adoption of the screw propeller, with which the whole of the broadside becomes available for carrying guns; and the ship, unlike the paddle steamer, is equal to any other sailing ship when not under steam. Now this last quality is of the highest importance: for we believe that a vastly larger proportion of the service in any future war, will be performed under sail than under steam. Indeed, if we reflect on the enormous supplies of coal that it will be requisite to send to the depôts and arsenals on foreign stations, it will be evident that to keep pace with the consumption must be a matter of extreme difficulty under the casualties of war; and it is by no means impossible that the day may arrive when the fate of nations will depend on the capture, or safe arrival at its destination, of a convoy of colliers, whose precious freight will then more than ever deserve the appellation of Black Diamonds.

We could have wished, had our limits permitted, to have entered into some detail respecting the great improvements made in our dockyard system in the last five years. We can only state some of the results.

At page 389. of the Report of the Commons' Committee on Dockyard Appointments, we find a return of the numbers of men employed in the yards in each year since 1848. In that and the previous year, upwards of 12,000 men were employed,

which has been gradually reduced to 9,700; with a saving in wages in 1851-2, as compared with 1846-7, of 139,105*l.*; and notwithstanding the increased activity in the yards of late, it has not been found necessary to add a single man to the establishments.

There is no doubt that the system introduced under the administration of Lord Auckland, which made merit, instead of political influence, the standard for advancement, has been the main cause of this beneficial change, and it is most necessary to prevent a recurrence of the scandal and mischief arising from political jobbing in this department of the public service. It has been proposed to effect this object by disfranchising the voters who work in the yards, which would be at once an act of injustice and inefficient to the purpose. If the junior lords of the Admiralty were permanently appointed, and prohibited from sitting in Parliament, and all appointments and promotions in the dockyards were made by the board, giving to no one member any especial patronage in them, we believe the end would be fully answered. For the good of the service generally, we hope ere long to see this idea adopted, the principle of which has been acknowledged in the retention of some lords through successive administrations.

We have a fine fleet, let us consider how it is to be manned. It has become the fashion of late with some writers to ascribe the difficulties experienced in raising the additional number of seamen voted by Parliament, to the unpopularity of the naval service, and to the retention of corporal punishment. We believe neither of these assertions to be based on truth.

The Report of the Committee of Naval Officers (p. 29.) calls the notice of their lordships to a letter from the Registrar General of Seamen, dated 19th November, 1852, which states that the actual number of seamen employed in British registered ships, in the year 1851, was 175,000; and, after deducting protected and exempted persons, there only remain 80,000 available for service, of whom not more than 21,000 are to be found in the United Kingdom at any one time. This fact alone proves how great difficulty must attend the providing a sudden addition of men to the navy.

The same report (p. 13.) shows, from a statistical return compiled by the Accountant-General, that, whilst Portsmouth, Plymouth, and their neighbourhood furnishes 5,689 men to the navy, Liverpool and Bristol only send 350; and the Committee justly infer from this fact, that 'where Her Majesty's 'service is best known to the seamen, it is most appreciated by 'them.'

A few facts which we have gathered, will further show that the difficulty of procuring seamen exists equally in our own mercantile marine and in that of the United States; that it is to be ascribed, in a great measure, to the very large numbers of seamen who have gone to the gold-diggings in California and Australia; which, with the general increase of trade, has caused such a scarcity of seamen, that wages have risen in the English merchant service twenty-five per cent.

The present rates of wages in the port of London are for voyages to India and the Mediterranean, about 2*l.* 10*s.* per month; to Quebec, 3*l.*; and we saw the articles of a ship which engaged a crew in July to make the voyage to Australia and back, at 3*l.* 10*s.* per month.

We saw, in the shipping office on Tower Hill, a crew of able seamen engaged to take a vessel of eighty-one tons burthen to Melbourne, at one shilling per month wages, and at the same time a crew of another ship received 45*l.* a man for the run home from the same port. Another ship, just returned from a trading voyage in the Southern Seas, engaged a crew at Hong-Kong in July, 1852, at 100 dollars a man to the first port of discharge; the money was earned at Bombay in less than four months.

By the favour of Colonel Aspinwall, Consul-General of the United States, we were shown the papers of an American ship, which had just arrived with a cargo of timber from St. John's, New Brunswick, at which port she engaged a crew for the run to England at 64 dollars a man. This being paid at the colonial rate of five dollars to the pound sterling, was equal to nearly 13*l.* for less than two months' service. In the general trade of the United States, 15 dollars a month are considered a high rate of wages, equal, at the rate of par for gold, to about 3*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.**

We have said enough to show that a great scarcity of seamen exists, which is felt equally in all services, and in all quarters of the globe; and while profits are occasionally to be made in the merchant service, such as we have noticed, it might be expected that not even the fresh advantages lately offered to seamen would draw them to the naval service; but the fact, that within six months, more than 4,000 out of the 5,000 additional seamen voted in December, 1852, were raised, affords a fair presumption that, instead of the navy being unpopular, a contrary feeling exists among seamen. The repeal of the manning clauses of the Mercantile Marine Act will doubtless relieve the tightness of the sailor market.

* 4*s.* 1¼*d.* to the dollar.

Next, with regard to corporal punishment. If the punishment of flogging were to be abolished, we must provide a substitute. Imprisonment and separation, in all but large ships, are impossible, and likewise, in some degree, punish the innocent who have to do the duty of the offenders, whose services are lost for the time. Means of imprisonment on shore, excepting on the home station, have not yet been devised. There remains a description of punishments which would be called into more frequent use; and we can faithfully assure our readers that we are firmly convinced, that no system could be devised more repulsive and harassing to the seaman, or one which would so effectually render him liable to the exercise of personal tyranny, with comparative irresponsibility on the part of his officer, as the substitution of a system of secondary punishments for that of flogging, by the authority and on the responsibility of the captain only. The checks on the undue exercise of this authority are many and powerful; first, the actual orders and regulations of the Admiralty, which absolutely prohibit the hasty infliction of punishment, and restrict the amount, in all cases; next, the knowledge that a captain sending an immoderate return of punishments is always called on for an explanation, and is looked upon unfavourably at the Admiralty; thirdly, the probability of his being held up in the public journals as a brute who gloats over and enjoys the spectacle of a flogging; and, though last not least, the aversion which every officer feels as acutely as any professional advocate of humanity to the infliction of this punishment, and which he only does inflict because it is essential to the good order and discipline which it is his highest duty to uphold.

The punishment of flogging was abolished in the United States' Navy by a vote of Congress in 1850, and the result, as reported by the Secretary of the Navy, was quoted by Sir James Graham, in the late Session.*

'The multiplication of courts-martial, and all the consequences of disorder and crime, are among the least of the apparent and growing evils of the new system. The demoralisation of both officers and men is a yet more observable consequence. The absence or prohibition of the usual punishments known to seamen has led to the invention of new penalties of the most revolting kind, in the application of which full scope has been given, and the strongest provocations administered, to that exhibition of temper and passion, which, however natural it may be to men of hasty and excitable natures, is seldom indulged without leading to cruelties that must disgrace those who practise them, and, what is more to be feared, raise a sentiment in the public mind hostile

* See the 'Times,' February 19th, 1853.

to the navy itself. Of that large number of men who have heretofore constituted the pride of our navy by their good seamanship and highly respectable personal deportment, composing the great body of our mariners, — of these men, it is a fact which invites the deepest concern of Congress, we are daily deprived by their refusal to enter again into the service, until, as they ask, they shall have some assurance that a better system of discipline may be restored.'

Thus it appears that, where the trial has been made, the abolition, not the retention, of corporal punishment has produced unpopularity.

We do not, however, conceal our satisfaction, — believing as we do that our navy is in a state of good discipline, — in learning that the number of punishments has diminished from 1,363 in 1848, to 578 in 1852. It is probable that the number will be still further reduced by the power given to commanding officers, in an Act of the late Session, for making better provision concerning the entry and service of seamen, to punish deserters summarily by committing them to prison. Whether the majority of seamen would not prefer a flogging to six months with hard labour in the common jail, is a question we need not enter upon at this time.

The real cause of the difficulty experienced in adding men to the fleet cannot be better described than in the words of the Memorial from the Board of Admiralty, which was read before the Queen in Council, on the 1st April, 1853.

'The difficulties are inherent in the system itself, which consists in entering men for particular ships selected by themselves, nominally for five years, but practically, according to immemorial usage, for the period during which a ship is commissioned, averaging from three to four years; and then, after much expense, time, and labour bestowed in training them, they are disbanded. A certain portion of the men thus discharged never return to the navy; some carry the fruits of their training to foreign flags; the larger number return at periods dictated by their own convenience or inclination, and not by any regard to the wants of the service. This desultory mode of proceeding is a cause of great embarrassment and expense in conducting the ordinary duties of the naval service. It creates uncertainty as to the period when ships may be expected to be ready for sea; and the evil becomes one of great magnitude, and a serious danger, when political considerations suddenly demand the rapid equipment of Your Majesty's ships.' (P. 44.)

The investigations of a Committee of naval officers into the subject, led to the conclusion that it was essential to give the navy a permanent constitution.

It was therefore ordered, that all boys entering the navy should be required to engage for a period of ten years, from the

age of eighteen; and to induce seamen now serving, or hereafter volunteering, to enter for the same period, certain additions were made to the rates of pay, which will be best shown by the following table: —

Rating.	Present Rate of Pay per Annum.			Additional to Men entering for ten Years.			Together.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Ordinary Seamen, 2d Class	16	14	7	1	10	5	18	5	0
Ordinary do. - -	19	15	5	3	0	10	22	16	5
Able do. - -	24	6	8	4	11	3	28	17	11
Petty Officers, from -	28	17	11	4	11	3	33	9	2
Do. to -	31	18	9	4	11	3	36	10	0

Two new classes are introduced, viz.: —

Leading seamen, with 2*d.* a day, or 3*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* a year, in addition to any other pay to which they may be entitled.

Chief petty officers, with 3*d.* a day, or 4*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* a year, in addition to any other pay to which they may be entitled.

Good conduct gratuities of 7*l.* and 5*l.* are given to Petty Officers on paying off every ship, the proportion graduating from ten men in the largest, to two in the smallest classes; while seamen may get good conduct pay, in addition to all other, of 1*d.*, 2*d.*, or 3*d.* a day according to the number of badges they have obtained.

Seamen are to be allowed to purchase their discharge, and after ten years' service, to be entitled, at the discretion of the Admiralty, to a pension of 6*d.* a day, to be increased to 8*d.* a day, after fifteen years' service; all such pensioners being liable to give further service in the event of an armament of war.

The pay of warrant officers,—that is, of gunners, boatswains, and carpenters, a valuable class of officers, who rise from before the mast,—is increased from 25 to 30 per cent.: the sea-pay of a First Class Warrant Officer being now 120*l.* a year; while they are declared eligible to receive commissions in the navy, as a reward for distinguished acts of gallantry and daring.

We have thus given a slight notion of the certain advantages which attend the career of a good and well conducted seaman in our navy: a comparison with the rates of pay in the United States Marine will not be unfavourable; the slightly lower rates in our service being more than compensated by the higher rewards to good men.

Rating.	Pay per Annum in U. S. Navy.
Landmen - - -	£22 3 8
Ordinary Seamen - -	24 12 6
Able - - -	29 11 0
Petty Officers, 1st class -	44 6 6

But, however popular we make the navy, the broad fact remains staring us in the face, that there are only about 21,000 seamen available for service to be found in the Kingdom at any one time, exclusively of those actually serving; and at the same time there are 53,600 seamen protected from compulsory service, besides a large number of seafaring men, who are not registered seamen under the provisions of the Act 7 & 8 Victoria, c. 112. It is therefore clear that no system of volunteering, or even the press, would supply the immediate wants of the navy on the outbreak of war. This alarming condition, which has for several years engaged the attention of many distinguished officers and friends of the navy, is now, we trust, in a fair way of being remedied.

Before we notice the measures which have been adopted to create a supply of seamen for the defence of the coasts and ports of this Kingdom, we will refer to an article in our last Number, founded on the 'Enquête Parlementaire' made into the state of the French navy in 1850.

It appears that so long since as 1668, the system of registering seamen was established in France, for the purposes of maritime conscription. This system was amended in 1790, and again in 1835, and is perfectly adapted to its end, but is entirely compulsory.

'The permanent levy includes all seamen from 20 to 40, and officers of the merchant service to 45 (years of age), not having previously served. The next class consists of men who have not served above four years; and beyond that the whole maritime population may be raised. After thirty-six months' service, the officers and men are entitled to their liberty till called on to serve again; and after six years, they are no longer liable to the ordinary levies.'

The result is, that the French Government can call into immediate service a body of trained seamen sufficient to man every ship in the fleet.

Such a system of compulsory service is absolutely impossible for this country, where impressment, even in the greatest emergency, would be looked upon, by many persons, with an evil eye; the Government has therefore had recourse to a plan by which a sort of maritime militia is to be trained, and certain other classes of seafaring men are to be liable to be called

on to serve; of the success of which plan we entertain the most sanguine hopes and expectations; and which will produce a body of about 20,000 men in the hour of need.

An Act passed in the late Session empowers the Admiralty to raise 10,000 men from among the seafaring population, to be termed 'Naval Coast Volunteers.' These men are to be entered for five years, to receive a bounty of 6*l.* a man, and the pay of able seamen, while serving. They are to be trained and exercised on shore, or on board ship within fifty leagues of the coast during twenty-eight days in every year; and to be called into active service by royal proclamation, the term of war-service being one year, which may be extended under exigency; and they may then be employed 100 leagues from the coast of the United Kingdom. They are to be exempt from all other service during the time they belong to the volunteers.

It is also enacted, that, under the like circumstances, the coast guard, the seamen riggers in the dockyards, navy pensioners, and seafaring men employed under the Board of Customs, and other public departments, shall be called into active service on board the fleet.

This measure, with the extension of the term of service in the navy, will, we believe, put this country in such a position, that, on any sudden or unforeseen emergency, we shall be enabled to man a fleet in as short a time as our neighbours; and we are confident, that, with the exception of the very bigoted or very ignorant, but one opinion can prevail amongst us as to their great merit and utility.

Something we would have said of the desirableness of the mercantile ports being able to provide vessels to assist in the defence of the coast. The steam-tugs, at least, ought to be capable of acting as gun-boats; and we fear that not one per cent. of the mercantile steam-fleet is able to carry ordnance, including even the Ocean mail steamers, whose owners are mostly bound by their contracts to build ships capable of bearing an armament, — but we have already passed our limits and must conclude; not doubting that this important point is receiving the consideration due to it from those in authority. We hope that every reader will be as well satisfied with the progress made in providing what we have termed a good National Insurance, as we are ourselves.

ART. V.—*History of Greece.* By GEORGE GROTE, Esq. Vols ix. x. xi. London: 1852–53.

IN his eighth volume, Mr. Grote brought the narrative of Grecian History to its great turning point—the subjugation of Athens by the Spartans and their confederates; including, as the immediate sequel of that event, the sanguinary tyranny of the Thirty — the rapid reaction in Grecian feeling — the return of the exiles under Thrasybulus, subsequently known at Athens by the designation of 'those from Phyle' or 'those from Piræus' — the restoration of Athens, under the tolerance of Sparta, to internal freedom though denuded of empire, and the inauguration of a new era of concord by the healing measures which made the archonship of Euclides memorable to succeeding generations. The recital of these stirring events was immediately followed by those admirable chapters on the Sophists and on Socrates, which may be pronounced the most important portion yet written of this History; whether we consider the intrinsic interest of their subjects — the deep-rooted historical errors which they tend to dispel—or the great permanent instruction contained in their display of the characteristics of one of the most eminent men who ever lived—a man unique in history, of a kind at all times needful, and seldom more needed than now.

The three volumes which we have here to notice contain no delineations belonging to the same elevated rank with that which closed so impressively the volume immediately preceding. The exposition and estimate of Plato, which alone would have afforded similar opportunities, though falling within the chronological period comprised in the eleventh volume, is not included in it, but reserved for one yet to come; except in so far as the philosopher is personally involved in the series of Sicilian transactions, through his connexion with Dion, whose remarkable and eminently tragic character and career form the centre of interest in the most striking chapter of these volumes. There is little scope in this portion of the work for bringing prominently forward any great ethical or philosophical ideas; and the illustrations it contains of Grecian character and institutions relate principally to points which the author had largely illustrated before. In no other part of the book is the continuity of the narrative so little broken by dissertation or discussion; but in the rapid succession of animating incidents, and the living display of interesting individual characters, these volumes are not inferior to any of the preceding.

They commence with the expedition of Cyrus, and the retreat of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand: an episode fertile in exemplifications of Grecian and of Asiatic characteristics, and especially valuable as being the only detailed account of the personal adventures of any body of Greeks, or even of any individual Greek, which has been directly transmitted to us by an eye-witness and actor. Next follows the history of the short-lived Lacedæmonian ascendancy; its deplorable abuse, and the conspicuous Nemesis which fell on that selfish and domineering community, by the irreparable prostration of her power through the arms of Thebes, so many years the firm ally of Sparta, and for her treacherous conduct to whom, even more than for any other of her misdeeds, she, in the general opinion of Greece, deserved her fate. The chapters which describe this contest, relate also the resurrection of Athens, and her reattainment, in diminished measure and for a brief period, of something like imperial dignity. At this halting-place Mr. Grote suspends the main course of his narrative, and takes up the thread of the history of the Sicilian Greeks; the most interesting part of whose story is included in the present volumes. He illustrates, by the conduct and fortunes of the elder Dionysius, the successive stages of the 'despot's progress.' Here, too, the avenging Nemesis attends; but, as usual with the misdeeds of rulers, the punishment is vicarious. The younger Dionysius, a weak and self-indulgent but good-natured and rather well-meaning inheritor of despotic power, suffered the penalty of the usurpation and the multiplied tyrannies of his energetic and unscrupulous father. The decline and fall of the Dionysian dynasty, and the restoration of Sicilian freedom, are related by Mr. Grote in his best style of ethical narrative, and with a biographical interest equal to the historical. For, as the chapters on the fall of Sparta are animated and exalted by the great qualities of Epaminondas—the first of Greeks in military genius, surpassed only by Pericles in comprehensive statesmanship, yet even more honourably distinguished among Grecian politicians by the unostentatious disinterestedness of his public virtue, and the gentleness and generosity of his sentiments towards opponents; so the Sicilian chapters are lighted up, first by the high-minded but chequered, and even in his errors eminently interesting, character of Dion, and afterwards by the steadier and more unmixed brilliancy of the real liberator of Sicily, the wise, just, and heroic Timoleon.

Last comes that gloomy period of Grecian history, the age of Philip of Macedon: during which, enfeebled by the long and destructive wars which had successively prostrated every one of

her leading states, Greece fell a prey to an able and enterprising neighbour, who, at the head of a numerous population of hardy warriors implicitly obedient to his will, was enabled to turn her own military arts and discipline against herself. At the time when Philip commenced his career of aggrandisement, the only Grecian state in a condition to meet him with anything like equality of strength was Athens; still free and prosperous, but so lowered in public spirit and moral energy, that she threw away all her opportunities, and only rallied with a vigour worthy of her ancestors when it was too late to do more than perish honourably. These sad events, so far as their course can be traced through the extreme imperfection of our information, are related by Mr. Grote down to the fatal day of Chæroneia. And neither is this melancholy recital destitute of the relief afforded by the appearance on the scene of an illustrious character. Even in that age Athens possessed a man, of whom posterity has ratified the proud boast, drawn from him in self-vindication, that if there had been one such man in every state of Greece, or even in Thessaly and Arcadia only, the attempts of Philip to bring the Greeks to subjugation would have been frustrated. What one man, of boundless energy, far-reaching political vision, and an eloquence unmatched even at Athens, could do to save Greece from an inevitable doom, Demosthenes did. His life was an incessant struggle against the fatality of the time, and the weaknesses of his countrymen. And though he failed in his object, and perished with the last breath of the freedom for which he had lived, he has been rewarded by that immortal fame, which, as he reminded the Athenians in the most celebrated passage of his greatest oration, is not deserved only by the successful; and which he merited not more by his unequalled oratorical eminence, than by the fact, that not one mean, or selfish, or narrow, or ungenerous sentiment is appealed to throughout those splendid addresses, in which he strove to rouse and nerve his countrymen to the contest, or proudly mourned over its unsuccessful issue.

The Chæroneian catastrophe closes the epoch of Grecian history. Though much that is highly interesting remains, its interest is derived from other sources; the diffusion of Greek civilisation through the Eastern nations by the expedition of Alexander and its consequences, and a few noble but vain efforts, against insuperable obstacles, in Greece itself, to regain a freedom and national independence irrecoverably lost. Of the period of Grecian greatness, we have now from Mr. Grote the completed history. We have the budding, the blossoming, and the decay and death. The fruits which survived—the per-

manent gifts bequeathed by Greece to the world, and constituting the foundation of all subsequent intellectual achievements —these he has not yet, or has only partially characterised. But he has produced a finished picture of the political and collective life of Greece, and the distinctive characters of the form of social existence, during and by means of which she accomplished things so far transcending what has ever elsewhere been achieved in so marvellously short a space of time. From the legislation of Solon to the field of Marathon, a hundred years of preparation; from Marathon to Chæroneia, barely a hundred and fifty years of maturity: —that century and a half is all that separates the earliest recorded prose writing from Demosthenes and Aristotle, all that lies between the first indication to the outer world of what Greece was destined to be, and her absorption by a foreign conqueror. A momentous interval, which decided for an indefinite period the question, whether the human race was to be stationary or progressive. That the former condition is far more congenial to ordinary human nature than the latter, experience unfortunately places beyond doubt; and history points out no other people in the ancient world who had any spring of unborrowed progress within themselves. We have no knowledge of any other source from which freedom and intellectual cultivation could have come, any other means by which the light never since extinguished might have been kindled, if the world had been left, without any elements of Grecian origin, to be fought for between the unlettered Romans and the priest-led and despot-governed Asiatics. The people and the period on which this depended, must be important to posterity as long as any portion of the past continues to be remembered: and by the aid of Mr. Grote we are now enabled to see them with a clearness and accuracy, and judge them with a largeness of comprehension, never before approached.

To disparage what mankind owe to Greece, because she has not left for their imitation a perfect type of human character, nor a highly improved pattern of social institutions, would be to demand from the early youth of the human race what is far from being yet realised in its more advanced age. It would better become us to consider whether we have, in these particulars, advanced as much beyond the best Grecian model, as might with reason have been expected after more than twenty centuries; whether, having done no more than we have done with all that we have inherited from the Greeks, and all that has been since superadded to their teachings, we ought not to look up with reverent admiration to a people, who, without any of our adventitious helps, and without the stimulus of preceding

example, moved forward by their native strength at so gigantic a pace, though in an earlier portion of the path. It is true, that in institutions, in manners, and even in the ideal standard of human character, as existing in the best minds, there is an improvement. All the great thinkers and heroic lives, from Christ downward, would have done little for humanity, if after two thousand years no single point could be added to the type of excellence conceived by Socrates or Plato. But it is not the moral conceptions of heroes or philosophers which measure the difference between one age and another, so much as the accepted popular standard of virtuous conduct. Taking that as the criterion, and comparing the best Grecian with the best modern community, is the superiority wholly on the side of the moderns? Has there not been deterioration as well as improvement, and the former, perhaps, almost as marked as the latter? There is more humanity, more mildness of manners, though this only from a comparatively recent date; the sense of moral obligation is more cosmopolitan, and depends less for its acknowledgment on the existence of some special tie. But we greatly doubt if most of the positive virtues were not better conceived, and more highly prized, by the public opinion of Greece than by that of Great Britain; while negative and passive qualities have now engrossed the chief part of the honour paid to virtue; and it may be questioned if even private duties are, on the whole, better understood, while duties to the public, unless in cases of special trust, have almost dropped out of the catalogue: that idea, so powerful in the free States of Greece, has faded into a mere rhetorical ornament.

In political and social organisation, the moderns, or some of them at least, have a more unqualified superiority over the Greeks. They have succeeded in making free institutions possible in large territories; and they have learnt to live and be prosperous without slaves. The importance of these discoveries — for discoveries they were — hardly admits of being overrated. For want of the first, Greece lost her freedom, her virtue, and her very existence as a people; and slavery was the greatest blot in her institutions while she existed. It is sufficient merely to mention another great blot, the domestic and social condition of women (on which point, however, Sparta, in a degree surprising for the age, formed an honourable exception); since, in this respect, the superiority of modern nations is not so much greater as might be supposed. Even on the subject of slavery there are many, and not inconsiderable palliations. Slavery in the ancient, as in the Oriental world, was a very different thing from American or West Indian slavery.

The slaves were not a separate race, marked out to the contempt of their masters by indelible physical differences. When manumitted, they mixed on equal terms with the general community; and though, in Greece, seldom admitted, any more than other aliens, to the complete political franchise of their patron's city, they could generally become full citizens of some new colony, or be placed on the roll of some old commonwealth recruiting its numbers after a disaster. The facility with which, in these small territories, slaves could escape across the frontier, must, at the worst, have been a considerable check to ill usage. The literature of the Athenians proves that they not only cultivated, but counted on finding, moral virtues in their slaves, which is not consistent with the worst form of slavery. Neither, in Greece, did slavery produce that one of its effects by which, above all, it is an obstacle to improvement — that of making bodily labour dishonourable. Nowhere in Greece, except at Sparta, was industry, however mechanical, regarded as unworthy of a freeman, or even of a citizen; least of all at Athens, in whose proudest times a majority of the Demos consisted of free artisans. Doubtless, however, in Greece as elsewhere, slavery was an odious institution; and its inherent evils are in no way lessened by the admission, that as a temporary fact, in an early and rude state of the arts of life, it may have been, nevertheless, a great accelerator of progress. If we read history with intelligence, we are led to think concerning slavery as concerning many other bad institutions, that the error was not so great of first introducing it, as of continuing it too long.

Though Grecian history is crowded with objects of interest, all others are eclipsed by Athens. Whatever in Greece most merits the gratitude of posterity, Athens possessed in fullest measure. If the Hellenic nation is in history the main source and most conspicuous representative of progress, Athens may claim the same honourable position in regard to Greece itself, for all the Greek elements of progress in their highest culmination were united in that illustrious city. This was not the effect of an original superiority of natural endowments in the Athenian mind. In the first exuberant outpourings of Grecian genius, Athens bore no more than her share, if even so much. The many famous poets and musicians who preceded the era of Marathon, the early speculators in science and philosophy, and even the first historians, were scattered through all the divisions of the Greek name; with a preponderance on the side of the Ionians of Asia Minor, the Sicilian and Italian Greeks, and the islanders, all of whom attained prosperity much earlier, as well as lost it sooner, than the inhabitants of Continental Greece.

Even Bœotia produced two poets of the first rank, Pindar and Corinna, at a time when Attica had only yet produced one.* By degrees, however, the whole intellect of Greece, except the purely practical, gravitated to Athens; until, in the maturity of Grecian culture, all the great writers, speakers, and thinkers were educated, and nearly all of them were born and passed their lives, in that centre of enlightenment. Of the other Greek states, such as were oligarchically governed contributed little or nothing, except in a military point of view, to make Greece illustrious. Even those among them which, like Sparta, were to a certain degree successful in providing for stability, did nothing for progress, further than supplying materials of study and experience to the great Athenian thinkers and their disciples. Of the other democracies, not one enjoyed the Eunomia, the unimpeded authority of law, and freedom from factious violence, which were quite as characteristic of Athens as either her liberty or her genius; and which, making life and property more secure than in any other part of the Grecian world, afforded the mental tranquillity which is also one of the conditions of high intellectual or imaginative achievement.

While Grecian history, considered philosophically, is thus almost concentrated in Athens, so also, considered æsthetically, it is an epic, of which Athens, as a collective personality, may be called the hero. The fate of Athens speaks to the imagination and sympathies like that of the Achilles or Odysseus of an heroic poem; absorbing into itself even the interest excited by the long series of eminent Athenians, who seem rather like successive phases under which Athens appears to us, than individuals independent and apart from it. Nowhere does history present to us a collective body so abounding in human nature as the Athenian Demos. In them all the capacities, all the impulses and susceptibilities, the strength and the infirmities of human character stand out in large and bold proportions. There is nothing that they do not seem capable of understanding, of feeling, and of executing; nothing generous or heroic to which they might not be roused, and scarcely any act of folly, injustice, or ferocity into which they could not be hurried, when no honest and able

* By some oversight, Mr. Grote has passed over one whole generation of Grecian poets. He has given as full an account as the materials permit of the earlier poets, down to the age of Alcæus and Sappho, and has spoken at some length of the dramatists, but has said nothing (except incidentally) of Pindar, Simonides, Anacreon, Bacchylides, or the two Bœotian poetesses, Myrtis and Corinna, the last of whom was five times crowned at Thebes in competition with Pindar.

adviser was at hand to recall them to their better nature. Ever variable, according to the character of the leading minister of the time; alike prudent and enterprising under the guidance of a Pericles; carelessly inert or rashly ambitious when their most influential politicians were a Nicias and an Alcibiades; yet never abdicating their own guidance, always judging for themselves, and, though often wrong, seldom choosing the worse side when there was any one present capable of advocating the better. Light-hearted too, full of animal spirits and joyousness; revelling in the fun of hearing rival orators inveigh against each other; bursting with laughter at the mingled floods of coarse buffoonery and fine wit poured forth by the licensed libellers of their comic stage against their orators and statesmen, their poets, their gods, and even themselves — 'that angry, 'waspish, intractable little old man, Demos of Pnyx'*, the well-known laughingstock of one of the most successful comedies of Aristophanes. They are accused of fickleness; but Mr. Grote has shown on how false an estimate of historical facts that imputation rests†, and that they were much rather remarkable for the constancy of their attachments. They were not fickle, but (a very different quality, vulgarly confounded with it,) mobile; keenly susceptible individually, and of necessity still more collectively, to the feeling and impression of the moment. The Demos may be alternately likened to the commonly received idea of a man, a woman, or a child, but never a clown or a boor. Right or wrong, wise or foolish, Athenians are never *ἀπαίδευτοι*; theirs are never the errors of untaught or unexercised minds. They are always the same Athenians who have thrilled with the grandeur and pathos of Æschylus and Sophocles, who were able to ransom themselves from captivity by reciting the verses of Euripides, who have had Pericles or Demosthenes for their daily instructor and adviser, and have heard every species of judicial case, public and private, civil and criminal, propounded for their decision, in the most finished compositions ever spoken to a public assembly. They are the same Athenians, too, who live and move among the visible memorials of ancestors, the greatest of whose glories was that they had dared and suffered all things rather than desert the liberty of Greece. Their just pride in such progenitors, and

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* Mr. Grote's paraphrase of

Ἀγροικος ὀργὴν, κναμοτρὼξ, ἀκράχολος,
Δῆμος Πνυκίτης, δύσκολον γερόντιον. (*Arist.* Eq. 41.)

† See this point admirably handled in the remarks in the last chapter but one of the fourth volume, on the condemnation of Miltiades.

their sense of what was due to the dignity and fame of their city, were ever ready to be evoked for any noble cause. Even at the last, when their energies, too late aroused, had been insufficient to save them, and they lay crushed at the feet of a conqueror, they earned the admiration of posterity by bestowing, instead of displeasure, additional distinctions on the author and adviser of the struggle which had preserved their honour, though not their safety or their freedom.

In every respect Athens deserved the high commendation given her by Pericles in his funeral oration, of being the educator of Greece.* And we cannot better set forth the characteristics of this great commonwealth at its greatest period, than by following Mr. Grote in quoting some passages from that celebrated discourse. †

'We live under a constitution such as noway to envy the laws of our neighbours—ourselves an example to others rather than imitators. It is called a democracy, since its aim tends towards the Many, and not towards the Few; in regard to private matters and disputes the laws deal equally with every one; while in respect to public dignity and importance, the position of each is determined, not by class influence, but by worth, according as his reputation stands in his particular department; nor does poverty or obscure station keep him back, if he has any capacity of benefiting the state. And our social march is free, not merely in regard to public affairs, but also in regard to tolerance of each other's diversity of tastes and pursuits. For we are not angry with our neighbour for what he does to please himself, nor do we put on those sour looks, which are offensive, though they do no positive damage. Thus conducting our private social intercourse with reciprocal indulgence, we are restrained from misconduct in public matters by fear and reverence of our magistrates for the time being, and of our laws, especially such laws as are instituted for the protection of the wronged, and such as, though unwritten, are enforced by a common sense of shame. Besides this, we have provided for our minds numerous recreations from toil, partly by our customary solemnities of sacrifice and festival throughout the year, partly by the elegance of our private arrangements, the daily charm of which banishes pain and annoyance. From the magnitude of our city, the products of the whole earth are brought to us, so that our enjoyment of foreign luxuries is as much our own and assured, as of those which we produce at home. In respect to training for war, we differ from our opponents (the Lacedæmonians) on several material points. First, we lay open our city as a common resort; we apply no xenelasy to exclude any one from any lesson or spectacle,

* Τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι. (*Thuc.* ii. 41.)

† Vol. vi. pp. 193—196. We have ventured to change a few expressions in Mr. Grote's translation, in order, though at the expense of smoothness, to bring it closer to the literal meaning of the original.

for fear lest an enemy should see and profit by it: for we trust less to manœuvres and artifices than to native boldness of spirit for warlike efficiency. Next, in regard to education, while the Lacedæmonians even from their earliest youth subject themselves to an irksome exercise for the attainment of courage, we, with our easy habits of life, are not less prepared than they to encounter all perils within the measure of our strength. . . . .

'We combine taste for the beautiful with frugality of life, and cultivate intellectual speculation without being enervated: we employ wealth for the service of our occasions, not for the ostentation of talk; nor is it disgraceful to any one who is poor to confess himself so, though he may be blamed for not actively bestirring himself to get rid of his poverty. Our politicians are not exempted from attending to their private affairs, and our private citizens have a competent knowledge of public matters; for we stand alone in regarding the man who keeps aloof from politics, not as a blameless person, but as a useless one. Far from accounting discussion an impediment to action, we think it an evil not to have been instructed by deliberation before the time for execution arrives. For, in truth, we combine in a remarkable manner boldness in action with full debate beforehand on that which we are going about: whereas with others ignorance alone imparts daring, debate induces hesitation. Assuredly those ought to be regarded as the stoutest of heart, who, knowing most accurately both the terrors of war and the sweets of peace, are still not the less willing to encounter peril.'

This picture, drawn by Pericles and transmitted by Thucydides, of ease of living and freedom from social intolerance, combined with the pleasures of cultivated taste, and a lively interest and energetic participation in public affairs, is one of the most interesting passages in Greek history: placed, as it is, in the speech in which the first of Athenian statesmen professed to show 'by what practices and by what institutions and manners 'the city had become great.' This remarkable testimony, as Mr. Grote has not failed to point out, wholly conflicts, so far as Athens is concerned, with what we are so often told about the entire sacrifice, in the ancient republics, of the liberty of the individual to an imaginary good of the state. In the greatest Greek commonwealth, as described by its most distinguished citizen, the public interest was held of paramount obligation in all things which concerned it; but, with that part of the conduct of individuals which concerned only themselves, public opinion did not interfere: while in the ethical practice of the moderns, this is exactly reversed, and no one is required by opinion to pay any regard to the public, except by conducting his own private concerns in conformity to its expectations. On this vital question of social morals, Mr. Grote's remarks, though belonging to an earlier volume than those which we are review-

ing, are too valuable, as well as too much to the purpose, to require any apology for quoting them. (Vol. vi. pp. 200-2.)

'The stress which he (Pericles) lays upon the liberty of thought and action at Athens, not merely from excessive restraint of law, but also from practical intolerance between man and man, and tyranny of the majority over individual dissenters in taste and pursuits, deserves serious notice, and brings out one of those points in the national character upon which the intellectual development of the time mainly depended. The national temper was indulgent in a high degree to all the varieties of positive impulses: the peculiar promptings in every individual bosom were allowed to manifest themselves and bear fruit, without being suppressed by external opinion, or trained into forced conformity with some assumed standard: antipathies against any of them formed no part of the habitual morality of the citizen. While much of the generating causes of human hatred was thus rendered inoperative, and while society was rendered more comfortable, more instructive, and more stimulating, all its germs of productive fruitful genius, so rare everywhere, found in such an atmosphere the maximum of encouragement. Within the limits of the law, assuredly as faithfully observed at Athens as any where in Greece, individual impulse, taste, and even eccentricity, were accepted with indulgence, instead of being a mark as elsewhere for the intolerance of neighbours or of the public. This remarkable feature in Athenian life will help us in a future chapter to explain the striking career of Sokrates; and it farther presents to us, under another face, a great part of that which the censors of Athens denounced under the name of "democratical license." The liberty and diversity of individual life in that city were offensive to Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle—attached either to the monotonous drill of Sparta, or to some other ideal standard, which, though much better than the Spartan in itself, they were disposed to impress upon society with a heavy-handed uniformity. That liberty of individual action, not merely from the over-restraints of law, but from the tyranny of jealous opinion, such as Perikles depicts in Athens, belongs more naturally to a democracy, where there is no select One or Few to receive worship and set the fashion, than to any other form of government. But it is very rare even in democracies: nor can we dissemble the fact, that none of the governments of modern times, democratical, aristocratical, or monarchical, presents any thing like the picture of generous tolerance towards social dissents, and spontaneity of individual taste, which we read in the speech of the Athenian statesman. In all of them, the intolerance of the national opinion cuts down individual character to one out of a few set types, to which every person, or every family, is constrained to adjust itself, and beyond which all exceptions meet either with hatred or with derision. To impose upon men such restraints, either of law or of opinion, as are requisite for the security and comfort of society, but to encourage rather than repress the free play of individual impulse subject to those limits, is an ideal which, if it was ever approached at Athens, has certainly never been

attained, and has indeed comparatively been little studied or cared for in any modern society.'

The ambitious external policy of Athens is one of the points in Greek history which have been most perversely misjudged and misunderstood. Modern historians seem to have succeeded to the jealous animosity of the Corinthians and other members of the Spartan alliance at the opening of the Peloponnesian war, though by no means at one with them in the reasons they are able to assign for it. The Athenians certainly were not exempt from the passion universal in the ancient world for conquest and dominion. It was a blemish, when judged by the universal standard of right; but as a fact, it was most beneficial to the world, and could not have been other than it was without crippling them in their vocation as the organ of progress. There was scarcely a possibility of permanent improvement for mankind until intellect had first asserted its superiority, even in a military sense, over brute force. With the barbarous part of the species pressing in all round, to crush every early germ of improvement, all would have been lost if there had not also been an instinct in the better and more gifted portions of mankind to push for dominion over the duller and coarser. Besides, in a small but flourishing free community like Athens, ambition was the simple dictate of prudence. No such community could have had any safety for its own freedom but by acquiring power. Instead of reprobating the Athenian maritime empire, the whole of mankind, beginning with the subject states themselves, had cause to lament that it was not much longer continued; for, that the fate of Greek civilisation was bound up with it, is proved by the whole course of this history. When the jealousies of the other Greek states stripped Athens of her empire, and nominally restored the subject allies to an independence which they were wholly incapable of maintaining, Greece lost her sole chance of making successful head against Macedonia or Rome. And considering what the short period of Athenian greatness has done for the world, it is painful to think in how much more advanced a stage human improvement might now have been, if the Athens of Pericles could have lived on in undiminished spirit and energy for but one century more.

The Athenian empire was the purest in its origin of all the empires of antiquity. It was at first a free and equal confederacy for defence against the Persians, organised by Aristides with a justice worthy of his name. It never would have become anything else, but that the majority of the allies, consisting of the comparatively unwarlike and unenergetic Ionian Greeks,

chose to make their contribution in money instead of personal service, preferring to pay Athens for protecting them, rather than protect themselves. Even the removal of the treasury of the confederacy from Delos to Athens was no act of the Athenians, but of the synod of the confederacy, on the proposition of Samos. When, at a later date, some of the states attempted to secede from the alliance, and enjoy the peace and security which it afforded without sharing in the cost, the general sentiment of the confederates at first went along with Athens in bringing back the recusants by force of arms. But, with these small town communities, to be defeated was to be conquered, and the conquered, by the universal custom of antiquity, received the law from the conqueror. That law, in the case of Athens, was only occasionally either harsh or onerous; yet thus, by degrees, the once equal allies sunk into tributaries. The few who had neither revolted, nor commuted personal service for pecuniary payment, retained their naval and military force and their immunity from tribute, and had nothing to complain of, but that, like the dependencies of England or of any modern nation, they were compelled to join in the wars of the dominant state, without having any voice in deciding them. They do not seem to have alleged any other practical grievances against the Athenian community: their complaints, recorded by Thucydides, turn almost solely upon offence to the Grecian sentiment of city independence and dignity. Under the protection of the powerful Athenian navy, the allied states enjoyed a security never before known in Greece, and which no one of them could possibly have acquired by its own efforts. Many of them grew rich and prosperous. With their internal government Athens, as a general rule, did not interfere; in Mr. Grote's opinion, not even to make it democratical, when it did not happen to be so already. Like all the weak states of antiquity, whether called independent or not, they were liable to extortion and oppression; not, however, from the Athenian people, but from rich and powerful Athenians in command of expeditions, against whom the Demos, when judicially appealed to, was ready to give redress. The most express testimony is borne to this general fact by the able oligarchical conspirator Phrynichus, as reported by the oligarchically inclined Thucydides, in his account of that remarkable incident in Athenian history, the revolution of the Four Hundred. The historian represents Phrynichus as reminding his fellow-conspirators that they could expect neither assistance nor good-will from the allies, since these well knew that it was from the oligarchical Athenians they were liable to injury, and looked

upon the Demos as their protector.* The reality of the protection is exemplified by the case of Paches, the victorious general who had just before captured Mitylene. The resentment of the Athenians against that revolted city was such, that they were (as is well known) persuaded by Cleon to pass a decree for putting the whole military population to death, though they recalled the mandate before it had been executed. Yet, Paches having abused his victory by violating two women of Mitylene, having first put their husbands to death, was prosecuted by them before the Athenian dicastery, and the facts being proved, was so overwhelmed by the general burst of indignation that he slew himself in open court. This incident (which until its real circumstances had been hunted out by Niebuhr, was one of the stock examples of Athenian and popular ingratitude) is a striking illustration of the difference between the Athenian empire and the Lacedæmonian; for when Spartan citizens, in repeated instances, committed similar enormities, not against conquered enemies but friendly allies, no redress could be obtained. It required the field of Leuctra to avenge the daughters of Skedasus, or appease the manes of the victims of the harmost Aristodemus.

However unpopular the dominion of Athens may have been among her subjects, though it appears to have been so with the leading men rather than with the majority, they had reason enough to regret it after it was at an end; for not only was the little finger of Lacedæmon heavier than the whole body of Athens, but many of them only exchanged Greek dominion for that of the barbarians. Sparta was never able for more than a few years to protect the Asiatic Greeks even against Persia; and at the height of her power, as soon as the obligation of defending them became inconvenient, she, by the peace of Antalcidas, actually ceded the whole of that great division of Greece to the Persian king, to whom it remained subject until the invasion of Alexander. Several of the most prosperous of the islanders fared no better: Cos, Chios, and Rhodes, when by the Social War they succeeded in detaching themselves from the second Athenian empire, fell almost immediately into dependence on the Carian despot Mausolus, against whom the Rhodians had soon to appeal again

* Τούς τε καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους οὐκ ἐλάσσω αὐτοὺς νομίζειν σφίσι πράγματα παρέξειν τοῦ δήμου, πορισταὶς ὄντας καὶ ἐσηγητὰς τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείω αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖσθαι· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι, καὶ ἄκριτοι ἂν καὶ βιαιότερον ἀποθνήσκειν, τόν τε δῆμον σφῶν τε καταφυγὴν εἶναι καὶ ἐκείνων σωφρονιστήν. Καὶ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἐπισταμένας τὰς πόλεις σαφῶς αὐτὸς εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὕτω νομίζουσιν. (*Thuc.* viii. 48.)

to their enemy, Athens, for assistance. So mere a name was that universal autonomy, which was used so successfully to stir up the feelings of the Hellenic world against its noblest member; so entirely did the independence of Greece turn on the maintenance of some cohesion among her multifarious particles, while the political instincts of her people obstinately rejected the merging of the single city-republic in any larger unity.

The intellectual and moral preeminence which made Athens the centre of good to Greece, and of the good to after generations of which Greece has been the medium, was wholly the fruit of Athenian institutions. It was the consequence, first of democracy, and secondly, of the wise and well-considered organisation by which the Athenian democracy was distinguished among the democratic constitutions of antiquity. The term democracy may perhaps be deemed inapplicable to any of the Grecian governments, on account of the existence of slavery; and it is inapplicable to them, in the purest and most honourable sense of the term. But in another sense, not altogether inappropriate, those governments, the first to which the word democracy was applied, must be considered entitled to the name, in the same manner as it is given to the northern States of America, although women are there excluded from the rights of citizenship; an exclusion which, equally with that of slaves, militates against the democratic principle. The Athenian constitution was so far a democracy, that it was government by a multitude, composed in majority of poor persons—small landed proprietors and artisans. It had the additional democratic characteristic, far more practically important than even the political franchise; it was a government of boundless publicity and freedom of speech. It had the liberty of the bema, of the dicastery, the portico, the palæstra, and the stage; altogether a full equivalent for the liberty of the press. Further, it was the *only* government of antiquity which possessed this inestimable advantage in the same degree, or retained it as long. Enemies and friends alike testify that the παῤῥησία of Athens was paralleled in no other place in the known world. Every office and honour was open to every citizen, not, as in the aristocratic Roman republic (or even the British monarchy), almost nominally, but really: while the daily working of Athenian institutions (by means of which every citizen was accustomed to hear every sort of question, public and private, discussed by the ablest men of the time, with the earnestness of purpose and fulness of preparation belonging to actual business, deliberative or judicial) formed a course of political education, the equivalent of which modern nations have not known how to give even to

those whom they educate for statesmen. To their multitudinous judicial tribunals the Athenians were also indebted for that habitual love of fair play, and of hearing both sides of a case, which was more or less a quality of the Greeks generally, but had so firm a hold on the Athenians that it did not desert them under the most passionate excitement. The potency of Grecian democracy in making every individual in the multitude identify his feelings and interests with those of the state, and regard its freedom and greatness as the first and principal of his own personal concerns, cannot be better described than in the words of Mr. Grote. After quoting a remarkable passage from Herodotus descriptive of the unexpected outburst of patriotic energy at Athens after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ and the establishment of the Cleisthenean constitution *, Mr. Grote proceeds as follows (vol. iv. pp. 237–9.):—

'Democracy in Grecian antiquity possessed the privilege, not only of kindling an earnest and unanimous attachment to the constitution in the bosoms of the citizens, but also of creating an energy of public and private action such as could never be obtained under an oligarchy, where the utmost that could be hoped for was a passive acquiescence and obedience. Mr. Burke has remarked that the mass of the people are generally very indifferent about theories of government; but such indifference (although improvements in the practical working of all governments tend to foster it) is hardly to be expected among any people who exhibit decided mental activity and spirit on other matters; and the reverse was unquestionably true, in the year 500 B. C., among the communities of ancient Greece. Theories of government were there any thing but a dead letter; they were connected with emotions of the strongest as well as of the most opposite character. The theory of a permanent ruling One, for example, was universally odious; that of a ruling Few, though acquiesced in, was never positively attractive, unless either where it was associated with the maintenance of peculiar education and habits, as at Sparta, or where it presented itself as the only antithesis to democracy, the latter having by peculiar circumstances become an object of terror. But the theory of democracy was preeminently seductive; creating in the mass of the citizens an intense positive attachment, and disposing them to voluntary action and suffering on its behalf, such as no coercion on the part of other governments could entail. Herodotus, in his comparison of the three sorts of government, puts in the front rank of the advantages of democracy "its most splendid name and promise"—

* Ἀθηναῖοι μέν νυν ἤνξηντο· δῆλοι δὲ οὐ κατ' ἓν μόνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ, ἡ ἰσηγορίη ὡς ἔστι χρῆμα σπουδαῖον, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννευόμενοι μέν, οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικεύντων ἔσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων, μακρῷ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο· δῆλοι ὧν ταῦτα, ὅτι κατεχομένοι μὲν, ἐθελοκάκεον, ὡς δεσπότῃ ἐργαζομένοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑωϋτῷ προθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι. (*Herod.* v. 78.)

its power of enlisting the hearts of the citizens in support of their constitution, and of providing for all a common bond of union and fraternity. This is what even democracy did not always do: but it was what no other government in Greece *could* do: a reason alone sufficient to stamp it as the best government, and presenting the greatest chance of beneficent results.... Among the Athenian citizens, certainly, it produced a strength and unanimity of positive political sentiment, such as has rarely been seen in the history of mankind, which excites our surprise and admiration the more when we compare it with the apathy which had preceded, and which is even implied as the natural state of the public mind in Solon's famous proclamation against neutrality in a sedition. Because democracy happens to be unpalatable to most modern readers, they have been accustomed to look upon the sentiment here described only in its least honourable manifestations—in the caricatures of Aristophanes, or in the empty commonplaces of rhetorical declaimers. But it is not in this way that the force, the earnestness, or the binding value of democratical sentiment at Athens is to be measured. We must listen to it as it comes from the lips of Perikles, while he is strenuously enforcing upon the people those active duties for which it both implanted the stimulus and supplied the courage; or from the oligarchical Nikias in the harbour of Syracuse, when he is endeavouring to revive the courage of his despairing troops for one last death-struggle, and when he appeals to their democratical patriotism as to the only flame yet alive and burning even in that moment of agony. From the time of Kleisthenes downward, the creation of this new mighty impulse makes an entire revolution in the Athenian character; and if the change still stood out in so prominent a manner before the eyes of Herodotus, much more must it have been felt by the contemporaries among whom it occurred.'

The influences here spoken of were those of democracy generally. For the peculiar and excellent organisation of her own democracy, Athens was indebted to a succession of eminent men. The earliest was her great legislator, Solon; himself the first capital prize which Athens drew in the dispensations of the Destinies; a man whose personal virtue ennobled the city by which he was chosen to legislate, and the merit of whose institutions was a principal source of the deep-rooted respect for the laws, which distinguished Athens beyond any other of the ancient democracies. The salutary forms of business established by Solon, and calculated to secure as much caution and deliberation as was compatible with ultimate decision by a sovereign Ecclesia, lived through the successive changes by which the constitution was rendered more and more democratic. And though it is commonly supposed that popular passion in a democracy is peculiarly liable to trample on forms when they stand between it and its object—which is indeed, without question, one of the dangers of a democracy—there is

no point in the character of the Athenians more remarkable than their respect and attachment to the forms of their constitution. In the height of their anger against Pericles for not leading them out to defend their lands and houses from the ravages of the Peloponnesians — because he, standing on his privilege as a magistrate, abstained from calling an assembly, no assembly met. There is indeed but one marked instance known to us, in Athenian history, of that violation of forms which was the daily practice of most of the oligarchical governments. That one was a case of great and just provocation, the 'cause celèbre' of the six generals who neglected to save their drowning countrymen after the sea fight of Arginusæ: and there was, as Mr. Grote has shown, no injustice in the fact of their condemnation by the people, though there was a blameable violation of the salutary rules of criminal procedure established for the protection of the innocent. It was in this case that the philosopher Socrates, accidentally that month a senator of the presiding tribe, as firm against the 'civium ardor prava 'jubentium' as afterwards against the 'vultus instantis tyranni,' singly refused to join in putting the question to the assembly contrary to the laws; adding one to the proofs that the man of greatest intellect at that time in Athens was also its most virtuous citizen.

After Solon (omitting the intervening usurpation of Pisistratus), the first great constitutional change was the reformation of Cleisthenes, an eminent man, to whose character and historical importance no one before Mr. Grote had done justice. The next was that in which the immediate mover was Aristides, at the re-establishment of the city after the Persian war, when the poorest class of citizens was first admitted to share in public employments. The final measures which completed the democratic constitution were those of Pericles and Ephialtes; more particularly the latter, a statesman of whom, from the unfortunate absence of any cotemporary history of the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars except the brief introductory sketch of Thucydides, we have to lament that too little is known, but of whom the recorded anecdotes indicate a man worthy to have been the friend of Pericles.* Ephialtes perished by assassination, a victim to the rancorous hatred of the oligarchical party. Assassination afterwards disappears from Athenian public life, until reintroduced on a regular system by the same party, to effect the revolution of the Four Hundred. The Athenian Many, of whose democratic irritability and

* See particularly Ælian, V. H. xi. 9. and xiii. 39.

suspicion we hear so much, are rather to be accused of too easy and good-natured a confidence, when we reflect that they had living in the midst of them the very men who, on the first show of an opportunity, were ready to compass the subversion of the democracy by the dark deeds of Peisander and Antiphon, and when they had effected their object, perpetrated all the villanies of Critias and his associates. These were no obscure private individuals, but men of rank and fortune, not only prominent as politicians and public speakers, but continually trusted with all the great offices of state. Truly Athens was in more danger from these men than from the demagogues; they were indeed themselves the worst of the demagogues — described by Phrynichus, their confederate, as, for their own purposes, the leaders and instigators of the Demos to its most blameable actions, *πορισταὶ καὶ ἐσηγηταὶ τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείω αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖσθαι.*

These are a few of the topics on which a flood of light is let in by Mr. Grote's History, and from which those who have not read it may form some notion of the interest which pervades it, especially the part relating to the important century between 500 and 400 B. C. We have chosen our instances according to our own estimate of their importance, rather than according to their fitness to display the merits of the book. The searching character of Mr. Grote's historical criticism is not suspiciously confined to matters in which his own political opinions may be supposed to be interested. Though the statement has the air of an exaggeration, yet after much study of Mr. Grote's book we do not hesitate to assert, that there is hardly a fact of importance in Grecian history which was perfectly understood before his re-examination of it. This will not seem incredible to those who are aware how new an art that of writing history is; how very recently it is that we possess histories, of events not cotemporary with the writer, which, apart from literary merit, have any value otherwise than as materials; how utterly uncritical, until lately, were all historians, even as to the most important facts in history, and how much, even after criticism had commenced, the later writers merely continued to repeat after the earlier. In our own generation, Niebuhr has effected a radical revolution in the opinions of all educated persons respecting Roman history. Grecian events, subsequent to the Homeric period, are more authentically recorded; but there, too, a very moderate acquaintance with the evidence was sufficient to show how superficially it had hitherto been examined. That the Sophists, for example, were not the knaves and profligates they are so often represented, could be gathered even from the statements of the

hostile witnesses on whose authority they were condemned. The Protagoras alone, of their great enemy Plato, is a sufficient document. Again, the Athenian democracy had been so outrageously, and without measure, misrepresented, that whoever had read, as so few have done, Thucydides and the orators with decent intelligence and candour, could easily perceive that the vulgar representation was very wide of the truth; just as any one who had read Livy could see, and many did see, that the Agrarian law was not the unjust spoliation that was pretended: but as it required Niebuhr to detect with accuracy what the Agrarian law actually was, so no less profound a knowledge of Greek literature than that of Mr. Grote, combined with equal powers of reasoning and reflection, would have sufficed to make the effective working of the Athenian constitution as well known to us as it may now be pronounced to be. The mountain of error which had accumulated and hardened over Greek history, the removal of which had been meritoriously commenced by Dr. Thirlwall, has not only been shaken off, but the outlines of the real object are now made visible. And so cautious and sober is Mr. Grote in the estimate of evidence, so constantly on his guard against letting his conclusions outrun his proofs, as to make it a matter of wonder that among so much that is irreparably lost, his researches have enabled him to arrive at so considerable an amount of positive and certifiable result.

This conscientious scrupulousness in maintaining the demarcation between conjecture and proof, is more indispensable than any other excellence in a historian, and above all in one who sets aside the common notion of many of the facts which he relates, and replaces it by a version of his own. Without this quality, such an innovator on existing beliefs inspires no reliance, and can only, at most, unsettle historical opinion, without helping to restore it. Anybody can scrawl over the canvas with the commonplaces of rhetoric or the catchwords of party politics; and many, especially in Germany, can paint in a picture from the more or less ingenious suggestions of a learned imagination. But Mr. Grote commands the confidence of the reader by his sobriety in hypothesis, by never attempting to pass off an inference as a fact, and, when he differs from the common opinion, explaining his reasons with the precision and minuteness of one who neither desires nor expects that anything will be taken upon trust. He has felt that a history of Greece, to be of any value, must be also a running commentary on the evidence, and he has endeavoured to put the reader in a position to judge for himself on every disputable point. But the discussions, though to a historical taste as interesting as the narra-

tive, are not carried on at its expense. Wherever the facts, authentically known, allow a consecutive stream of narrative to be kept up, the story is told in a more interesting manner than it has anywhere been told before, except in the finest passages of Thucydides.

We are indeed disposed to assign to this history almost as high a rank in narrative as in thought. It is open, no doubt, to minute criticism; and many writers are superior to Mr. Grote in rapidity, grace, and picturesqueness of style. But even in these respects there is no such deficiency as amounts to a fault, while in two qualities, far more important to the interest, not to say the value of his recitals, he has few equals and probably no superior. The first is, that at each point in the series of events, he makes it his primary object to fill his own mind and his reader's with as correct and complete a conception as can be formed of the situation; so that we enter at once into the impressions and feelings of the actors, both collective and individual, and understand without effort how things came to pass as they did. Niebuhr had already, in his Lectures on Ancient History (recently published), carried his characteristic liveliness of conception into the representation of the leading characters of Greek history, depicting them, often we fear with insufficient warrant from evidence, like persons with whom he had long lived and been familiar; but, for clearness and correctness in conceiving the surrounding circumstances, and the posture of affairs at each particular moment, we do not think him at all comparable to Mr. Grote. This genuine realisation of the successive situations, renders the narrative itself a picture of the Greek mind. Carrying on throughout the succession of feelings concurrently with that of events, the writer becomes, as it were, himself a Greek, and takes the reader along with him. And hence, if every discussion or dissertation in the book were omitted, it would still be wonderfully in advance of any former history in making the Greeks intelligible. For example; no modern writer has made the reader enter into the religious feelings of the Greeks as Mr. Grote does. Other historians let it be supposed that, except in some special emergencies, beliefs and feelings relating to the unknown world counted for very little among the determining causes of events; and it is a kind of accredited opinion, that the religion of the ancients sat almost as lightly on them as if it had been to them what it is in modern literature, a mere poetical ornament. But the case was quite otherwise: religion was one of the most active elements in Grecian life, with an effect, in the early rude times, probably on the whole beneficial, but growing more and more injurious as civili-

sation advanced. Mr. Grote is the first historian who has given an adequate impression of the omnipresence of this element in Grecian life; the incessant reference to supernatural hopes and fears which pervaded public and private transactions, as well as the terrible power with which those feelings were capable of acting, and not unfrequently did act, on the Hellenic susceptibilities. While our admiration is thus increased for the few superior minds who, like Pericles and Epaminondas, rose above at least the vulgarer parts of the religion of their country, or, like Plato, probably rejected it altogether, we are enabled to see the explanation of much that would otherwise be enigmatical, and to judge the Greeks with the same amount of allowance for errors produced by their religion, which in parallel cases is always conceded to the moderns.

The other eminent quality which distinguishes Mr. Grote's narrative is its pervading *ἦθος*; the moral interest, which is so much deeper, and more impressive than picturesque interest, and exists in portions of the history which afford no materials for the latter. The events do not always admit of being vividly depicted to the mental eye; and when they do, the author does not always make use of the opportunity; but one thing he never fails in—the moral aspect of the events and of the persons is never out of sight, and gives the predominating character to the recital. We use the word moral not solely in the restricted sense of right and wrong, but as inclusive of the whole of the sentiments connected with the occasion. Along with the clear light of the scrutinising intellect, there is the earnest feeling of a sympathising contemporary. This rich source of impressiveness in narration is often wanting in writers of the liveliest fancy, and the most brilliant faculty of delineating the mere outside of historical facts: but where it is present, it may enable us to content ourselves with far less of those more superficial merits than are found in Mr. Grote's book; it might even reconcile us, if need were, to their entire absence.

With regard to style, in the ordinary sense, what is most noticeable in Mr. Grote is, that his style always rises with his subject. The more valuable the thought, or interesting the incident, the apter and more forcible is the expression; as is generally the case with writers who are thinking of their subject rather than of their literary reputation. We can conscientiously say of him what, rightly understood, is the highest praise which, on the score of mere composition, a writer in the more intellectual departments of literature can desire or deserve; that everything which he has to express, he is always able to express adequately and worthily.

We have observed an announcement that the 'History' is to be completed in one more volume; but it seems to us impossible that the remaining matter can be compressed into such a space without undue abridgment, even if the author adheres rigidly to the limit which he originally, and, we think, unnecessarily prescribed to himself—the end of the generation of Alexander. The conquests of the great Macedonian—the long struggles which led to the formation of Greek kingdoms from the fragments of the Persian empire—the Lamian war, and the administration of Athens under Phocion and under Demetrius Phalereus—are yet to come. But, above all, an historical and philosophical estimate of Plato and Aristotle is promised for the next volume; and to be as thorough and satisfactory as that already given of Socrates, it will probably require to be much longer. If to this be added any account of the civil, as distinguished from the political life of Athens, her internal legislation, and the practical condition of her people, or any general estimate of the Greeks and of Grecian civilisation, we anticipate a sufficient overflow to extend far into a thirteenth volume; and we hope that Mr. Grote may be induced to add a fourteenth, and continue the History to the Roman Conquest. We do not ask him to recount the events of the Macedonian period with the minuteness suitable to the Peloponnesian and Theban wars; but there are few readers who would not regret the absence of a general outline of that period; while there are portions of the later history, particularly that of the Peloponnesian Greeks, which, in personal interest, may vie with any of the preceding: and it would be gratifying to have a delineation of Agis and Cleomenes, Aratus and Philopœmen, from the same hand which has drawn the great men of an earlier and more fortunate time. The objections to a further lengthening of the work, appear to us altogether unimportant. No one who reads this History will wish that it were shorter. A book which has reached twelve volumes may well extend to fourteen; and if its reduction to the apostolic number were considered desirable, a better way of effecting this in future editions would be to make some reduction in the unnecessary size and width of the type, in which this work greatly exceeds the standard editions of Gibbon, or any other of the more voluminous English historians.

ART. VI.— *An Essay on the Principles and Construction of Military Bridges and the Passages of Rivers in Military Operations.* By General Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS, Bart., G. C. B., G. C. M. and G., D. C. L. Oxf., F. R. S., &c. &c. Third edition. London: 1853.

IT must be obvious to the common sense of every thinking man, that an army destitute of bridge equipments, and unskilled in the art of putting them together, is, for all the practical operations of war, well nigh worthless. The infantry may be stout, sufficiently drilled and appointed — the cavalry horses good, and the artillery excellent — but, except for purposes absolutely and locally defensive, nothing whatever can be done with them. No general could move such an army, save along high roads or across open plains and commons; for the first river or canal which crossed the line of his march would interpose an insuperable obstacle to his further progress, and bring him to a stand-still. Accordingly we find that, as soon as nations pass beyond a state of absolute barbarism, they begin to devise means for surmounting this difficulty. The painted warrior is satisfied with his canoe or coracle. Carrying nothing with him except his weapons, on which he depends for his supplies in war, as he is accustomed to do for daily food in peace, he paddles over lakes and rivers in search of his enemy, or flees by the same process from him. But, no sooner has his tribe received the first rudiments of civilisation, than a different course becomes necessary. War has ceased to be an indulgence of personal revenge, or a struggle for the possession of some disputed hunting-ground. The objects sought by it are grander and more lasting. Our chief — now a king — is covetous of political power and extensive territory; neither of which can be achieved except there be order and discipline in his masses. But order and discipline in masses are coincident only with such an extent of organisation as shall enable them when moving to keep together and to act in concert everywhere. The canoe and the coracle do not suffice for this, and if they did, they would still force our king to depend upon chance for the supply of his daily wants. He, therefore, takes to bridge-making; and the accounts which have come down to us of the military operations of the old Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans prove that he is not slow in arriving at a tolerable amount of proficiency in the art. Darius laid his pontoons upon the Bosphorus and the Danube, and so passed them both. Let anybody read with

care the account given by Herodotus of the bridges thrown by Xerxes across the Hellespont, and he will be satisfied that there was no lack either of mind or of material in the Persian armies. So, also, we learn from Xenophon, that the broad Tigris failed to stay the retreat of the Ten Thousand, because they spanned it with a bridge upon thirty-seven trestles, and marched across. As to Alexander, it is evident from the statements of Arrian, that he carried to the conquest of India a bridge equipment as complete in every respect as any which at this day follows the track of the best appointed European armies. The passage of the Hydaspes fully settles this point. It was not effected at random, but by means of light vessels which were brought up upon carriages, divided, some of them into two, others into three parts, for the convenience of transport. These he put together on the river's bank, behind the screen of a thick wood, and having launched them, raft-wise — pretty much as our sappers and miners launched their rafts last summer on Virginia Water — he marched his army across. Nor was the case different with the Romans, who seem to have carried this, as they did other branches of the art of war, to a high state of perfection. Cæsar informs us, that he was accustomed to pass the rivers of Gaul on wooden platforms, which were sustained at certain intervals by vessels made of wicker-work, and covered with the skins of beasts. And we need not pause to demonstrate, that the pile or tressel bridge which he laid upon the Rhine was as admirable a piece of military mechanism as any upon record.

The establishment of the empire did not, for many a day, affect injuriously either the skill or courage of the Romans. They continued to extend their conquests in all directions, neither the Danube nor the Euphrates, nor any other river arresting their progress; for they undertook no distant campaign with armies of which the equipment was not in every respect complete. And even when they fought only to keep what had been already won, they did it on scientific principles. The bridge-train of Julian, when he went forth to chastise the Persians, seems to have been excellent. It was the loss of this train, which, after the fall of Julian, compelled Jovian to capitulate on the banks of the Tigris to the Persian King Sapor. But a change comes over the vision of our dream, after the pride of Rome has been humbled, and her empire overthrown. A new age of barbarism arrives, and with it the neglect of all that has a tendency to redeem war (considered as an art) from its grossness. There was no more skill in manœuvring men now —no more science in the preparation of means for facilitating the progress of columns from one point to another. Each feudal

chief became the leader of a band of outlaws, working his will by sheer strength of hand, and incapable of surmounting any other difficulty than that which the person of a mailed adversary might present. How the leaders of the first crusade contrived to carry their followers through the east of Europe into the Holy Land we are unable to conceive. But the enormous extent of their losses shows that every requisite to the efficiency of an army was wanting to them. Nor did matters greatly mend, as far as the particular art of which we are now speaking is concerned, for some time after the invention of gunpowder. The artillery first fabricated was of such unwieldly proportions that no bridges, except such as were composed of the most enduring materials, could sustain its weight. Indeed, so recently as the thirty years' war, the leaders on both sides were forced, in order to carry their guns across the German rivers, to bring up heavy oaken vessels; from the floorings of which props sprang so strong that they sufficed to carry massive joists of timber, on which a road was laid. Bridges so formed, besides that they were extremely inconvenient of transport, ran a constant risk of destruction from the accidents of war or climate; for the carrying away of a single barge rendered all the others useless, and the means of repairing so serious a disaster were rarely at hand.

It was about the middle of the seventeenth century that the Dutch, first of modern European nations, began to adapt bateaux, or small vessels, to the formation of military bridges. These they prepared with very considerable skill. The sides were nearly vertical, the bottoms flat, the extremities gradually diminishing in breadth and terminating at each end in an inclined plane which made an angle of 45 degrees with the surface of the water. The vessels themselves were not of solid oak, but composed of a frame-work of timber over which a covering of tin was drawn. Hence their great portability, and hence also the application to them of the term 'ponton,' or 'pontoon,' a word which has ever since been employed to signify a boat composed of light materials, and built exclusively for military purposes. The invention was so obviously valuable, that it soon attracted the notice of other States. The French followed the example of the Dutch so early as 1762, and supplied their armies with a regular bridge train, whch has never since been wanting to them. Other nations followed one by one a like course; so that early in the present century there was no army of continental Europe but numbered among its materials of war a bridge equipment. Some covered the frame-works of their pontoons with copper; some adhered to the Dutch model, and preferred tin; the Russians alone overlaid their wicker-work

with sackcloth, which they saturated with tar till it became impermeable by water. But it does not appear that then, any more than now, pontoon bridges were considered adequate to all the emergencies of service. Marshal Turenne, for example, though carrying one along with him, was afraid to trust his communications across the Rhine and the Meuse to materials so fragile. He formed his standing bridges out of the common country boats, and found them adequate. Nor can we be surprised at this. The pontoons in use during the war of the Spanish succession were much smaller than those to which we are accustomed; it was therefore necessary, in laying them down, to keep them closer to one another than is done in these days, because the bridge could not otherwise obtain buoyancy sufficient to support the weight of men, horses, guns and stores passing over; and as the course of the water was thus very much obstructed, the bridge, especially on rivers like the Rhine, ran great risk of being carried away by the current, besides incurring increased hazard of destruction from floating bodies sent down by the enemy from above.

Our next stage in the art of military bridge-making occurs about 1787 or 1788, when a M. Gribeauval, an officer in the French service, brought forward an improved pontoon, which was adopted and called after the name of the inventor. Its length was 36 feet 3 inches, its breadth 6 feet 9 inches, its height 3 feet 9 inches, and it weighed 4,079 lbs. avoirdupois. It was of vast capacity and buoyancy; for one such vessel, when used as a ferry-boat, could carry from fifty to sixty armed men across a river. But it laboured under this serious drawback, that its great weight rendered the task of conveying it from place to place difficult and laborious. One of the last occasions on which it seems to have been used was in 1809, when Napoleon supported upon pontoons of this description his bridge across the Danube. Its place has long ago been supplied in the French service by bateaux in every respect more convenient. We shall have occasion to describe them more in detail by-and-bye; but in the meanwhile our non-professional readers may not be displeased if we preface such description by a few general remarks explanatory of the nature of pontoon bridges in general, and of the manner in which they are prepared for the march, carried in the train of armies, and applied at the proper moment to their proper uses.

A pontoon bridge, then, is a road laid across or upon a river, of which the gangway is composed of planks, and the piers of buoyant vessels, fabricated after some approved model. Its constituent parts are the vessels in question, called pontoons,

saddles, balks, chesses, and half-chesses. There are required to fix and manage it, saddle-lashings, rack-sticks, rack-lashings, breast-lines, outriggers, oars, boat-hooks, buoys, buoy-lines, anchors, cables, body-lashings, carriage-lashings. All these materials are packed and carried about in waggons, so constructed as to receive their respective loads neatly, and to keep them while on the march secure. The numbers of waggons required in the team vary according to the extent of the bridge, and the manner in which its parts are distributed. But whatever the form of these parts may be, and however different the usages of each particular service in their distribution, they are all subject to one common contingency, — there must be carriages, horses, and men set apart specially for their transport, otherwise their presence will operate as an incumbrance rather than as a convenience to an army.

Of the pontoon — the foundation, so to speak, of the bridge — it may suffice, at this early stage of our inquiry, to say that whatever be its shape, and the material of which it is formed, it is valuable in proportion as it unites in itself the various qualities of buoyancy, lightness, convenience of stowage, steadiness in the water, and applicability to purposes of navigation.

The saddle is a frame of fir timber, which, being placed centrally on the axis of a pontoon, is secured to it by lashings, and receives the ends of the balks.

The balks are small beams of fir, which rest on the saddles, and are secured in their places by iron bolts. They serve in the bridge the same purpose which joists do in house-building. They extend from one pontoon to another, and support the flooring or platform.

This flooring, or platform, is constructed with chesses, and half-chesses. The former consist of three fir planks a-piece, bound together in their breadth by four cleats, which fasten underneath; the latter are single planks, which, when the bridge is completed lie over the saddles, and can without difficulty be removed, whenever it becomes necessary to get at the pins or bolts which pass through the balks and keep them in their places.

With respect to the rest of the articles enumerated as belonging to the equipment of a pontoon bridge, their names, we presume, sufficiently set forth the purposes which they are intended to serve. Lashings of every kind, rack or twisting-sticks, anchors, buoys, cables, boat-hooks, — these are implements with which our readers cannot but be familiar. If they desire to know exactly how and under what circumstances each is used, the best thing we can do for them is to advise, that

they go down to Woolwich or to Chatham the first time a bridge is laid, and watch the process.

Though there are no positive limits to the extent of a pontoon bridge, the best authorities seem to be agreed that it is not desirable to aim at more than a span of 170 or 180 yards. The waggons necessary for the transport of such a bridge, are in our service about twenty; in the French service, and in that of other foreign Powers, the number would be greater or less, according to the shape of the pontoons. But, whatever their numbers, the waggons take a position on the line of march corresponding to the probable exigencies of the service. If the army be advancing, and there are no rivers near, the pontoon train will move in rear of one of the columns. If the army be retreating, it will be pushed on a-head, under a sufficient escort. In the latter case, the duties of the commandant of the train are obvious enough. He marches on till he arrives at the spot indicated for the construction of a bridge. He there lays the bridge down, and as soon as the rear-guard is across, he gathers in his materials again, packs them up, and sets off at the utmost speed of which his animals are capable. In the former cases there is much more to be thought about.

An army on the advance may be assumed to be moving, either against another army which is moving towards it,— or in pursuit of an enemy who is seeking to avoid it, and is therefore anxious to throw as many impediments as possible in the way of the pursuer. Whichever idea be taken up, the operations of the pontoniers must remain pretty much the same; for the retreating army will not, it is probable, leave its own side of the river unguarded, and the army which is prepared to deliver or to accept a battle, is sure to watch well against a surprise. Here then are the two armies, coming, so to speak, into presence, but with a river between. It is, in every respect, suitable to pontooning purposes; that is to say, it is not too broad, it is not too rapid, there is ample depth of water, the banks are level, and a clear sky, which has canopied both hosts for a week or a fortnight back, assures them against any sudden or violent freshes. One general or the other is eager to strike a blow. He therefore manœuvres so as to distract the attention of the enemy, and he gives orders that at a certain point, and at a certain time, the river shall be bridged. How are these orders executed?

If the ladies and gentlemen who took such a laudable interest in the operations of the Chobham camp are to believe their eyes, nothing can be more easy or more beautiful than the process of pontooning. They saw a number of queer-

looking implements — which have been compared, not inaptly, to huge Bologna sausages, collected they could not tell how or whence — on the margin of Virginia Water. Suddenly, a body of sappers and miners seized upon the sausages, and conveying them by hand — for they were wonderfully light — into shallow water, began to construct upon them, with equal rapidity and skill, solid-looking rafts. Two saddles were lashed on each pontoon; balks, measuring about thirteen feet in length, were passed from one saddle to another. Chesses were laid down and made fast under these balks — and away went the raft triumphantly into deep water. Meanwhile a second and a third, constructed in like manner, followed in the same direction, till by and bye — with the help of a line, previously drawn across (how it got into its position nobody could guess), the necessary number of rafts were launched, anchored, and made fast at both ends, — and lo the bridge was completed! Forthwith bodies of riflemen dashed across. Then came columns of foot and of horse — and by and bye guns. The bridge rocked and swayed terribly. Some of the horses shyed—some fell into the water. But on the occasion to which we now particularly refer, no life was lost of man or beast; the whole got across. Things did not go quite so smoothly at the attack on Runnymede. A gun slipped from the bridge, dragging its team and a dozen men along with it. But the catastrophe made no very deep impression. All the gunners were fished out — and of the artillery horses only two were drowned. The spectators went away convinced, that with such a train, and such men to lay it, a British army could go any where, and do any thing.

We confess that, though much grieving for the fate of these two noble animals, we were not upon the whole sorry that the accident occurred. It tested the capacity of a set of pontoons, which, on what authority we are unable to say, have superseded all others in the English service; and we are bound to declare that, according to our poor judgment, it condemned them utterly. The river was as smooth as a mill-pond. The fastenings of the bridge were perfect. Yet, no sooner was the platform loaded, than there occurred such a succession of violent gyrations, as no horse in high condition could be expected to endure. It seemed, too, that a very slight additional weight would have torn the balks from their places, — for every pontoon in its turn became so much immersed that the pressure of a few pounds more must have sunk it altogether. Now this is not the condition to which any pontoon bridge

ought to be reduced by the passage of a nine-pounder. Let us see to what the defect is to be attributed.

We have elsewhere observed, that pontoons become more or less valuable in proportion as they unite in themselves the qualities of buoyancy, steadiness in the water, aptitude to purposes of navigation, and facility of transport. Forty or fifty years ago the pontoons in our service possessed all these qualities except the last, though none perhaps to the full extent that is attainable. They were very heavy, and in shape resembled large river punts. They consisted of solid frames of wood covered with sheets of copper; and each weighed, with its appurtenances and the carriage used to transport it, 35 cwt. They were, like other punts, undecked, and therefore liable, of course, to be filled should a turbulent stream break violently over them, or the strain on their buoyancy prove excessive; and when such an accident occurred to more than one or two in the whole length of the bridge, there was no possibility of repairing the damage except by breaking up the bridge entirely. This last defect, though a grave one, was attributable, be it observed, rather to the system of management than to the principle on which the pontoon was constructed. It showed that we had not then arrived at such skill in mechanics as could enable us to meet all emergencies; it furnished no proof that the form of the pontoon was radically defective. And with respect to the hazard of submersion, that is a risk from which no open pontoon bridge can be rendered absolutely free, though a skilful adaptation of pump machinery may greatly modify it. We acknowledge, however, that the pontoons which we are now describing laboured under some disqualifications. They were unnecessarily cumbrous in transport and difficult to handle in the water; but to compensate for this they proved marvellously steady when laid down. The undulations visible in them during the passage of men, horses, and carriages were next to nothing.

There was a natural desire in many quarters to improve upon these pontoons; and in 1814 Colonel Sir James Colleton produced vessels cylindrical in shape and having long conical ends wherewith to cast off the water in its descent. As they were made up of wooden staves put together like the staves of a cask and girt about with iron hoops, they got the name of buoy pontoons, which continued to be applied to them after their inventor had substituted copper for timber except in the framework. From some imperfection in the manner of arranging them in the water, they were not found to answer; and Sir Charles Pasley, then a colonel of engineers, took the subject up. He brought forward a pantoon shaped like a boat,

with a deck and two prows, of which the frame consisted of wood, and the exterior covering of sheet copper. For the sake of portability, he so constructed his boat that it could be divided transversely into equal parts, which, by means of lashings, were brought together at the water's edge, and became an entire and water-tight vessel. We believe that Sir Charles Pasley's pontoons are still used by the army of the East India Company; at home they have given place to the Bologna sausages already referred to, of which Colonel Blanchard, of the Royal Engineers, has the merit of being the inventor. These are composed entirely of tin, though copper would do quite as well, except for the circumstance that it is much more costly. We must describe one.

There are two kinds of pontoons in the arsenal at Woolwich —one intended for the general use of an army, the other supposed to be available for an advanced guard, or a flying corps which shall consist only of infantry, and the lightest species of field gun. Both are constructed on the same principle. They consist of sheets of tin—of the quality known in trade as xxx. —which are wound round a series of light tin wheels, of which the spokes are tin tubes measuring one inch in diameter. Through these wheels, and extending from one extremity of the pontoon to the other, runs a general axis, namely, a long hollow tin tube, having a diameter of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The pontoons, whether large or small, are cylinders with paraboidal ends. They measure, respectively, the larger pontoon 24 feet 6 inches in length, including the paraboidal ends, by 2 feet 8 inches in diameter; the smaller, 14 feet 10 inches, by 1 foot 7 inches in diameter. Vessels constructed on this principle and of these materials, cannot be otherwise than buoyant. The larger pontoon, when placed in the water, without superstructure of any sort, sinks to the depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the smaller, dealt with in the same way, sinks about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches only. But taken singly they are alike useless; for such is the unsteadiness of all floating substances of which the shape is cylindrical or globular, that the smallest weight imposed upon its upper face causes it immediately to topple over. The pontoons adopted by us, therefore, are never launched except by pairs; in other words, the first thing done on reaching the bank of the river, is to construct a series of rafts, which one after another are sheered out into deep water. A word or two on this part of the subject is necessary to a right understanding of all that is to follow.

We have spoken above about the method by which pontoon bridges are made to accompany armies on their marches. Other Powers, for reasons hereafter to be stated, convey one pon-

toon, complete in its appurtenances, upon one waggon. We so construct our waggons, or are supposed so to construct them, as that each shall carry two pontoons, with all other things necessary for the completion of a raft. There thus go together:—

Pontoons	2	Out-riggers	2
Saddles	2	Oars	7
Balks	12	Boat-hook	1
Chesses	10	Buoy	1
Half-chesses	4	Buoy-line	1
Saddle-lashings	4	Anchor	1
Rack-sticks	8	Cable	1
Rack-lashings	8	Body-lashings	3
Breast-lines	2	Carriage-lashings	4

The order of packing is this. First come the balks, arranged on the bottom of the carriage, in the centre of bolsters which are cut to receive them, and with which, when all are in their proper places, the tops of the balks become level. Above the balks are piled the chesses, above the chesses the saddles; the cable is coiled and stowed between the saddles. Upon the saddles rest the pontoons; the space between the under sides of the pontoons, and just above the cable, is filled up by the oars. Webbed girths are then passed over the pontoons, which being fastened down to the carriage keep the load steady. Meanwhile, all the working articles, such as rack-sticks, rack-lashings, &c. are stowed away in the carriage box; and, finally, the anchor and buoy are securely fastened to the perch.

The order of unpacking is, of course, an exact opposite to the above. As soon as the waggon reaches the point beyond which it is deemed inexpedient to drive it, the party in charge proceeds to unship the various articles that are piled in and about it. All are numbered—each set has its appointed men to lift it—and every thing is thus brought rapidly and without confusion into a working state. The pontoons, which are provided with four rows of sunken handles a-piece, at intervals of 2 feet 1 inch round the circumference, are conveyed by hand to the water's edge. Two saddles are lashed to each; the balks are fastened upon the saddles; the chesses cleated down to the balks; the oars, boat-hook, anchor, buoy, rack-sticks, and lashings of every description shipped, and we have a raft complete. There is now something available to manage: what are its capabilities?

Two of our larger pontoons formed into a raft, sink immediately to the depth of $7\frac{1}{3}$ inches. Two small pontoons similarly managed sink $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Their weights appear to be—that of

the large raft, 2,495 lbs.; that of the smaller, 513¼ lbs. This lays upon each pontoon, including its own weight, a burden of 1,247½ lbs. in the former case, and 256⅝ lbs. in the latter. But when the rafts are united so as to form a bridge, each pontoon has to support the weight of half the superstructure on either side of it; in other words, the large pontoon then carries 1,847 lbs., the small, 314 lbs. The immersion is, consequently, carried to 9½ and 5¼ inches respectively, before any other substance than the materials required to complete the bridge rests upon the pontoons. But the water displaced by the large pontoon when wholly immersed, is, as near as possible, 7,675 lbs. Take away the weight of the pontoon with that of the superstructure which rests upon it, namely, 1,847 lbs. from this amount, and you have an available buoyancy of not more than 5,428 lbs.

Pontoons of the larger sort are usually laid at intervals of thirteen feet from centre to centre. But we must allow Sir Howard Douglas to carry forward the argument.

'The water displaced,' he says, 'by one of Colonel Blanchard's large pontoons, when wholly immersed, being 7,675 lbs., and the weight of one pontoon, with the part of the superstructure which rests upon it, being 1,847 lbs., there remain 5,428 lbs., which may be placed on the bridge within the extent which is supported on one pontoon (half a bay on each side), that is 13 ft. when the pontoons are placed at the usual open order, or 13 ft. from centre to centre. Then, assuming that a man in marching order weighs 180 lbs., it follows that 32 men, or 8 ranks marching on a front of 4 men, are all that should be allowed for to every 13 ft. in the length of the bridge; and with this number the upper surfaces of the pontoons will be on a level with the surface of the water.'

'In passing a pontoon bridge cavalry can only march by double files, and as each horse takes up about 9 ft. in length, 4 horses could scarcely stand within the space which rests on one pontoon. Now estimating the weight of a horse at 9 cwt. or 1,008 lbs., and that of the soldier, with his arms, baggage, and appurtenances, at 308 lbs., the weight of four horses, with their riders, will be 5,264 lbs.; to this adding 1,847 lbs. for the pontoon and superstructure, the weight is 7,111 lbs. In the table it will be seen that this weight would sink a pontoon to the depth of 26½ inches!

'The weight of a 9 pounder gun with its carriage and limber is 4,159 lbs., and this weight is supported on the bearing points of the four wheels. Now, supposing the axles of the wheels of the gun and limber to be 9 ft. asunder, while the centre of gravity is about 1 foot from the axle of the gun-wheels towards the limber, it follows that 3,697 lbs. are supported by the wheels of the gun-carriage. Then when the wheels are over a pontoon, that pontoon will have to support, including its own weight and that of the superstructure, 5,544 lbs.; and from the table it appears that the pontoon would be immersed about 21⅓ inches, while the gun is passing over it.'

It appears from this description, first, that for purposes of navigation, Colonel Blanchard's pontoons are of very little value, because nobody, we presume, will contend, that it is possible to row a raft, no matter of what material composed, with its square front and broad surface, rapidly across a stream; and next, that in point of buoyancy it barely suffices to sustain the weight of 32 infantry, 4 armed horsemen, and one 9 pounder gun *in transitu.* It is manifest, also, that its capability of sustaining even this burden depends entirely upon the good order that is preserved in the column while it passes. The smallest pressure of the rear ranks on the front, — the slightest undue acceleration of pace in the cavalry or artillery, — neglect on the part of the infantry to omit keeping step, — any one of these accidents, which in the hurry of actual warfare is not unlikely to occur, may be attended with fatal consequences. And even under the most favourable circumstances, we appeal to all who witnessed the passage of the Thames, and its results, whether the general unsteadness of the bridge was not excessive.

But perhaps in their extraordinary facility of transport Colonel Blanchard's pontoons present a feature, which more than compensates for their shortcomings in every other respect. We are afraid not. Unquestionably a tin cylinder measuring 24 ft. 6 in. in length, with a diameter of only 2 ft. 8 in., is more portable, with the hand, than any trapezoidal or boat-shaped vessel which it would be possible to apply to pontooning purposes. The largest of Colonel Blanchard's pontoons weighs only 565 lbs., whereas the vessel used for similar purposes in the French army weighs upwards of 1,600 lbs. But the question assumes another shape when we come to consider their relative capabilities of package, and consequently of conveyance from one place to another. With a trapezoidal or boat-shaped pontoon, the whole of the interior space is available. Whether on board of ship or in a waggon, all the materials necessary for converting it into a half-raft may be stowed between the gunwales. With a cylinder, the interior space is lost, and the pontoon itself, as well because of its delicacy as of its conformation, must have ample room in the stowage. We suspect, therefore, that when the experiment comes to be fairly tried, it will be found that our lighter vessels render necessary for their transport more tonnage on ship-board, and a greater strength of waggons on shore, than any other bridge train in the world. But this is not all: our cylindrical pontoons have never yet been used in the presence of an enemy vigilant in watching his own side of the river, and determined to keep it. Are they fit for such

work? We will take the liberty of describing not the parade passage of Virginia Water or the Thames, but the method which is actually adopted when armies meet to fight and not to play; and then, perhaps, our readers will be able to draw for themselves a tolerably correct conclusion on that subject.

We defy any engineer in the world to lay a pontoon-bridge in the presence of an enemy who is master of the opposite bank of a river and has any shelter at all of wood or broken ground to cover him. Before a single raft is constructed, far more launched, light troops must have made good their passage to the other side, and woods and rocks will probably be ringing with the sharp echoes of their skirmishing fire. Now, there is no method of putting light troops across a deep river except one: they must be ferried over; and in order to accomplish this, we must have at our disposal vessels a great deal more ship-shape than either tin cylinders or rafts measuring 13 feet by 8 or 9. Our cylindrical bridge equipment, however, either does not provide such vessels at all, or it contemplates a supplemental train of common row-boats which has not yet been shown to an inquiring public, and which will of course demand a considerable augmentation of waggons, horses, and drivers to convey it. The French manage things differently. After repeated experiments they have come to the conclusion, that, all points considered, there is no pontoon so available for the varied purposes of a campaign as the flat-bottomed open vessel, which was adopted into their service in 1829. They argue that it is not wise to depend, for your first step in bridge-making, either upon the chances of finding country boats when you want them, or on a supply which must of necessity be limited if it be regarded as supplemental only. They have therefore determined that no pontoons shall accompany their armies which do not fulfil the following conditions: — 1st. Their capacity and solidity must be such as that a bridge formed of them may be able to support the greatest weights which usually accompany armies, and that the weight of the bateau be as slight as is consistent with this condition. 2nd. They must answer well as row-boats in case it should be necessary to use the bateaux as such in passing rivers by main force, or in establishing lodgments. 3rd. Their form and dimensions must be such as to admit of their being easily mounted on carriages and transported without difficulty from place to place.

We are inclined to think that our neighbours argue on good grounds: we are sure that, if the grounds of their argument be admitted, their method of acting up to it is excellent. A French pontoon is made entirely of wood; the frame-work is of oak;

the bottom and sides are covered with fir-planks. It is flat-bottomed. The sides are nearly vertical; the breadth diminishes towards the head and stern,—though the latter is wider than the former. The two ends or prows, which rise above the level of the tops of the gunwales, are curved like those of a canoe. In length the vessel measures 31 feet; the breadth of the body at the top is 5 feet 7 inches, at the bottom, 4 feet 4 inches; the breadth of the upper extremity of the front prow is 2 feet 5 inches, of the after prow, 4 feet 7 inches; the height of the body is 2 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Such a vessel may obviously be applied to every purpose in effecting the passage of a river; it is especially useful in the attainment of that without which all other attempts can hardly fail to miscarry.

When the passage of a river is to be made good, either by open violence or by stratagem, the pontoon-train halts behind some screen, as near as may be convenient to the bank of the river. One or more boats are immediately launched from the bank, full of armed men. These take on board with them a light line, coiled—the further end of which is made fast to a stout hawser—and instantly push off. If a picket of the enemy be posted on the opposite bank, a rattling musketry fire salutes them. This they disregard; though it will be answered, of course, from the bank which they are leaving,—provided the river be not too wide. But there is no firing from the boats. Stoutly the rowers ply their oars. Nobody speaks a word. It is for life or death that men are pulling, and their strokes are given regularly and heavily. They reach the bank, spring on shore with their muskets in their hands, and dash into the underwood. Some engage forthwith in the skirmish. The rest haul in the line till the end of the hawser comes home, which they make fast to the nearest tree. Now, then, a flying bridge is established; and backwards and forwards, to the tune of a sharp skirmish, the ferry-boat passes. Meanwhile, the pontoniers arrange their vessels on the further side, in agreement with the instructions which have been given to them. The French station theirs, fully laden, and at regular distances from one another, up the course of the river. At a given signal, all push out, and sweep consecutively round, like a battalion changing its front. Number one, to be sure, stands fast. It is in its proper place already, with its gear on board and its stern to the stream. It is in a state also for giving and receiving balks and chesses with number two, as soon as number two shall have wheeled into its station. Number three succeeds, then number four, and so on,—each shooting out its balks to those on either flank of it, and receiving and making fast

balks delivered by them in return. In half the time that is required for preparing, launching, connecting and sheering off our cylinders and rafts, this bridge of bateaux is complete. For every bateau steers upon the allignment of the hawser, and each, while doing so, drops its anchor in sufficient time for the crew to pull up exactly where it is intended that the boat should remain.

Compare this with the process which cannot be dispensed with in our service.

We assume that, by means of row-boats, provided expressly for the purpose, our people have made their lodgment on the enemy's bank. They fix their hawser and establish a flying bridge. What follows? While reinforcements are carried over to this forlorn hope by driblets, their friends on the far bank apply themselves diligently to construct a dozen rafts, and to sheer them off in succession. It took full twenty minutes to complete and connect that number in Virginia Water the other day. The process is not likely to be accelerated, if a brave and active enemy, alarmed by the sound of firing, hastens to support his pickets with artillery, as well as with infantry. Now, in operations of this sort time is everything. A hundred, sixty, even fifty brave men, will hold their ground against any odds for five or six minutes. But if these five or six minutes be prolonged to fifteen or twenty, or more, their resistance will be overpowered. Nor must it be forgotten that no use whatever can be made of the pontoons till they are constructed into rafts, and the rafts lashed together. Wherefore, unless our train be most inconveniently large, it is impossible that we can have at our disposal more than three or four small row-boats at the utmost. We may succeed, with these, in landing perhaps fifty men on the enemy's bank. But we cannot, by rowing, carry more. Our floating bridge will not carry above twenty at a trip; the enemy, on the other hand, get up their reinforcements by battalions. What can the valour and devotion of sixty or eighty men do, to protract the fight till the tedious process of sheering off rafts is completed? Observe how differently a French officer is circumstanced in every respect. If he see reason to anticipate a warm resistance at first, he has the means at his disposal of launching a flotilla capable of transporting from three to five hundred men at a trip. And the movement will scarcely retard the construction of his bridge at all, because his boats become pontoons by mere change of position, as soon as they discharge their living cargoes.

Again, the French bridge, when laid, is in every respect

stronger, safer, and more easily protected than ours. It is more easily protected, because the piers of a French bridge lie 19 feet 8 inches apart, whereas ours are separated by 13 feet only. And many a destructive substance will glide harmless through an opening of 19 feet, for which 13 would be too narrow. It is safer, first, because, in respect to buoyancy, it carries more than twice the weight which ours can sustain; next, because the gangway is wider. And it is stronger, for this among other reasons, that its superior solidity prevents that excessive heaving up and down which is perceptible in our bridges, and which necessarily occasions a severe strain on the balks and their fastenings. Finally, should it happen that both pontoons are sunk so far in a shallow river, as not only to touch the bottom, but to press upon it, the bateau, strong in its oaken frame-work, will take no hurt, whereas the tin cylinder is crushed to pieces and destroyed. Wherein, then, lies the superiority, if such there be, of the cylinder over the trapezoidal-shaped vessel? In its positive lightness, and consequent portability? This does not necessarily follow; for, as has elsewhere been explained, what the cylinder gains in positive lightness, it loses in difficulty of stowage. And when we further consider, that each bateau suffices to span 19 feet of water, whereas the utmost stretch of a cylinder is across 13 feet, the greater number required of this latter vessel, though it may not quite reach the standard of the other, will bring the burden on each side nearer to an equality than may at at first sight appear. Besides

'It is essential to the stability of floating bodies,' says Sir Howard, 'that their bearing should increase with the increase of their immersion vertically; that is, their horizontal sections should expand up to the plane of floatation, or horizontal surface of the fluid in which the vessel floats. In cylindrical vessels this only takes place up to the immersion of their horizontal diameter, after which—that is, after they are half immersed — the section coinciding with the plane of floatation diminishes; and the nearer the vessel approaches to entire immersion, its descent in the water becomes greater and greater with every equal augmentation of load; that is, just the reverse of what it should be. The bearing of a vessel of trapezoidal or boat-like shape, increases up to the extreme power of floatation; and this has ever been considered the grand desideratum in determining the configuration, and providing for the stability of floating bodies.'

But the French pontoons are open; ours are inclosed. A sudden fresh, an extra pressure upon the platform, may fill some or the whole of the former with water; and then what will become of the bridge? whereas ours can suffer, at the worst, no

more than a momentary immersion — it never can be water-logged. Withdraw the cause, and it rights itself immediately.

Perhaps so; but observe what the difference is between the floatation powers of the two bridges. A pressure of 7,675 pounds avoirdupoise will sink a bridge supported on cylindrical pontoons entirely; a bridge supported upon such bateaux as are used in the French service is sunk to the tops of the gunwales only after 18,674½ pounds have been imposed upon it. Both are useless so long as they are under water. But besides that the French bridge can successfully resist twice as much pressure as our own, the pump-machinery carried about with it must be much more defective than we take it to be, if against freshes, whether sudden or anticipated, it fail to provide a sufficient remedy. For these reasons, and for many more which we cannot find space or time to enumerate, it really does appear to us, that in adopting Colonel Blanchard's pontoon to the exclusion of all others, the military authorities of this country have acted somewhat rashly. We do not say that Colonel Blanchard's pontoon is not a very excellent vessel of its kind; it may perhaps turn out, after all, to deserve the place of merit which has been assigned to it; but as yet we are far from being satisfied of the fact, and we know that our neighbours on the farther side of the Channel deny it to be a fact at all. So, at least, we gather from the observations of Marshal Vaillant, himself an officer of great merit and experience, and brought up especially in this branch of the service.

'Les plus grands inconvéniences,' he says, 'des pontons cylin-'driques nous paraissent être d'exiger de longues voitures pour 'leur transport, et de ne pas pouvoir les conduire à la rame; 'ce qui ne permet pas non plus de les employer comme les 'pontons ordinaires ou les bateaux, pour faire passer brusque-'ment quelque corps d'infanterie d'un bord d'une rivière à 'l'autre. Dans les pays où les transports par voitures sont très-'difficiles et où l'une ne peut esperer de rencontrer des bateaux 'ou d'autres moyens de passage, il est indispensable de mener 'avec soi le matériel nécessaire à l'établissement de quelques 'ponts; mais en pareil cas, ce qu'il y a de mieux à faire c'est 'de transporter à dos de mulet quelques chevalets legers ou des 'caisses. * * * Toutes les fois qu'on pourra se servir 'de voitures nous croyons qu'au lieu de les employer au trans-'port de pontons cylindriques, il sera préférable de leur faire 'porter quelques pontons ordinaires ou quelques bateaux.'

The criticism of an able writer in 'Le Guide du Pontonier' is not less decisive:—'Le pont de tonneaux Anglais nous pa-'raît donc être une invention assez ingénieux mais sans utilité.

'Préferons à ces radeaux composés les bateaux légers que fran-
'chiront avec rapidité les plus grands fleuves et braveront sous
'les ponts les efforts des courans les plus violens.'

Before passing on to another part of our subject, we think it right to mention, that some time ago an idea was entertained that pontoons, made with a preparation of caoutchouc or Indian rubber, might be advantageously introduced into our service. We believe that such pontoons are the invention of an officer of engineers in the service of the United States of America; at least we do not remember to have heard of them till 1836, when Captain, now Colonel Lane, of the United States army, threw an experimental bridge across a river in Alabama, which measured 350 feet in length, and was supported upon sixteen such pontoons. The pontoons, it appears, were made of strong canvass, coated with caoutchouc. But by whomsoever invented, the Americans still profess to think highly of them. In 1839, a Board of Officers assembled at New York to observe and report upon certain experiments which a Mr. Armstrong undertook to conduct; and it must be admitted that the results, as far as the Board has described them, were satisfactory. Mr. Armstrong, it seems, formed his floating piers out of three cylinders respectively, each cylinder being composed of two layers of strong canvass, saturated with caoutchouc, and thereby rendered impervious to water. The cylinders were 18 feet long, and, when inflated, 18 inches in diameter; a slip of the same material held them together, and their united weight was only 117 lbs. One of these piers, without a platform, supported fifteen men, and was rowed about with perfect ease; two, placed side by side, and provided with a platform, 18 feet long, and 9 feet wide, carried a six-pounder on a field-carriage unlimbered, and with fifty men surrounding the gun, was moved without difficulty in the water. When two men only remained on the raft, the gun was repeatedly fired, with and without shot, yet no derangement whatever occurred in the apparatus. The extreme portability of vessels so composed, will at once occur to the mind of the uninitiated as an argument in their favour. And it is not without plausibility; for the three cylinders here spoken of, when folded for the purpose of removal, were all packed in a single box, measuring 3 feet in length, 18 inches in breadth, and 2 feet in depth. But, shape them as you will, pontoons made of Indian rubber or any other frayable substance, lie open to objections which cannot be got rid of. The slightest friction on gravel, or any other rough substance, must be fatal to them; for the moment they cease to be air-tight, they cease to be valuable. We believe that the only

British officer of note on whom they made a lasting impression, was Sir Harry Smith. But, though he carried some of them with him to the Cape of Good Hope, on the occasion of his assumption of the government there, we never heard that he found them of use, except as the framework of a raft. He certainly did not try to construct bridges with them; and we are not of opinion that any body else will seriously think of resorting to them, for keeping up his communication or facilitating the advance of his columns in a campaign.

We now approach another matter intimately connected with the discussion into which Sir Howard Douglas has led us, on which there can, we should think, be no difference of opinion. At whatever conclusions we may arrive in regard to the comparative merits of cylindrical and trapezoidal pontoons, we must all, as it appears to us, be agreed in the judgment to be passed on the actual condition of the bridge train now in the English service. In point of fact it has no existence. We possess a few pontoons, no doubt, with balks, chesses, &c. sufficient to throw a bridge over a narrow piece of water, and the labour of a few days would give us as many more as we can require. But there are neither carriages in which to pack these pontoons, nor horses to draw such carriages, nor men instructed to look after both horses and carriages, to guide them on their march, and apply the contents of the latter to their proper uses at the proper time. The materials of the bridge which so much delighted ladies and gentlemen, first at Virginia Water, and next upon the Thames, were brought up from Woolwich in common country carts, to which the Artillery lent both horses and drivers. The first relay dragged them on as far, we believe, as Staines; the second, supplied by the batteries in camp, met the train there, and transported it to the water side. And when the bridge arrived, it was Sappers and Miners, under the direction of officers of the Royal Engineers, who converted pontoons into rafts, and laid them down for the troops to pass over.

Now we put it to the common sense of every man not a member of the Peace Society, whether this is a state of things which ought to be. It is admitted that there is no making war—to any good purpose, whether offensively or defensively—without ready means of passing rivers — in advance and in retreat. It is equally certain that your operations will lead to no satisfactory results if at the critical moment it be necessary to withdraw the horses from your guns, and men instructed to become directors in the fortification of your position, be called away to discharge duties entirely extraneous to the objects for which they were enlisted. Yet to these shifts we are driven even

in a camp of instruction. We have no waggons, no horses, no drivers appointed to take care of our bridge-train; and of trained pontoniers we are wholly destitute. Let us not be misunderstood in regard to the latter point. The Sappers and Miners, directed by officers of Engineers, laid the bridges on Virginia Water and the Thames admirably. This did not surprise us, for we honestly believe that there is no sort of work, above ground or below—on the land or in the water, which our Engineer officers, with their noble Sappers near them, will not manage, somehow or another, to execute, if it be required at their hands. And we are further satisfied, that it is a wise thing to instruct them in all the details of military bridge-making, of which, indeed, no officer, either of the infantry or of the cavalry, ought in our opinion to be quite ignorant. But it is because we think thus highly of them, because we know their value, and have a true perception of the duties, important and multifarious, which they will be called upon to discharge in war, that we protest against laying upon them the additional responsibility, which our present system or absence of system has created. We want what all other countries have—a corps of pontoniers,—with horses, carriages, and equipments of every sort complete; and we miss them the more that we once had a body of military artificers fully equal to any demand that could be made upon them, under the designation of the Staff Corps. Why was that useful corps disbanded? Their services during the war in the Peninsula and South of France will never be forgotten; it was a mistaken economy,—long resisted, we believe, by the late illustrious Commander-in-Chief,—which got rid of them. We have heard that a committee of Ordnance officers has been directed to inquire into this important matter, and report upon it. We trust that the rumour is well founded; and we further hope that when the Board meets, Sir Howard Douglas, among others, will be invited to give an opinion as to what is really wanted to render our bridge equipments available. Meanwhile, we learn from his valuable work, that the establishment of the Pontoneer Corps in the service of France, as it was settled by the ordonnance of 5th August, 1829, is for war, 1587 men and 140 horses, and for peace, 918 men.

Pontoon-trains are without doubt essential to the efficiency of armies. It will not do, however, to trust to them exclusively: because, in the first place, all rivers do not admit of being bridged by pontoons; and, in the next place, pontoon bridges ought never to be used as permanent roads of communication. For the same reasons the drill of pontoneers is quite inadequate if it enable them to lay pontoon-bridges and

none others. Broad rivers, of which the stream is very rapid, such as the Danube below Pesth, the Rhine opposite Cologne, the Mississippi near New Orleans, do not admit of pontoon-bridges. The same thing may be said of tidal rivers, when the rise and fall is great. Precipitous banks, rocky and uneven channels, peculiar liability to freshes, present insuperable obstacles to the operation. Neither is it possible to provide for large armies a pontoon train sufficiently extensive to meet all the possible exigencies of a campaign. A general may find it necessary to move upon three or four lines simultaneously; he may be headed upon all or most of them by deep rivers. It would require a more extensive equipment than is compatible with the efficiency of an army in other respects to place at his disposal pontoons enough for bridging the whole of them. A general may be compelled at once to form a siege and to cover it with a field force which must have everything complete within itself. If the besieged place lie upon a river, the river must be bridged, without, however, crippling the field force by depriving it of its bridge equipment; and finally, between the army and its base of operations several lines of rivers may lie, over each of which one or more bridges must be thrown, provided there be no standing bridges, or that these have been broken down. How are these exigencies provided for?

The various expedients to which the leaders of armies are driven when either or all of the contingencies here enumerated encounter them, may be classed under five heads. They can meet their difficulties, 1st, with bridges of boats and bateaux; 2nd, with flying bridges; 3rd, with bridges laid on rafts of timber, on casks, or air-tight cases or inflated skins; 4th, with bridges on tressels or piles and on carriages; and 5th and last, with trussed or with suspension bridges. It would require far more space than is at our disposal to describe, even in the most perfunctory manner, the process of construction which goes on in each of these cases; but a few words explanatory of the general purposes which they are respectively intended to serve may not be amiss, and it may be well to illustrate our statements by examples.

When a river is very broad and the current is rapid, or when the tidal movement is strong, a bridge of boats or of bateaux is always to be laid. The pontoons adopted in the French army may, indeed, be applied where our pontoons could not show themselves; but even the French, rather than trust to roads resting on field pontoons, would prefer spanning such a width as the Rhine at Cologne with vessels adapted to the ordinary commercial purposes of the country. Moreover the French keep

in their arsenals large bateaux, which are intended to be brought into use on such occasions. These measure in length 35 feet; they are 6½ feet wide above, 4½ feet below. They weigh 5,250 pounds, and are formed with pinks head and stern. It was by these means, and by pressing into the service as many barges as he required, that Moreau, in the campaign of 1800, passed the Rhine in the face of an Austrian army from a point a little below Stein and opposite to the plain of Bebern. The circumstances were these:

Having determined to advance through Suabia by the right bank of the Danube, Moreau, notwithstanding that the Rhine was bridged at Basle, Brisach, and Kohl, manœuvred to throw a strong corps across that river near Lake Constance, and to turn thereby the Austrian positions between the Rhine and the Danube. His preparations were of the usual kind; that is to say, he made demonstrations with pontoons here and there, while the larger convoy, consisting, besides row-boats, of thirty-six bateaux d'arsenal from Strasbourg and thirty country boats, moved stealthily towards the real point of action. This had been previously reconnoitred, and all its features calculated by General Didon; and on the 30th of March all was ready. At ten o'clock the same night row-boats enough to transport 900 men arrived within 600 yards of the bank. The waggons halted there; for the ground was high, and the descent towards the water rough and precipitous. But the boats, being lifted by hand, were carried down the declivity, and ranged in two divisions in the water, and the pontoneers lay down behind them.

Night operations are proverbially insecure. There was delay in bringing forward the troops told off for the first passage,—and dawn coming on made apparent to the Austrians the peril to which they were exposed. A fire of musketry was immediately opened upon the boats, which extended in a few minutes along the whole line. The pontoneers saw that concealment was no longer to be thought of. They launched the boats. The French advanced guard came down, and, taking them on board, the boats pushed off. In spite of a stout resistance they made good their landing; and, covered by a heavy fire of artillery from the high grounds, of which the French were in possession, they soon effected a lodgment. Other boat-loads of troops followed; while the second division of pontoneers hastened to bridge the water, and the bridge took its place exactly where it was intended to be. Before nine o'clock on the morning of the 31st, the entire corps, consisting of three divisions, with a reserve of cavalry, was formed on the right bank of the Rhine.

But perhaps the most memorable case of bridging a wide

river with boats which has occurred in modern warfare, took place under the surveillance of our own illustrious Duke of Wellington. His bridge across the Adour met every one of the emergencies to which armies operating in front of broad or tidal rivers are liable. We shall allow Sir Howard Douglas to describe that remarkable structure, as well as to explain the difficulties of the enterprise.

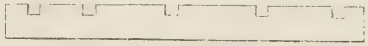
'In large tide rivers, subject to heavy swells, it is very difficult to construct a bridge with a degree of flexibility suited to the motion of boats in such rivers, and to allow for the rise and fall of the tide. For rivers 600 or 700 feet wide it is often necessary to use very large boats, lighters or barges, or even vessels of such tonnage as to admit of intervals so large as to make it difficult to get timber sufficient to span them.*

'The construction of a bridge across the Adour in 1814 presented these difficulties; when, upon the suggestion of Lieut.-Colonel Sturgeon, of the Staff Corps, assisted by Major Tod and other able men, the Duke of Wellington determined to use, instead of balks, cables stretched from bank to bank by tackles and capstans, and resting on the decks of vessels moored at the distance of 40 feet from centre to centre. Besides the other advantages of this expedient, it was justly considered that, in the event of the boom constructed above the bridge to protect it from the enemy's fire vessels, being broken, the cables supporting the floor of the bridge might serve to protect the store-ships at anchor below.

'In communication with a powerful squadron on the coast, his Grace arranged the construction of the bridge before any of our shipping entered the Adour.

Forty-eight chasse-marées† were taken up in the ports of St. Jean de Luz, Socoa, and Passages: these were collected at Socoa, and each was loaded with

48 three-inch planks, 9 inches wide and 12 feet long.
1 sleeper, 10 inches square, and notched thus:



2 hand-saws; 2 axes; and 2 skeins of hamber line, to lash the planks to the outside cables.

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* 'With ample means, it is astonishing to what extent these floating bridges may be carried. Amongst the bridges of the greatest celebrity may be named that which was established across the Dnieper in 1739. Although the river had overflowed and inundated two leagues of country, the Russians constructed a bridge of boats across the whole breadth.' (*Handbuch der Pontonnier Wissenschaften,* 1ter band, seite 19.)

† 'A chasse-marée is a species of coasting vessel used on the shores of the Bay of Biscay, of from 20 to 40 tons burden, and measuring, generally, about 50 feet in length on deck, and from 12 to 15 feet on the beam.'

'Two men of the Sappers and Miners were put on board each vessel to level the waist-boards with the decks, so that the cables might be stretched across as soon as the vessels should be moored. The floor was supported by five cables, lashed in the notches of a sleeper placed fore and aft, on the deck of each vessel. Five cables, 13 inches in circumference each, and 120 fathoms long, were put on board the chasse-marées destined for the centre of the bridge, and so coiled that they could be handed up the hatchways, right and left, at the same time.

'The river was bounded on both sides by perpendicular stone walls 14 feet high, and an equal thickness. That on the left bank was backed behind by sand, level to its surface; while the ground behind the wall on the right bank was 12 feet lower than the top of the masonry, and covered at high tide by 7 feet water. The rise of the tide, at springs, was 14 feet.

'On the right bank, the end of each cable was fastened to an iron 18-pounder, which was thrown over the wall. Those parts of the cables which rested on the masonry were *served* with green bullock hides, to prevent rubbing. On the left bank they were stretched by capstans and gyn tackles, fixed to a frame of timber laid on the sand behind the wall, 3 feet lower than the top of the masonry and loaded, in the rear, with sandbags, B, B, to prevent it from tilting upwards.*

'A boom was prepared at the same time, under the direction and with the assistance of Admiral Penrose, for the protection of this bridge. It consisted of masts of from 50 to 100 feet in length, and 1 to 2 feet in diameter, the strongest placed in the front line. These were anchored, each individually, by the centre; those in the first line being up the river stream, and those in the rear line having their anchors down the stream to meet the flood tide. The masts in the first line were placed 20 feet asunder, and connected with chains, as well with each other as with those in the rear line; the masts in the one line covering the intervals in the other. These lines were 24 feet asunder, and the chains allowed to

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* 'Up to that period the construction of a bridge across the Adour, at this part of the river, was considered quite impossible, on account of the constant agitation of the sea in this channel; but a circumstance particularly favourable to the establishment of this bridge existed at the commencement of 1814, namely, the oblique position of the channel, at that time, with respect to the bar at its entrance. This channel, as far as the mouth of the Adour, had become nearly parallel to the coast, and the bar consequently acted as a kind of traverse or breakwater, and thereby diminished the agitation of the water in the river. The bridges constructed by the English remained stretched for more than two months, the passage was not for a moment interrupted, nor did the bridge receive any material injury from the gales which are so frequent in the Bay of Biscay, and which were extraordinarily violent during the spring of 1814.' (*French Translator's note.*)

hang slack, so as to be about 12 feet below the surface of the water. Two strong 13-inch cables were stretched along the whole line of masts, and *set* as tight as possible, securing them, by lashings, to both ends of each mast. Four gun-boats were placed in advance of this boom, to assist in its protection; and on each bank of the river was placed a battery of three travelling 18-pounders; while light boats were constantly kept in readiness, with fire-grapplings, to meet and anchor anything that might be drifted down the stream, before it reached the boom; and during the night guard-boats, and boats of observation, were kept constantly rowing about.'

Of the purposes served by a flying bridge, as well as of the principle on which it is worked, few readers of this paper are likely to be ignorant. It is neither more nor less than a raft, so made fast in a river as to secure the action of the stream obliquely, with a force sufficient to carry the vessel across from one side to the other. It may consist, likewise, of two boats, which shall move in different axes of the circle simultaneously,—or a cable passed over the river, with a running block attached, may serve as the guiding line; and manual strength or a common wheel supply the motive power. Since the application of steam to purposes of navigation, flying bridges have become rare in this country. But they are still, we believe, of common occurrence on the continent. We recollect two which used a year or two ago to ply on the Elbe; one near Pilsen, the other close to Schandau in the Saxon Switzerland.

For military purposes flying bridges may be described as supplemental rather than primary, in regard to their importance. Being easy of construction, they facilitate the arrival of supports to the forlorn hope which may have previously crossed in row boats; and they come in, with excellent effect, in compensation of any damage which a bridge of boats may have sustained, and on the maintenance of which the safety of an army or of a detachment depends. This was strikingly exemplified at the passage of the Rhine in 1795 by General Jourdan at Neuwied, a little below Ehrenbreitstein. The passage of the river had been forced: a bridge of boats was laid. It had been protected against innumerable missiles sent down by the Austrians, and a portion of the army was across, when an accident befel which might have led to the most disastrous consequences. The French general, Kleber, had directed all the boats in the Sieg to be burned, as soon as it should be ascertained that the corps engaged in crossing the Rhine was safe. The orders were very carelessly executed. The boats were not only fired too soon, but were permitted to float in a burning state into the main river. They drifted against Jourdan's bridge, which instantly caught the flame, and was scarcely saved

from total destruction by the scuttling and sinking of some of its piers. Such a misfortune could not be repaired in a moment; and it was only by the hasty equipment of a flying bridge, and the sending over upon it of supports to the troops on the far side, that the latter managed, with hard fighting, to keep their ground.

The principle on which we construct a bridge on rafts, on casks, or inflated skins, is the same which guides us in the laying down of pontoon bridges and bridges of boats. We find or construct piers sufficiently buoyant to sustain the weight which it is proposed to lay upon them, and surmounting these with appropriate saddles, we arrange on them our balks and chesses, just as we should do were boats or pontoons there to support them. Rafts, casks, and inflated skins are, however, to be pressed into the service only when other and more obviously suitable means of passing a river are wanting. The materials for piers of rafts are found chiefly where wood is abundant; and there are some trees which prove more available for the purpose than others. Taking the specific gravity of water at 1,000 oz., it will be seen that while American pine varies from 402 to 632, oak weighs 750, heart of oak 1,170, larch 530, and English poplar only 383. This last, therefore, which no shipbuilder would touch, so long as other wood could be procured, is the best adapted of any for raft purposes; whereas heart of oak — the pride of our navy — must be classed in the same category with the box of Holland and of the Brazils, the pomegranate, the American ebony, and the vine. It cannot be used at all in the construction of piers for a floating bridge.

The materials of which we now speak are to be procured either by cutting down trees or taking possession of felled timber, or removing from barns or houses such beams as may appear to suit our purposes. There are, however, limits both to the size and to the cubic contents of such beams. Anything below 25 ft. in length, a mean girth of 30 in., and a content of 12·5 at the least, is too small to be serviceable. Anything beyond 35 ft. in length, with a mean girth of 78 in. and a content of 118·3, is too large to be removed with the appliances generally at our command, from the spot where it has been felled. We must refer the professional reader to Sir Howard Douglas's work for the rules by which he is to be guided in calculating the specific gravity of his materials, as well as for instructions how to convey them in every emergency to the point where they are wanted. But we should do injustice both to our author and to the important subject which he discusses, if we failed to transcribe the following sentences:—

'Bridges of rafts being in general only temporary expedients, resorted to upon sudden emergencies, the construction should be such as to effect the purpose with the least means consistent with safety; and this we are now to consider.

'A fir-tree of 4·33 feet mean girth, and 30 in length, contains 44·9 cubic feet, and will float 1128 lbs. Six of these will float 6768 lbs. Deduct the weight of 5 balks of oak, 4 inches wide, 6 inches deep, and 26 feet long; also the weight of 2-inch planks, sufficient for a floor 10 feet wide, and 12 long; in all about 1981 lbs.; and there will remain 4787 lbs. for the weight which each raft is capable of bearing. If the rafts are 12 feet distant from centre to centre, and the whole bridge covered with infantry filing across, each will have to sustain 12 men nearly; which, taken at 180 lbs. per man, is 2160 lbs., leaving 2627 lbs. for the remaining buoyancy of each raft.

'If the timber be well seasoned, and has not been long in the water, infantry may pass under a front of 4 men, ranks 30 inches from each other, by which each raft will have to bear 16 men (2880 lbs.); retaining a buoyancy, by calculation, of 1907 lbs. But, in general, the excess by calculation should be greater than this, to allow for loss* and deficiency† of buoyancy.

'The mean diameter of a tree whose mean girth is 4·33 feet, is 1·38 feet. A raft of 6 trees of this size will be 8·28 feet wide; and the interval between two rafts, placed 12 feet between centres, will be 3·72 feet; a space sufficient to allow a great part of the superficial current to pass.

'Cavalry may pass by twos, but intervals of 3 feet should be left; when each float will have to sustain about 2632 lbs., the weight of two men and their horses.

'The weight of a light six-pounder and limber, complete, with 4 horses and 2 drivers, is about 8000 lbs.; but as these cover about 34 feet in the march, they will always be sustained by 3 floats directly, and further supported by the adjoining two. Three floats could bear this weight, viz., 2667 lbs. each, as we have seen; but, to render the operation quite safe, intervals of 15 feet should be allowed between guns in crossing, in order that the weight may be borne by all the floats which are reached by the balks actually pressed upon.

'Heavy guns should be unlimbered, and drawn across by hand, with long ropes to keep the men at a distance from them. The weight of a 9-pounder gun and carriage is about 2856 lbs., which, being more concentrated than any of the other weights here considered, will be most severe upon the bridge.'

The following description of a bridge of this sort, constructed at a critical moment by a portion of that corps of which we

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* 'By imbibing water. If the ends are not tarred, dry timber will increase its weight one-sixth by two or three days' immersion.'

† 'By being full of sap when cut.'

hope ere long to see the revival, will interest the general reader:

'In July, 1809, when Sir Arthur Wellesley's head-quarters were established at Placencia, it became necessary to secure the means by which a junction might be formed with Cuesta. Two companies of the Staff Corps were accordingly sent, with a strong working party, to Baragona, to make a bridge across the Tietar. This river, though deep only on one side at that part, is so wide as to have required 15 pontoons to form the bridge which the French constructed there some time before, and which, upon retiring to Talavera, they of course entirely destroyed.

'The officer sent to re-establish a communication across that river could find no other materials with which to effect this than the timber of a large inn and its outhouses, about a mile and a half distant, and some pine-trees that grew in a neighbouring wood. The building was therefore immediately unroofed, and timber of the following descriptions and dimensions procured from its demolition. Six beams of dry fir, each about 20 ft. long and 2 ft. square; three or four hundred rafters, about 10 ft. long, and 6 in. by 4, in section; six large doors; and 20 running feet of mangers from the stables.. The six large beams were formed into a raft about 20 ft. long and 12 wide; the buoyancy of which was therefore about 13,500 lbs. The rafters formed the beams, and the planks of the mangers the floor. This raft had to support a floor about 30 ft. long, to which it was fully adequate; its extreme buoyancy being sufficient to float 60 or 70 men, exclusive of the weight of floor; and half of that buoyancy being not much more than was required for the weights that had to cross it. In the shallower parts of the section piles were driven into the bottom of the river, and caps of light material laid across: the beams were formed of young pine-trees, 30 ft. long, and about 7 inches in diameter. The doors and mangers of the inn, being too thick for the only nails that were forthcoming, were secured to the beams by ribands formed of young pines split thus ⊖, which were laid over the ends of the planks, and tied, with willow twigs, to the outside beams and to the caps of the piles. The raft was made fast to a sheer-line, attached to a tree on one side of the river, and to a stake driven into the sand on the other. A trestle, and two large wooden mallets, made on the spot, were used to set and drive the piles. On the 18th of July the army crossed the Tietar by this bridge, and by Miajados marched to Jalayuela.'

The fitness of casks for bridge purposes, as well as of all other light vessels, which, whether made of deal or skins, can be rendered air-tight, needs, after what has been already stated, no demonstration. With casks, indeed, provided they be large enough, bridges may be constructed on an emergency which shall sustain, not infantry alone, but cavalry and field artillery also. Six wine-pipes, lashed together, would make a very good raft.

Its weight would not much exceed that of one formed with two large cylindrical pontoons, and it would sustain a burthen less than a pontoon raft by four or five cwt. only. And small armies or corps are continually liable to be thrown into situations where a knowledge of this fact may be of the utmost importance to them. Thus, in mountainous and difficult countries, where carriages are unable to travel, it will always be possible to transport on mules, or even by hand, empty casks enough, with the necessary planks and beams, to bridge over the sort of rivers which may be expected, in such districts, to cross our line of march. And if our field of operation compel us to traverse a desert, the casks and skins in which water for the use of the troops is conveyed may prove of immense service after we shall have emptied them. Thus Alexander's army passed the Oxus on rafts made of skins stuffed with dry grass. (Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 29.). We are informed by Livy that Hannibal's Spanish infantry crossed the Rhone by swimming with the assistance of inflated leathern bags; and Cæsar states that it was a common practice with the Spanish and Portuguese light infantry to pass rivers in this manner. Nor is modern authority wanting in support of these statements. Colonel Chesney, in his 'Expedition for the Survey of the Euphrates,' — a valuable work, to which full justice has not been done, — describes in detail the sort of rafts (consisting of logs of timber supported on inflated skins) which are still used, for trading and other purposes, in the rivers of Western Asia. These are facts which every educated and thoughtful officer will carefully register against the hour of need; for where cattle follow an army (and the army is in a bad plight which is not so attended), materials for the construction of rafts never can be wanting. We have only to take the skins of the slaughtered beasts, and deal with them properly, and a very effective floating vessel is at our disposal.

'The following experiment,' says Sir Howard Douglas, 'was made with an ox-hide trimmed into a circular shape, of about 5 ft. 6 in. in diameter. The skin was drawn together at the edge, and firmly bound round a tube made of alder-tree, having the pith removed; and a piece of leather was nailed upon the inner end, as a valve to prevent the air from escaping. The vessel was inflated by a common hand-bellows, and floated 300 lbs.; and, without any application to close the pores of the skin, remained nearly fully inflated for five hours; at the end of twenty-four hours, it was still found capable of floating 150 lbs. The weight of the skin was 45 lbs.; so that by this expedient great power of floatation may be packed in small space, and easily transported. Skins may be preserved for a con-

siderable time by common salt; and if covered with a solution of gum, or any glutinous substance, more particularly at the part which corresponds to the back of the animal, where skins are always most porous, they will retain the air for a very considerable time. By means of the wooden tubes, the skins may be re-inflated in succession at any time, without withdrawing them, by merely turning up the tube, taking off the lashing, which, as a precaution, should be made to close the vessel effectually below the valve, and then using the bellows as before.'

It is obvious that, in order to accomplish our purpose with rafts thus hastily constructed, we must have means at hand for making them fast in the river; and as we are supposed to be in all respects reduced to our shifts,—as regular anchors and cables cannot be within reach, how shall we supply their places? In many ways. For cables, a quantity of stout cord, such as is used in packing, well twisted together, will suffice; failing these, willow-withs or coarse grass may be turned to account. In lieu of anchors, heavy stones with ring-bolts let into them, wooden grapnels, and loaded fascines, may be resorted to.

Perhaps, of all the expedients to which armies in the field are forced to have recourse in order to facilitate their movements, and to keep up their communications, the construction of bridges upon trestles is the least satisfactory. A bridge on trestles can hardly be put together at all if the bed of the river be rocky or muddy, or the river itself be very deep or fluctuating in its course. Such a bridge will never hold its ground against any sudden rise, for if one vessel be swept away, the undue pressure upon the rest becomes fatal. Still, forasmuch as a trestle bridge is perhaps the easiest of all bridges to construct, and that it serves every purpose, where the stream happens to be quiet and of moderate depth, the student will do well not to overlook the section in Sir Howard Douglas's work which treats of such bridges generally. He will there be shown of what materials trestles can be formed; how they are driven, as well in deep water as in shallow; what sort of balks are most suitable for connecting one with another; what weight of flooring is required, and how it is to be procured and laid down. For our own parts, we must content ourselves with giving, in the language of our author, two instances: one of failure in a trestle bridge through an accident which could not be guarded against; another, of its complete accomplishment of a proposed object in the face of difficulties of which the extent seems to have been enormous.

'The little reliance that can be placed on trestles was seriously experienced in the operations on the Guadiana in 1811,

when it became necessary to lay a bridge across that river at Jerumena. Notwithstanding the reports and assurances of the Portuguese government that the river abounded in serviceable craft, and that 20 large boats, which had formerly served for a bridge, were at Alvas, only five of those boats had been taken from Badajos, and no other means could be found in addition, to make a floating bridge across the river. But the officer of Engineers, Captain Squire, did everything that could be done, to construct, by other means, a bridge across the river. The five boats were applied in the usual way in the middle part of the stream; and, the depth towards the sides not exceeding 6 or 7 feet, the communication was completed with each bank by trestles. The bridge being finished, the troops were assembled ready to commence the movement, when a sudden rise of the river, to the extent of many feet, took place, swept away the trestles, and rendered the adjoining ford impassable. The communication being thus broken up, the five Spanish boats were immediately formed into two flying bridges for the cavalry and artillery—one formed of two, and the other of three boats—and a bridge for the infantry was constructed with some pontoons, and casks procured from the neighbouring villages, to complete it.'

As a counterpart to this, take the following:—

'On the retreat from Moscow in 1812, Napoleon and the wreck of his army crossed the Beresina on two trestle bridges.

'The Russians having cut the bridge at Borisow, and being in position, in great strength, on the right bank of the river, it became impracticable for the French to effect a passage there. It was generally expected that Napoleon, checked at that point, would endeavour to pass the river below Borisow; and, accordingly, the Russians directed their attention and movements to the Lower Beresina, whilst Napoleon turned, with infinite ability, to attempt the passage near Weselowo, about four leagues higher up.

'General Eblé, of the Engineers, who, from the beginning of the campaign, had made all the arrangements for the equipment and construction of military bridges, was specially charged with the important duty of providing for the passage of this river; and he discharged that duty with a degree of forecast and ability to which, certainly, Napoleon owed his escape, and the wreck of his army its safety.

'General Eblé began to prepare, at Smolensko, for the difficulties which he foresaw in this operation. He formed, with every care, a train sufficient for the transport of all the tools and stores that might be required; and, further to provide against casualties and accidents, every man belonging to the companies of pontoneers was obliged to carry from Smolensko a tool or implement of some kind, and a proportion of nails. Fortunate was it for the army that he did so; for such was the difficulty in bringing up the carriages containing stores, that only two forge waggons, and six caissons of tools and nails, could be preserved. To these the General added a quantity of ironwork taken from the wheels of carriages that were abandoned on the

march. Much was sacrificed to bring off these valuable materials for making clamps and fastenings; but, as Ségur observes, that exertion "sauva l'armée."

'The breadth of the Beresina at Wesolowo is about 100 yards — the greatest depth from 6 to 7 feet — the bottom muddy — the current moderate, but much loose ice was drifting down. The right bank is usually very marshy and soft; but the frost had hardened the ground, and made it practicable for carriages to approach the river.

'The preparatory works were commenced at about 5 P.M. on the 25th. Timber was procured from the demolition of houses. The height given to the trestles varied from 3 to 9 feet, according to the part of the river in which they were to be placed. The length of the ridge-beam was 14 feet. Twenty-three trestles were designed for each bridge, and consequently twenty-four bays, or intervals, of about 13 feet. Trees about 16 or 17 feet long, and from 5 to 6 inches in diameter, were felled for beams and applied in the round, there being no time to square them. For the superstructure or roadway of the bridge, intended for the artillery and other carriages, round timber, from 15 to 16 feet long and from 3 to 4 inches in diameter, was collected. For the flooring of the bridge for the infantry and cavalry, old planks, about 7 or 8 feet long, and 5 or 6 inches broad, and half an inch thick, to be placed in three layers, were torn off the houses.

'At daylight, on the 26th, it was announced to Napoleon that the division of Tchaplitz had moved from its position on the other side of the river. Napoleon immediately ordered some troops to be thrown across, and the two bridges to be commenced. Both were immediately begun; and, at the same time, some cavalry, each dragoon taking an infantry soldier behind him, swam across: whilst, by three small rafts, each capable of carrying about ten men, three or four companies of light infantry were likewise thrown over: these in a short time cleared the right bank of the river of the cossacks who still hovered about. Great difficulty was experienced in placing and keeping the trestles steady, until the floor could be laid, and, by its weight, fix them. No small boats could be had to facilitate the work; and the frost was so severe, that many of the pontoneers, who were obliged to remain in the water throughout these operations, nearly perished with cold. At about 1 P.M. on the 26th, the bridge for the infantry and cavalry being finished, the divisions of Le Grand and Dombrouski, amounting to about 7000 men, crossed; and an 8-pounder and howitzer, with their waggons, and some others with musket ammunition, were taken over; in doing which it was necessary to observe the greatest circumspection and caution. The bridge destined for carriages (the construction of which was suspended for about two hours in order to finish the other the sooner) was completed at about 4 P.M. and the artillery and other carriages immediately began to pass. The roadway of this bridge being composed of round timber, the movement of the carriages on so rough a surface, and the pace of the horses, which, notwithstanding the orders that had been given to the contrary, were permitted to trot, caused the most

violent shocks to the bridge. The trestles sank, unequally, in the muddy bottom; great undulations in the superstructure, and inclinations of the trestles to either side, ensued; and these occasioned still greater strains.—The feet of some of the trestles separated, and three fractures in the roadway took place. Fresh beams were laid, but soon afterwards three trestles broke. The pontoneers resumed their work, and at 11 o'clock, the bridge being again practicable, the carriages recommenced crossing. On the 27th, at 2 A.M., three trestles, in the deepest part of the river, gave way: the pontoneers immediately set about repairing the disaster, but this proved a very difficult operation. It was effected, however; and the communication being re-established, the movements were resumed at about 6 A.M. Again two trestles broke, but they were repaired after about two hours' labour; the movements continued, and thus a small portion of the vast material of the grand army was saved.

'The trestles of the bridge on the right, being only for cavalry and infantry, did not give way; but the thin planks which formed the roadway, having suffered much from the use which had been made of them, as coverings to the houses from which they had been torn, could not be solidly fixed, and were constantly getting deranged, splitting under the horses' feet, or breaking into holes. To obviate this as much as possible, the floor was strewed with tow and hay, and the covering frequently renewed and readjusted.

'When the Imperial Guard began to move, the stragglers dispersed in the surrounding woods and villages, who had not taken advantage of the first night to cross the river, now rushed from all sides, and flocked to the river in one dense and confused mass, which soon choked up the narrow entrances to the bridges. The foremost, impelled by those who followed, were driven upon the guards and pontoneers, who were endeavouring to keep a passage open for the troops. In repressing these crowds of fugitives, many were trodden under foot in the mêlée, others thrown upon the floating ice, and great numbers, unable to regain the bridge, or to reach the shore, perished in the river. The efforts of Napoleon and his officers to reestablish order were unavailing. So great was the confusion, that force was necessary to clear a passage even for the Emperor, who crossed at about 2 P.M. with about 6000 of the guard, under Ney. The troops continued to pass till the morning of the 29th; but multitudes of stragglers, benumbed with the cold, were unable to avail themselves of this last opportunity; and about eight in the morning, General Éblé, seeing the Russians advancing, was obliged to set fire to the bridges, leaving vast quantities of ammunition, artillery, and baggage,—thousands of men, and many women and children, to the mercy of the enemy, and to the rigours of the climate.'*

Passing by our author's remarks on 'Pile Bridges,' not because they are unimportant, but because bridges of this sort are as common in civil as in military architecture, we proceed to

* Ségur.

the last, and certainly not the least interesting, of the portions into which his treatise is divided. An army in retreat rarely omits to break down one or more of the arches in every stone bridge which it crosses. An army in pursuit must be able to repair such breaches, and to do so speedily, if it hope to overtake the fugitives. A corps or advanced guard, passing through a mountainous district, is continually liable to be brought up by streams which roar and brawl within precipitous banks, perhaps fifty feet above the level of the water. An advanced guard is never secure against the interruption of a canal, a broad drain, or a narrow river. A storming party may have a wet ditch to pass ere it can touch the escarp of a redoubt. What is to be done to enable the troops to surmount each of the obstacles when it occurs? In the first case means must be found for connecting the separated piers. In all the rest, the tact and ingenuity of the pontoniers must be taxed to throw a suspension bridge across the gap. The following general instructions will be found well worth the notice of all whose position or tastes lead them to the investigation of such questions:—

'When beams cannot be obtained of sufficient size, in section, to enable them to support the weights they have to bear, the most obvious method of increasing the strength is to attach two or more of them together. One of them should be placed above the other, rather than by its side; for since the transverse strength of beams varies with the breadth and the square of the depth, vertically, it is evident that, with equal areas of section, that beam is the strongest whose depth is the greatest. It should be observed, however, that this manner of placing two beams can only be used when their bedding is so secure that there is no risk of their turning over. The united strength of two beams so placed will be increased by preventing them from sliding upon another at the surfaces of contact; which may be accomplished by cutting rectangular notches opposite to one another, transversely, in the upper surface of the lower beam and the under surface of the other, and placing pieces of hard wood in the holes thus formed; the intention being to make the fibres of one piece of timber act against those of the other in the direction of their lengths.

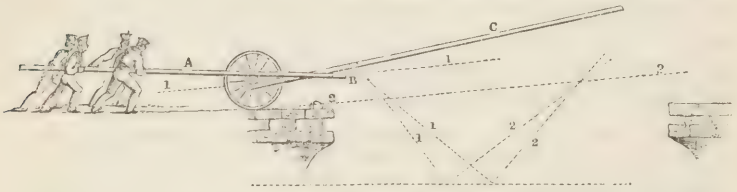
'When the length of a beam is to be increased, two or more of them must be scarfed together. The simplest contrivance for this purpose is to notch the ends of two beams rectangularly, and to bolt them together. The method would be sufficiently advantageous if the timber were intended to serve as a pillar, but not so if it were to be a *tie-beam*, as the strength to resist a longitudinal strain depends wholly on the bolts, which may be bent by such a strain.

'The beams of the famous bridge at Schaffhausen were so scarfed that the parts could not be separated by a longitudinal strain, unless the bolt were burst.'

Possessing a knowledge of these truths, and a general ac-

quaintance with the principles on which a system of beams is combined for the purpose of forming the roof of an ordinary building, an officer will experience little difficulty, provided there be adequate means at his disposal, in connecting the piers of a ruined bridge upon a river of which both banks are in his possession. But, in following up an enemy, this can seldom be the case, and then it is that the skill and ingenuity of the engineer are taxed. Listen to Sir Howard, and examine at the same time his diagram, of which we subjoin a copy.

'In restoring, by carpentry, communications across broken arches, and (as in following up a retreating army) when only one side of the impediment can be got at, the great difficulty is to get the first beam across the gap. The method of effecting this was frequently resorted to in the Peninsula. For this a pair of wheels and an axle-tree are sufficient; and the process is so incapable of

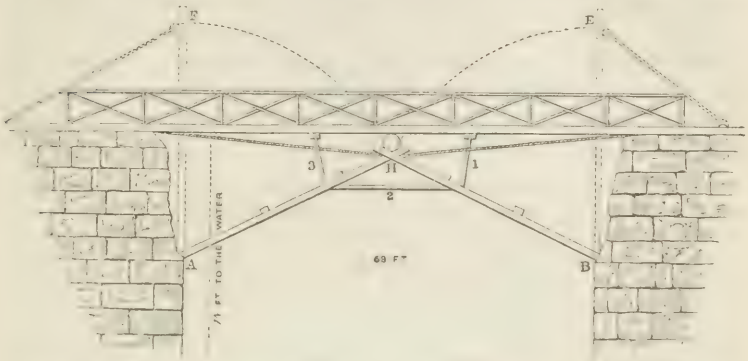


injuring them, that gun or waggon wheels, or limbers, may with great propriety be used, taking care, if a limber, with its shafts (the ammunition boxes being removed), is employed, to lash two beams (one of which, A B, only appears in the figure) to the shafts, so as to project beyond the wheels. Then, the beam C, to be laid over, be placed on skids sufficiently high, the carriage, with the beams A fixed as described, is backed till the axle-tree is a little within one end of the beam C: the beams A are then elevated, at the ends where the men are, in the figure, till their opposite points are so much depressed as to admit of the cross-beam B being placed underneath the beam C, which is to be laid across the impediment. The lever A is then worked downwards, and as soon as the beam is lifted, the whole is easily moved forward to the edge of the gap, where a high sill should be laid, to prevent the wheels from approaching too near.'

Again:—

'The stone bridge across the Coa at Almeida, having been destroyed by the French in their retreat, and a passage across the river there being necessary for the operations of the allied army, a communication was established in the following manner:—Notches A, B were made in the masonry, and two frames, A F, B E, eased down, vertically, from the edges of the gap, in the upright positions A F, B E, resting upon the notches A, B. Two tackles, applied to each frame, led to ring-bolts set in the masonry at about 30 feet

from the gap. Fifty men being put to each tackle, the frames were lowered down to cross each other at H. Gang boards were then shoved out, and men sent to put in key-bolts, previously prepared: a ridge-piece was then fixed in the fork H, the beams laid,



braces 1, 2, 3 put in, and the communication served without shake or failure.'

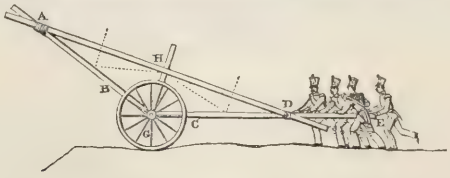
We might add to these descriptions an account of the operations

of the staff corps, in repairing two arches in the bridge at St.-Jean-de-Luz, which the enemy, after their defeat on the Nivelle, had broken down; but we should only repeat in substance what is here given in sufficient detail. We go on, therefore, to notice other exigencies for which every leader of an advanced corps ought to be prepared—such as his arrival at the bank of a narrow but deep river, where there is neither a bridge nor any ostensible means of forming one — where boats are not to be had — and

only a few trees grow, all of them too short to be stretched from one bank to another. If, indeed, there be one tree within reach long enough to stretch across, he is safe enough. He has only to fell it into the water, confining the trunk to its own bank, and letting the current force the head round to the opposite side. The branches will be sure to get jammed there with great force, which will assist the natural buoyancy of the tree in carrying weight. But we assume that, though there are trees, none happen to be of sufficient length to effect this object. What is the officer to do?

'If the river be too wide to be spanned by one tree, and that two or three men can, in any manner, get across, let a large tree be felled into the water on each side, and placed close to the banks, opposite to each other, with their heads upwards. Fasten a rope to the head of each tree — confine the trunks — shove the heads off to receive the action of the current, and ease off the ropes, so that the branches may meet in the middle of the river, in an angle pointing upwards: the branches of the trees will be jammed together by the force of the current, and so be sufficiently united to form a tolerable communication, when a few of the upper branches are cleared away. If insufficient, towards the middle of the river, to bear the weight of men crossing, a few stakes, with forks left near their heads, may be thrust down, through the branches, to the bottom of the river, and hitched to the main branches of the trees; or the force of the current may be made to yield vertical support to the communication, by applying a few planks, forming a plane, inclined to the surface of the current in an angle of about 50°: by this means, that power which, in the flying bridge, acts horizontally, may be obtained vertically, in a manner that will greatly add to the stability of the rough structure.'

Another ingenious method of constructing a bridge in a hurry is this. An officer has at his disposal a pair of wheels,—a gun carriage will do,—connected by the axle-tree, a few beams, and a sufficiency of rope. He fastens the ends of two beams, A B and C D, to the axle on one side, and to the beams A D, on



the other he regulates the opening A G D according to the known breadth and depth of the impediment to be surmounted, and prepares his floor of a few light planks. It is laid, and at a convenient season the whole machine is run up from the rear, and

pushed forward into the river or ditch, till the extremity C C mainly rests upon the near edge. The wheel is thus in the middle of the water, and by letting go the line which keeps G A C in an elevated position, that section of the bridge falls, and a communication between the opposite sides is established. The merit of this invention belongs to the late Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Congreve, of the Royal Artillery. He meant his bridge to attend columns of attack in the assault of field works, on which occasions we doubt not that it would prove very serviceable.

Suspension bridges are important chiefly as establishing the communication of an army with its rear, and enabling it to pass rivers which the enemy have long abandoned and of which we are therefore in full possession. The principles on which they are constructed demand no elucidation at our hands. They do not vary, whether the bridges themselves be designed to facilitate warlike operations or peaceful traffic. One great difference, however, is found in them — that whereas the civil engineer has iron rods and ties at his disposal, the military artificer is obliged to depend upon ropes and timber. One of the most beautiful specimens ever executed of bridge architecture of this sort was presented to the admiring gaze of the British army in 1812. Sir Howard has made it the frontispiece to his treatise. We cannot do better than leave to him the pleasant task of describing it.

'One of the principal arches of Trajan's bridge across the Tagus, at Alcantara, having been destroyed by the French, Lord Wellington found it necessary to direct that a communication over that bridge should be re-established, for the purpose of bringing up artillery and stores from Badajos for the attack of the forts at Salamanca. Timber of sufficient dimensions to effect this could not easily be procured; and, indeed, any application of that material to make good such a fracture would have been extremely difficult, and required much labour to be performed on the spot in fashioning, framing, and setting-up the work; and which, consequently, would have given warning to the enemy before the campaign opened of some important movement in that quarter being intended.

'To obviate these difficulties and objections the officer sent in April, 1812, to make preparations for this operations — a man of fertile genius and great practical knowledge — happily devised an application of cordage, which might be prepared secretly and even in privacy at any distance from the place at which it was to be used; it might also be easily transported thither entire, and speedily stretched across whenever it might be required. The formidable impediment was very nearly 100 feet wide. The materials of which this extraordinary work was constructed were as follow: —

'1. 4 beams of poplar, each 30 feet long, 12 by 8 inches.

'2. 8 ditto, each 20 feet long, 6 inches square.

'3. 48 joists, each 12 feet long, 3 by 5 inches.
'4. 120 ditto, each 12 feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches.
'5. 100 half-inch screw bolts, each 10 inches long.
'6. 100 inch-and-half planks, each 12 feet long, 1 wide.
'7. 50 two-inch planks for the ends, same dimensions.
'8. 10 triple blocks, sheaves 12 inches diameter, brass cogged and iron pinned.
'9. 10 double ditto, ditto.
'10. 10 double blocks, sheaves 6 inches diameter, for working tackles and guys.
'11. 10 single ditto, ditto.
'12. 450 fathoms $6\frac{1}{2}$ rope, for great net and bridge bearers.
'13. 200 ditto $4\frac{1}{2}$ rope for falls, for bridge tackles.
'14. 200 ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ rope, for working tackles and guys.
'15. 100 ditto $4\frac{1}{2}$ rope, for straps round the beams.
'16. 1000 ditto 3 and 4 yarn, spun yarn.
'17. 140 yards strong tarred canvas.
'18. 500 weight bars of iron, for cramps and bolts.
'19. 200 lbs. of lead.

'Tar, rosin, grease, marling spikes, fids, old canvas for parcelling, salvages, straps, tail tackles, twine needles, a portable forge, blacksmiths', masons', and carpenters' tools, drill hammers, scrapers, and needles.

'Two pontoon carriages.

'Four crabs or small capstans.

'The rope-work was put together in the pontoon house at Elvas, in the following manner: — two beams (1 in the preceding list), laid on trestles 4 feet high, placed 90 feet asunder, were first secured to the end walls of the house by tackles and braces. The $6\frac{1}{2}$-inch cable was then stretched in eighteen lengths, or rows, round the beams with a uniform, moderate strain, such as to admit of the parts or rows of the cable being drawn together by strong lashings, at alternate points, and formed into a body of net-work; the two outside rows of the cable being first steadied by tackles to the side walls of the house, to resist the inward strains resulting from the process and to retain the net-work of uniform width throughout.

'Cross beams having channels cut in them, and seared to smoothness with a heated iron (the arm of an axletree) were then laid on the net-work, each notch receiving its corresponding portion of rope, and firmly lashed by spun yarn at all the crossings.

'The beams were prepared in a novel and ingenious manner, with the materials mentioned in the preceding list. At each end of a beam, two of those of the narrower dimensions were connected with it by screw bolts, and in this manner jointed beams, formed alternately of single and double pieces, were easily set up, and prolonged to the full length of the floor of the intended communication when required for use.

'Several important objects were accomplished by this ingenious contrivance. The individual parts were of very convenient length

for being transported on carriages, easily put together, and readily adjusted as the work proceeded. The beam of the larger dimension in breadth was used for the single part, whilst two of half that dimension were applied to form the link which connected it with the next single beam, and these gave to the whole a sufficient and nearly uniform strength. Joints resting upon cross pieces permitted the beams to confirm, by their flexibility, with the curvature of the bridge: and the bearing of the double portions of the beams on each cross-piece, being nearly 8 inches, was more favourable to the solidity of the whole than could have been effected in any other manner. The beams, thus formed and laid athwart the cross-pieces, had their joints adjusted to lay exactly on those bearers, and were then firmly lashed at each end of the bridge.

'Planks for flooring were provided, with holes bored in the end of each, to admit of their being lashed to the beams, and to each other.

'This vast net, when completed, with its end beams, was rolled up, firmly bound together, and loaded on a pontoon carriage. The means of transport for the whole apparatus were two pontoon carriages, each drawn by six oxen; eight large cars, each drawn by four oxen; and the lighter materials in seventeen cars, drawn by two oxen each.

'At a sufficient time previous to the removal of the materials for application, an intelligent officer, Lieutenant Perry, was sent to superintend the cutting of channels in the masonry of the bridge, to receive the straining beams, to which tackles were to be fixed.

'To facilitate the laying of the bridge, two strong hawsers, represented by the lines drawn longitudinally under the floor of the

bridge, were stretched across the gap as conductors, upon which the further end of the net-work might be hauled over.

'A tarpaulin, 4 feet wide, was stretched along the outside ropes, as a blind for cattle and horses; and tackles fixed to two of the cross beams and to ring-bolts set in the masonry below, to brace and steady the bridge. A railing, formed of posts and ropes, completed this extraordinary work; and the whole was finished in time to open a passage across the Tagus for the column of siege artillery, under Colonel Sir Alexander Dickson, who crossed it on the 11th, and arrived at Salamanca on the 20th of June.'

Here, then, we bring to a close our analysis of Sir Howard's very able work. The extent to which our remarks have been carried—not less than the nature and length of our quotations—sufficiently vouch for the degree of estimation in which we hold it. But we should be untrue to our craft were we to let it pass out of our hands absolutely scatheless. We think that Sir Howard is not always happy, either in his style or in the arrangement of his subjects. The former is loose, sometimes obscure, not unfrequently tautological. The latter would be very much improved were the order in which he has placed his sections less involved, and in some striking instances inverted. We allude especially to that section or chapter with which the treatise opens; and which, if received into the volume at all—of which we are doubtful—would have stood better at the end of the book than at the beginning. However, these are defects which indicate rather lack of skill in the *author* than of intelligence in the man. The Treatise on Military Bridge-making has obtained, as it deserves, a European reputation. And we recommend it to the officers of the army, as a work which will prove to them not the less useful, that it will demand from them, while studying it, their best and most concentrated attention.

ART. VII.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, and Minutes of Evidence.* Printed by Order of the House of Commons.

2. *Speeches of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, April 18th, July 1st, and July 21st,* 1853.

3. *Speech of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., at Holmfirth, February 2nd,* 1853.

IF Mr. Tadpole had politically survived as a member of the present generation, on whom the latter days of the world of party seem to have come, he would certainly, to his profound remark about the utility of 'good cries,' have added a lament-

ation over their scarcity. Whether or not it be that, in the lapse of time and the progress of reform, we are really running short of grievances—that is, of popular and exciting grievances—there has of late been manifest a great eagerness to seize, and a greater reluctance to part with, any epithet at all serviceable in political agitation. Complaints are kept up after the grievances have been redressed; names are retained after the things have ceased to be; and the phrases, arguments, and machinery employed against one thing are sometimes transferred to another without much regard to connexion or resemblance. With all respect to many well-motived men who have implicated themselves in the transaction, we have still to say, as the result of a careful and, we hope, impartial inquiry into a subject the importance of which has hitherto perhaps been insufficiently appreciated—that an impermissible license in this practice of transferring epithets, arguments, and agitation has been taken by those who, since Lord Monteagle's budget of 1836, have been keeping up the cry about 'taxes on knowledge,' and that it will be scarcely possible to devise any decent excuse for those who may persist after Mr. Gladstone's budget of 1853.

Is there not a *primâ facie* improbability in the case of the agitators? A tax on knowledge! What party or class in this country, at this time of day, has any interest, or can rationally be suspected of any desire, to perpetuate such a folly and iniquity? And we put the question with no mental reservation or quibbling, but with the full admission that a tax on newspapers would be a tax on knowledge, and on very wholesome and useful knowledge. There might have been a time for such a charge—nay, we confess with shame that there actually was, at no more ancient period than 1836. But in all such matters there has been an utter revolution of opinion and feeling even among the most inveterate votaries of the old political *régime:* there is not now a man in Parliament who would not be both ashamed and afraid to utter the doctrines with which Mr. Spring Rice was encountered by the Tory members, when he constructed the present admirable system. To imagine that there are any who think they would profit by having the newspaper press fiscally burdened, is in fact at least as absurd as to think that there still linger some who desire (or at least would dream of avowing or acting on a desire) to see it politically trammelled. Not more rational is the insinuation we have occasionally seen, that public men—the previous, present, or expectant holders of office—find the press as it exists so subservient to *their* ends as distinguished from the public good, that they selfishly and corruptly resist a

change. The order of things from which this accusation is drawn has also passed away — newpapers have very obviously learned that there is more profit in popularity than even in such an amount of partisanship as is practically requisite and morally honest, and that the shortest and easiest cut to popularity is not defence but attack — nay, a rather large proportion of them seem to find their account in a constant cry of 'naught, naught,' directed against everything proposed, and everybody that proposes. No Ministry of late years can be said to have had even one thoroughgoing, trustworthy supporter among the London daily papers. Governments and parties, merely as such, now owe newspapers nothing — and are not the least likely or inclined to take much trouble, far less to do injustice, on their behalf. Again, when we see the British newspaper press not merely the only free one in Europe, but undeniably the best in all the world, is it not rash to keep calling on us to help and pity it as bound and burdened? Yet so much is there in a name, and in old associations, that there are people who, at the mention of 'the taxes on knowledge,' are always ready, without more ado, to vote for what the Americans call 'indig-'nation resolutions,' and sign any manner of petition — forgetting what has been done, not looking at what *is*, and taking no thought of what is to come.

Several events and considerations seem to point out the present as a favourable juncture for attempting to get the subject more fully and popularly understood. A committee of the House of Commons has made an inquiry and pronounced a deliverance; Mr. Cobden, on the part of the agitators, has explicitly revealed the nature of the results they aim at accomplishing; and several Acts passed during the late Session have somewhat altered the aspect of the question, and cleared away some things which obstructed, or were used so as to obstruct, a fair view. When we find no press in the world to be compared to the British, and when we have it, as we shall see, officially announced by the agitators, that what they seek is 'an entire revolution,' there is plainly enough to convince us that the question is one of no light public concernment.

As we shall have occasion to challenge the decision at which the majority of the Committee of the House of Commons arrived, — to seek to show that they not only set aside the present system on entirely insufficient grounds, and on almost no evidence, but that their substitute is in all respects bad, and in one essential demonstrably impracticable, — it will tend to lessen our apparent presumption, and to explain how men of ability even tacitly lent their names to such a document, if we sacrifice

a few sentences to pointing out by what means the inquiry was got up, and in what manner it was conducted or misconducted. It was got up, and virtually managed throughout, by a society in London, called 'The Association for Promoting the Repeal 'of all the Taxes on Knowledge,' whom we are not in the least blaming for doing with zeal what they think a good work. The Chairman of the Committee was the President of the Association; and of the acting members of the Committee a majority, if not all members of the Association, were known friends and sympathisers, and also men of energy and ability (for instance, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Ewart, and Sir J. Walmsley), the remainder being gentlemen little interested or otherwise occupied. But it is on looking at the list of witnesses that the strange imperfectness—if it be unparliamentary or otherwise improper to say one-sidedness—of the inquiry becomes fully apparent. The number of witnesses examined (besides one brought merely to explain an incidental point) was twenty-one. Of these five were functionaries of the Stamp Office and Post Office, called to speak as to the machinery and technicalities of the system, and who may be passed by with the remark that they all, so far as asked or allowed, indicated an opinion contrary to that at which the majority of the Committee arrived. Of the remaining sixteen, ten are members of the Association, and another was a gentleman from America, procured by the same body for the special purpose of testifying in favour of their views. There remain five, whom we may call the independent witnesses; that is, witnesses selected, not for their proved partisanship, but as representative of certain interests or classes, or possessing a special knowledge. Of these *one*, and one only,—Mr. H. Cole, who was brought forward as having, from philanthropic motives, 'turned his attention to the operation of the 'Newspaper Stamp Law,'—gave a clear testimony in furtherance of the Committee's ultimate decision; but it is worth remark in passing, that Mr. Cole's arguments, and all his quoted authorities (as shown by their dates) refer to the former Fourpenny, and not to the present Penny Stamp: that his main objection to the present system would be removed by the Post Office adding to its present services the distribution of papers in the places of publication; and that he is decided in opinion that if the present system is changed the law must give a copyright in news. The other four witnesses were, a gentleman from the 'Times,' whose testimony was quite adverse to the decision of the Committee; another from the 'Daily News,' who declined to give even a modified approval, save under the tremendous condition of a law preventing one paper from copying the matter of

another; and the editor of the 'Scotsman,' and Mr. W. H. Smith, news-agent, both of whom gave strong evidence in favour of the existing system. With the single exception, therefore, of Mr. Cole, the decision of the Committee was come to *against* the evidence of all the witnesses, save those who were summoned, not as having a special interest or special means of knowledge, but as being active partisans of one view, and the originators of the inquiry. The strange—we do not say suspicious—selection of witnesses thus appears pretty plainly when we look at who were *there;* but it is still more manifest when we consider who were *not.* It will not be denied, that those connected by proprietorship or otherwise with the management of newspapers, must be in possession of facts and of opinions likely to have been useful to the Committee; and the Chairman of the Committee, and the Committee itself in the Report, declare, that the interest of the present newspapers in the question is not only not a *sinister* interest, but that at least one, and that the largest section of the press, is the most directly aggrieved by the existing system. In the Report (p. viii.) the Committee say, that they 'find little evidence in 'favour of the opinion that the proprietors of existing news-'papers have an interest in the maintenance of the stamp, and 'would be injured by its abolition;' and we find (Minutes of Proceedings, p. xxi.) that the Chairman desired to add to this an expression of opinion, 'that if the stamp were abolished, 'papers of established reputation, and enjoying the public con-'fidence, either would not be affected at all or would have their 'circulation extended;' in p. vii. of the Report it is said, 'With 'regard to the operation of the stamp on the established news-'papers, it is of course (?) obvious that, by increasing their cost, 'it limits the field of their circulation;' on p. viii. of the Report, we have the grand fundamental assertion, that 'provincial news-'papers make little use of the post;' and on p. xii. 'the limita-'tion imposed by the stamp on the circulation of the best 'newspapers,' and 'the unfair competition to which stamped 'newspapers are exposed with unstamped publications,' are assigned as two out of three reasons in favour of a change. Now here we have it laid down by the Committee themselves, that persons engaged in the working of the press as it exists, who know more and have thought more on the subject than any other class, are also not only free from any special or sinister interest, but are greatly wronged and injured by the present system. What, then, more natural, and indeed necessary, than that the Committee should have summoned before them fair and competent representatives of this class, and given due weight

to their testimony? Let us see what was done. Two witnesses were examined from the London press, who gave testimony adverse to the conclusions of the Report; one from the Scotch press, also strongly adverse, and who has since published that he came unasked and was virtually sent away unheard; and none at all from the Irish press. There remains the great provincial press of England, numbering 220 newspapers, and consuming annually 18,000,000 or 20,000,000 of stamps. From that body the witnesses consisted only of one gentleman, a Liverpool editor, (unless we are to reckon persons connected with abortive village papers who had got into trouble with the Stamp Office, which would only further strengthen our present argument); and he (or he and they) certainly gave very strong opinions against the existing system. Would not the natural inference from that be, that the bulk of persons connected with the English provincial press—whom the Committee declare to be specially qualified and quite disinterested—are in favour of the Committee's conclusions? But on the first occasion afterwards when these persons had an opportunity of speaking (a meeting of the Provincial Newspaper Society—a body which seems to include the mass of the English newspapers), it was resolved, by 38 to 7, 'That it is desirable that the Penny Stamp on Newspapers 'should be retained as at present.' Nor were the Committee during the course of the investigation kept in ignorance of the real state of opinion among this body, for the one witness whom the Chairman selected from it honestly enough told them he was no representative of his brethren (A. 722.): 'I should say, 'if you polled the newspaper proprietors throughout England, '*nine out of ten* would be disposed to keep the system just as it 'is.' Yet not only did the Committee not take means to obtain the facts and reasons of any of the nine men out of ten, but they came to conclusions avowedly founded on the evidence of this confessed one man out of ten, who does duty, in the preamble of the Report, as 'gentlemen connected with the provincial press!' Of course we do not for a moment impute any thing worse than too great zeal and haste to one section, and too little care and attention to another; but, beyond denial, there is a strange imperfectness in the evidence, and a very considerable discrepancy between the decision and even that evidence, such as it was; or, at all events, there is but a very poor pennyworth of proof for such an intolerable quantity of adjudication.

Passing on to the question itself, it may be necessary to see, first of all, what the so-called 'taxes on knowledge' lately were, and what they now are. Their number was three—the paper duty, the advertisement duty, and the penny and

halfpenny (supplement) stamps; to which was added, as a fourth grievance, the ill-defined state of the law as to what constitutes a newspaper. In our view, two out of the three taxes here named were really taxes, but not, in any proper sense, taxes on knowledge; while the third—the postal stamp—is not a tax on any thing whatever. At all events, of the four grievances only one now remains intact, one has been removed entirely, another as far as practicable, and another, so we think, as far as is either just or beneficial. As to the paper duty, which alone remains unalleviated, Mr. Gladstone doubtless spoke truly when he said (House of Commons, July 1st), 'It is bad in itself, and as soon as the state of the Treasury 'will allow, it ought undoubtedly, upon general principles, to be 'repealed.' But we cannot affect to be surprised or indignant that Mr. Gladstone should in the meanwhile have removed the tax on soap, *i. e.* on cleanliness, rather than a tax which, whatever its commercial inconveniences, falls, in about four-fifths of its amount, and much more heavily in its *ad valorem* proportions, on paper used for purposes quite unconnected with any sort of knowledge; which, on an article reaching the consumer, in its literary uses, only in small quantities, is so light as to be indivisible and inappreciable; and which forms part of a fiscal system where we find ten millions of revenue, or more than ten times the paper duty, raised on such essential articles of food and comfort as sugar and tea. It is quite rational and proper that Mr. Charles Knight, and other able and public-spirited men of the same class, should cry out, 'See how the 'State burdens us in our efforts to instruct the people;' but would there not also be something rational and proper in grocers crying out, 'See how the State burdens us in our efforts to *feed* 'the people?' The thing is an evil, and the best that can be said of it, or indeed of any tax, is, that it is for the time a necessary evil; that, in short, the paper duty is a bad tax, and only temporarily defensible, on the ground that taxes must be got, and that there are several still worse ones presenting a prior claim to extinction. The advertisement duty also was a tax, but it is now no more, and requires no other remark than that its removal is a great convenience to the public, and a great gain to newspaper proprietors. A bill has been passed defining so far as possible what is to constitute a newspaper in the eye of the law, and so to subject to the burden, or, as we would say, entitle to the benefit, of the penny stamp; and although it is true that that object cannot be completely accomplished, it is perfectly certain that the necessity of leaving a discretionary power somewhere attaches to every system that has been tried

or imagined, including the system of the United States, which the agitators aim at as a model; the American witness, when asked (Qu. 3,039) 'What do you call a newspaper? where do 'you draw the line between what comes under the postage rate 'and what is liable to a higher rate?' answered, 'There is no 'carefulness about these matters; one postmaster would call a 'thing a newspaper, and another would not, and they often 'refer to the postmaster-general, and he decides.' And, by no means least, the supplement stamp has been repealed;—a change which is rendered of special value by being contemporaneous with the increase of demand for newspaper space certain to accrue from the repeal of the advertisement duty, and which in effect amounts to a gift to the newspapers of an additional *fifty per cent.* of postal service for the penny stamp. All the tax on knowledge, then, that remains—all that we have here to discuss—is the penny stamp;—the charge of 1*d.* for carrying a sheet of nearly 3000 inches, or 5 oz. weight, everywhere, and almost for ever.* The question being thus reduced to this one unencumbered point, we desire to inquire—with no motive save to discover what is best for the press and the public—whether the present arrangement between the newspapers and the Post Office really deserves the accusations which have of late been so industriously, if not extensively, brought against it; or whether it may not, after all, be as defensible in principle, and especially as beneficial in practice, as any plan yet devised or stumbled upon.

The grand source of the readiness with which a portion of the public assent, or at least the patience with which they listen, to the complaints of the agitators, is in the device of calling the stamp a *tax*. Mr. Milner Gibson, the chairman of the Committee, in drawing up the Report seems to have been amusingly careful, on every possible occasion, to give this bad name to the dog he designed to hang. But, in obvious truth, the penny stamp is no more, but greatly less, a tax than any payment a man is called on to make for almost any service or any commodity he requires. Take the nearest analogy. People are got to talk about the penny stamp on newspapers as the Newspaper Tax;—why does nobody ever talk of the penny stamp on letters as the

* One troublesome and sometimes heavy tax upon knowledge was placed upon a better footing by Mr. Gladstone's recent revision of the Tariff. The customs duty on all books printed before 1800 has been repealed, and the various rates of duty upon books printed since that date—which caused much inconvenience to the importer—have been consolidated into a single moderate rate.

Letter Tax? Show us one respect in which the letter penny is less a tax than the newspaper penny, and we will show a dozen respects in which the difference is immensely the other way. In both cases, the penny is paid for the same kind of service — for the service of transmission and delivery; and it is a matter very easy of proof that the service given for the newspaper penny, which people call a tax, is much greater in its amount, and more excellent and indispensable in its nature, than that given for the letter penny, which people rightly call a benefit. The letter penny carries only half an ounce, only once, and that once only within the limits of the United Kingdom; — the newspaper penny formerly carried (on an average, the measurement being by superficies and not by weight) 3 ounces, and now carries $4\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, or *nine times* the weight carried by the letter penny; it carries it an unlimited number of times; and it carries it to the Antipodes. And, in the nature of things, are not services of this class as valuable and essential to newspapers as to letters? A newspaper is scarcely a newspaper if read only in the street next to that where it was printed, or elsewhere than in places at such a distance as to render them, in nineteen cases out of twenty, best and most cheaply reached by post. Consider what are the materials and the uses of a newspaper — that it is made up of narratives of events happening over the whole face of the world, and that its chief or primary uses are to tell men what they have not got knowledge of by their own senses, not what they have themselves seen or done — and the fact stands very manifest that no thing or system can be imagined of which *transmission* is more an essential and vital part. In the vast majority of cases, a letter can be *made* and can be brought to use with incomparably less of the service of transmission than is necessary to the making and bringing to use of a newspaper. And, finally, by the carrying of newspapers the State *loses* (such is Mr. Rowland Hill's very moderate computation) 30,000*l.* a year; while by the carrying of letters, it *gains* 1,000,000*l* a year. Is it not something like a very enormous mistake to stigmatise as a tax the payment made for a service essential to the receiver, and rendered at a heavy annual loss to the giver?

Yet, strange to say, this very obvious fact — that the penny is not taken for nothing, but for services worth much more than the money — is often forgotten, at least in phraseology, by those who not only know better but think otherwise. Thus, we find the 'Times,' which has generally taken a sensible view of the subject, and which has in consequence been subjected to very absurd and unjust attacks — forgetting itself one day after this

manner: — 'A fearful epidemic invades the country — a man 'must pay a penny for being acquainted with the fact; it ap- 'proaches his town — another penny for that piece of informa- 'tion; it may be averted by preventives and mitigated by re- 'medies — any accession to his knowledge on these critical points 'is charged a penny more; Her Majesty opens Parliament with 'a speech containing some important intimations — he is taxed 'a penny for reading it; a statesman makes a speech announc- 'ing a great policy — every reader pays his penny for being 'edified thereby; a colliery accident destroys a hundred men, 'and scatters misery over the land — the colliers of the next 'parish must pay a penny to profit by the caution; it is a penny 'to be forewarned of an eclipse, or to have it explained. This 'of course is thoroughly indefensible, except on the old familiar 'ground, that money must be got one way or another. *Post* '*nummos virtus.* First the Treasury, then public improvement. 'It appears that the tax raises about 350,000*l.* a year.'

This would be very well, but for two facts which are quite fatal to it — the penny is paid, not for the information, but for the cost of carrying it; and the Treasury, instead of gaining 350,000*l.* to the loss of 'public improvement,' expends 30,000*l.* in the promotion of that very object. The mode of reckoning here adopted by the 'Times' is tolerably correct so far as it goes — 350,000*l.* is pretty nearly the sum paid for stamps; but, for that day only, the leading journal had forgotten to look at the other side of the balance sheet, or had been seized with the hallucination that 80 millions of newspapers can be carried anywhere and everywhere between Printing House Square and Australia without trouble or cost. It would be quite as accurate to say that a man who buys a 'Times' has paid a 'tax' of 5*d.*, whereas, both in quality and quantity, he has got a fivepence-worth such as he can procure nowhere else — *quite* as accurate, we say, because the journal has some profit on the price, but the Government only a loss on the postage.

Although, however, the penny is not a tax, it may be a payment exacted for services which could be better or more cheaply performed otherwise, or which, to some extent, are not required or rendered at all. And doubtless the agitators would meet the question — where is the difference between the newspaper penny and the letter penny — by saying that all newspapers, unlike letters, must pay whether they need the post or not. As against this, we have already seen that the newspaper enjoys, for the penny, privileges far superior to those permitted to the letter — that the newspaper of 5 oz. is treated with incomparably greater favour that the letter of $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; and

we shall see soon that no system can be devised coming so near to equity, and, as instance, that the project of the agitators and the committee is not only demonstrably much less equitable than the existing system, but, as to one essential portion of it, is absolutely impracticable. But, first of all, let us see if there is any rational presumption that the necessary services *could* be performed more cheaply, and if there is any considerable or appreciable portion of the newspaper circulation which *does not* actually avail itself of these services, and would not confessedly find them necessary under any system whatever.

It will not be denied that the Post Office, — which, as the sole carrier of letters, has to send bags to every village, and a deliverer to almost every door, in the Kingdom, must, speaking generally, be able to do the work of carrying and delivering newspapers more cheaply and efficiently than any private person or combination of persons. If, therefore, the Post Office finds (as already mentioned) that the carrying of newspapers in return for the 350,000*l.* worth of stamps is not profitable for the revenue, it is assuredly a demonstrated folly to assume that other agencies would be found to do the same work for less money. That the Post Office has no profit is quite certain, and, so far as we have seen, undenied. A year or two ago, Mr. Rowland Hill estimated the annual loss at 30,000*l.*; but as it is impracticable to apportion the expenses of the establishment as between letters and newspapers, and as there are various principles on which the calculation of the cost of carrying newspapers can be made (for instance, whether and to what extent, the establishment should be assumed as necessarily existing for letters), any attempt at the precision of figures is apt to provoke a challenge which it is easy to give and difficult to meet. It is sufficient for the present purpose that all official authorities agree in representing the transaction as undoubtedly a losing one for the public revenue, and that there is no testimony from newspaper proprietors save to the effect that by no other means could they get their work done so cheaply. For instance, in a recent parliamentary document (Report on Contract Packets, p. 42.) Lord Canning, the Postmaster General, says: — '*The labour and expense of the conveyance* '*of newspapers is very great.* In *number* they are believed to 'be equal to more than *one-fifth* of the number of letters: *in* '*weight and bulk they are twice as great as the letters.* The 'number posted in London alone is about 770,000 weekly; and 'the preparation of them for despatch by the night mails occupies 'about 240 men.' Now, estimating by numbers alone (and we shall see presently on official evidence that Lord Canning has greatly underrated the number of papers carried), and supposing

for the moment that it is as easy to carry 5 oz. as $\frac{1}{2}$ oz., the newspapers carried by post last year should have paid, in round numbers, 500,000*l.* (497,656*l.* being the fifth of the sum of 2,488,280*l.* received for the postage of letters), and as the revenue for newspaper stamps (including the supplement stamp now abolished) amounted to only 400,000*l.*, here is a loss of 100,000*l.* — or, if not a loss to the Post Office, a gain to the public and the press. But it is needless to point out how far this method of computing by numbers alone falls short of showing the whole loss, proceeding as it does on the hypothesis that a preponderance of tenfold in the weight causes no increase in the cost of carriage, and irrespective of the fact stated by the Postmaster General that the newspapers paying 400,000*l.* for carriage were in mass *double* the weight of the letters paying 2,488,280*l.* But even this is not all — we should find a great deal more to the same purpose were we to extend inquiry into the proportion of the expense of the packet system justly chargeable against the carriage of newspapers. That service gives a net annual loss of about 400,000*l.*; and as an indication (for there seems no official record) of the extent to which that cost is incurred for the transmission of newspapers, it may be mentioned that in the mail-bags of a vessel wrecked last spring there were found 3580 newspapers and only 780 letters, and that when, owing to an accident, the bags had lately to be removed from the 'Orestes,' a vessel bound for Australia, they were found to contain 15,000 newspapers and no letters at all. Here, then, were 15,000 newspapers, averaging between 3 and 4 oz., not merely carried round the world for 1*d.* each, but, as all but a fraction of them had doubtless previously received at least one and many of them more than one postal service within the Three Kingdoms, really carried for nothing, while letters to the same destination are charged at rates vexatiously varying from 2*s.* 2*d.* to 8*d.* per half ounce! Well, then, who will undertake to do all these services cheaper — cheaper, as we have seen, in one department, and on the whole, than nothing at all? Assuredly those whose experience has enabled and induced them to consider the matter, have not, so far as they have spoken, announced any such discovery. Thus, the proprietor of the 'Sussex Express', in a small, populous, and accessible district, states that the transmission of his journal is accomplished by the Post Office at a weekly cost to him of 18*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, (the price of the stamps), while he finds, on minute inquiry and calculation, that he could not, by any other means, accomplish even *one* transmission of each paper for less than 52*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* — there being thus a saving of 32*l.* 12*s.* a week, or 1799*l.* 4*s.* a year. And this, if it is an

exceptional instance, is exceptional only so far as Sussex is, in the matter of compactness and accessibility, far *above* the average of districts.

It is quite true that one particular portion, or rather only a portion of that one portion, of the service *might* be performed cheaper; it is possible to carry papers to large towns, such as Liverpool and Manchester, — *i.e.*, anywhere that the papers can be sent, as one of the Association witnesses explained it, in 'large bales' — for less than one penny each. But, in the first place, this is but one and not a large portion of the whole service; and it would obviously be quite unfair that the profitable portion of the service should be given up to private interests, while the public bore the burden of the unprofitable portions, as the supply of the smaller towns, the rural districts, and the colonies would be—which is the only alternative, unless these places were either left unsupplied, or supplied dearly and inconveniently. The sweet must go with the sour — not the selected sweet to private speculators and the rejected sour to the State. The truth that, in all cases save transactions in 'large bales,' nothing is found so cheap as the post, is, besides being self-evident, made apparent by the fact that there is a constant pressure by publications not strictly newspapers, nor requiring that instant and expeditious transmission which, to newspapers, is vital, to obtain as a benefit what the agitators denounce as a burden. Thus the 'Athenæum,' which enjoys the somewhat anomalous privilege of stamping only such portions of its impression as it finds convenient, mentions that by means of the stamp it sends about 3000 of each publication 'into such 'places as know but little of newsvenders' and booksellers' 'weekly parcels.' And, if the stamp is thus found to so large an extent the cheapest mode of transmission for a publication whose nature enables it to be sufficiently served by luggage-trains, stage-coaches, and tradesmen's weekly parcels, it follows pretty plainly that no other system nearly so cheap is within the reach of newspapers, to whom the very quickest means of transmission is a first and absolute necessity. But, in the second and chief place, the carrying of London papers to the chief provincial towns is only one portion of the portion of service which even these identical copies require and at present receive. All but the merest fraction of the papers now carried down otherwise than by post, chiefly to counting-houses and reading-rooms, are taken up again the same afternoon or next morning, and transmitted and retransmitted to readers with less urgent requirements or of humbler means than the readers who procure them first and by express. Will anybody say

that *this* service can be rendered so cheaply, or indeed rendered at all, by any other means than the post? And will anybody say that the withdrawal of this service would not be a loss to the poorer classes of readers, whose interests the agitators profess to have at heart — in the face of the obvious fact that it can only be the rich who pay an extra charge to get their papers an hour earlier, or who do not afterwards use the privilege of postal transmission, and the still greater privilege of *re*-transmission?

Next, is there any considerable or appreciable portion of newspapers that *does not* actually take full value for the penny? 'No record,' says Mr. Rowland Hill (A. 1823), 'is kept of the 'number of newspapers passing through the Post Office;' but, on official evidence, printed and oral, we get near enough the facts for the present or any practical purpose, and near enough, too, to see that, beyond all doubt, the ordinary estimates on this head have hitherto been greatly under the truth. The total number of penny stamps annually consumed is about 80 millions, of which more than 65½ millions are taken by England, more than 7½ millions by Scotland, and less than 6½ millions by Ireland — the English portion being subdividable into 47½ millions for the London and 18 millions for the provincial papers. Take, first, the London papers, which, — as having a population little less numerous than that of all Scotland within a circle of three miles round them where they are not even *allowed* to use the post, and as being, to a considerable extent, transmitted to the great towns on the 'large-bale' system already alluded to — make less use of the Post Office than any other portion of the press. The Postmaster-General tells us, in the passage already cited from an official document — 'The number posted in London alone is 'about 770,000 weekly.' This would give an annual transmission from London alone of rather more than 40 millions, which, as the London consumption of stamps is 47 millions, would indicate that nearly six-sevenths even of the London papers use the Post Office even in the first instance, irrespective of subsequent retransmissions. But that Lord Canning's estimate, which was given incidentally while dealing merely with a cognate part of the subject, is considerably too low, is made pretty obvious by the evidence of Mr. Bokenham, Superintending President of the Inland Department of the Post Office, who was brought before the Parliamentary Committee on Newspaper Stamps to speak specially to the point. When asked (Q. 1976) 'How many newspapers are transmitted daily 'from the London Post Office?' he replied, 'The numbers vary 'daily from 120,000 to 260,000.' Now, even Mr. Bokenham's

minimum gives an annual average of nearly 44,000,000; so that it is beyond question that even in London, which has the smallest share of the services of the present system, more than all that is paid for is given — the retransmission of London papers that have been previously read within the three miles, and of provincial papers that have formerly been carried *inward*, more than equalling the number which have in the first instance preferred the agency of newsmen and railway parcels. As to the remaining portions of the press — the English provincial, the Scotch, and the Irish — there never could have existed any doubt that the uniform penny stamp is to them not merely a blessing but a necessity, until Mr. Milner Gibson's Committee discovered that 'the provincial newspapers make but little use 'of the post!' This notion could have had no other origin than the fact that the majority of the members of the Committee were ignorant of the matter, and neglected to make inquiry of persons better informed. We have observed, however, plenty of volunteer evidence offered posthumously — none of it at all corroborative of the Committee. Take, for instance, even such a district as the county of Sussex, or that portion of it of which Lewes is the capital — thickly inhabited, and easily and cheaply traversible in all directions. The proprietor of the 'Sussex 'Express' tells us, in 'Notes' on the Committee's Report: —

'Within the district there are 50 market towns of populations varying from 3000 to 20,000 inhabitants, and from these towns there are 495 local post deliveries. The number of copies published that week [the week in which he happened to make his calculations] was 4316, of which 1569 were sent to the towns, and 2747 to their neighbourhoods, by the local posts. With the exception of 200 copies, the whole were sent away from the office by post; and I ascertained from the postmaster that of these 200 copies sold in Lewes more than two-thirds were sent by post within two days afterwards, by the purchasers.'

The provincial press, which was held by the Committee to make 'little use of the post,' is thus shown to use it at least once for every copy that it prints — even in a district having fifty market towns within sight of each other, and all sorts of conveyances at choice. What, then, must be the amount and the necessity of postal service taken by papers in districts where the population is not clustered in 50 market towns, but scattered in 5000 separate and remote houses, where the area to be traversed is five or ten times the area of Sussex, and where almost the only known or possible conveyance is the post? Some of the Scotch papers, we observe, speak very strongly, because very feelingly, on this point. One of them says: —

'Nearly four-fifths of the impression are sent direct to the 'Post Office, and the remainder sold or delivered in town. Of 'the latter class nearly the whole are posted after being read. 'I do not believe there are fifty persons who retain the paper in 'their possession. The papers subscribed for and read in the 'North are then sent to relatives or acquaintances settled in the 'large towns in the South, whence they are in many cases 'despatched abroad and to the colonies — particularly to the 'latter, as so many families from these districts have friends in 'the colonies. Numbers sent through the post from this office 'are read first in the country—four or five counties—(recollect 'how scattered our population is); then they are sent to Glas-'gow, Edinburgh, Manchester, &c., next to London or different 'parts of Ireland, and finally to the colonies — going, in many 'instances, three, four, and five times through the post.' And another—'Our circulation may be taken at 2050 weekly, of 'which 430 are called for, or sold at the office, or delivered; 'and there are posted 1620; so that nearly three-fourths are 'sent direct to the Post Office. I believe that if you take *the 'whole* 2050 *as being posted twice over, it will be much under the 'mark.* I know that when we happen to be entirely sold out, 'it is very difficult indeed, three days or so after publication, to 'get a single copy out of the 430 in the town for love or 'money.' These are specimens, and fair specimens, of the evidence put forth *after* the decision, by those who, instead of being allowed to speak before it, were set aside unheard, with the sweeping remarks, 'the provincial newspapers make little 'use of the post,' and 'the operation of the stamp obviously 'limits the field of their circulation!'

We have thus seen that no *cheaper* mode of carrying newspapers can be devised; and that, on the whole or ultimately, *all*, and much more than all, the newspapers are carried by the present mode. The facts that some of them are not carried by post in the first place, and a very few not at all, remain, but can be in great part removed, and are, even as they stand, quite imponderable as placed against the advantage of the system in all its other parts and as a whole. As to those alleged inequalities that are removable, we agree with the Committee, that there does not seem any sufficient reason why newspapers should not be delivered by the Post Office in the places of publication as well as elsewhere. The Post Office would then have *offered* to do all that it could be asked to do. It would happen that, under the spur of competition, a considerable quantity of papers would still be delivered by private means; but the Post Office cannot be expected to adjust itself to each

particular set of circumstances in the case of newspapers any more than in the case of letters and circulars, which it is often found cheaper or quicker to despatch by extra or private means. But how very small that number would be may be computed from the admission made by Mr. Milner Gibson, the Chairman of the Committee — that if his own plan were adopted of charging only those actually posted, 'six-sevenths of the whole 'would still go through the Post Office.' That, we think, is a very important fact; and we would request the reader who desires to understand the question and the full folly of the proposed 'revolution,' mentally to make note of it.

And we would farther request a special share of attention to a part of the present system, which, of itself, would compensate a thousandfold for such petty inequalities, and which, in its practical working, is a benefit both morally and pecuniary, which it is almost impossible to overrate—we mean the privilege of *re*transmission. Perhaps we could not more briefly indicate the advantages of this privilege than by quoting the following passage from the Committee's Report—a passage moved by one of the minority, but admitted by the Chairman and the majority as irresistible on the evidence: —

'Mr. Smith, the head of a London newspaper agency firm which has been established for the last sixty years, and which transmits about one-seventh of all the London daily papers, states distinctly that the retransmission of newspapers is carried on to a considerable extent, so as greatly to reduce the cost of their newspaper to those least able to pay for it. He gives instances in which the cost of the "Times" is thus reduced to 2*d.*, and to even 1*d.*, and yet read by the last person in the series on the second morning after publication; and he adds, that the number of persons thus receiving the best newspapers at a very cheap rate, is exceedingly numerous, and that the proposed charge of 1*d.* for each retransmission would, in fact, prevent them, probably, from taking any paper at all, unless it was a weekly paper.'

In other words, people are enabled by this privilege to get 5*d.* newspapers for 1*d.*

Having seen what the present system really is, let us now look at the substitute which issued from the deliberations of the Committee. And here it must be mentioned in passing that the witnesses in favour of abolishing the stamp, one and all, admitted that they had nothing to propose in its room — they had thought it would be pleasant to get rid of the payment, but had taken no thought as to how otherwise the work was to be done; so that for the substitute we are indebted entirely to the predominant party in the Committee. It is in two parts —

1. That the penny now levied on all papers, and entitling to

postal transmission and retransmission, shall be levied only on the papers actually posted, and shall be payable anew for each transmission.

2. That no newspaper shall be allowed to copy news from another till it has ceased to be news — 'a short privilege of 'copyright.'

The reader who has followed our account of the existing system may have occasionally been puzzled why men acting for the diffusion of knowledge should assail that system as taxing and restricting knowledge, but will be more surprised to see that as the substitute they purpose to place knowledge under a system of Protection or Monopoly, and to make it pay afresh every time it is diffused!

Passing for the moment the project of copyright, let us see what the other part of the substitute would accomplish. It abolishes *re*transmission, giving as a counterbalance the benefit of printing without a stamp such papers as are never carried from the place where they are printed. Shall we estimate the loss and the gain by this change with the aid of Mr. Milner Gibson's admission? 'Six-sevenths of the whole would still go 'through the post;' but, the reader will understand, would be allowed to go only once. What then does it come to, but that, for a small and dubious gain to *one*, a very great and undeniable benefit is to be taken away from *six?*

But we should not speak of the benefit of retransmission as undeniable, for, most inexplicably, all through the proceedings of the Committee, we find Mr. Cobden, and, in a less degree, Mr. Gibson, displaying towards it the strongest repugnance. To Messrs. Hill, Parkhurst, and the other official witnesses, question after question is put, and put in vain, endeavouring to extort a condemnation of the retransmission system, till one would infer that Messrs. Cobden and Gibson were labouring for the protection and profit of the revenue, and the Post Office officials for the cheap diffusion of knowledge! Thus Mr. Cobden to Mr. Hill: —

'1653. Do you know whether it was contemplated that the same newspaper should pass through the post repeatedly for the same stamp?

'1779. Excepting in the case of newspapers, you never carry the same thing twice without a double charge?

'1782. You feel that it is an anomaly that ought, if possible, to be put an end to?

'1821. With regard to the continued circulation of newspapers, should you think that it exists to the encumbrance of the business of the Post Office?'

Why all this burning anxiety to elicit from the Post Office that it does too much for the public in the way of diffusing knowledge? Why should those who seek to make newspapers 'cheap' thus seek to drive the Post Office to make them dearer? Why should they attack a system by which, as we have seen, people can get 5*d.* newspapers for 1*d.*, and point a favouring finger towards a system under which, whenever the same service was exacted, people would not get a 3*d.* newspaper for less than 6*d.*?

The answers of Mr. Hill and the other official witnesses to all those solicitations comprise a very important point. The abolition of retransmission implies the *obliteration* of the stamp on its first transmission, and that again implies an examination and handling of each separate copy. Even proceeding on the calculation that much fewer newspapers would go through the post, Mr. Hill told Mr. Cobden again and again that the examination and obliteration could not be accomplished without 'a 'vast accession to the present force.' So anxious, however, was Mr. Cobden to devise some means of preventing more than one transmission being got for a penny, that he suggested (again in vain) that possibly Mr. Hill could contrive some plan by which the papers might be tumbled in multitudes down a hole, and obliterated by means of certain sulphureous *fumes* — a sort of Penny Pandemonium. All Mr. Cobden's labour on this point, however, was not in vain; for he brought out with striking certainty the fact that, under *his* system, as compared with the present, the Post Office would require to do *more work*, not merely for less pay, but with *less service*.

A word on the copyright project, and it needs little more than a word. There is no doubt that some papers are made up, to a very great extent, of materials provided and paid for by other papers (the provincial of course borrowing largely from the metropolitan); that this practice has of late become more of a hardship, owing to the electric telegraph enabling the provincial papers to issue the news obtained by the London papers several hours before the London papers themselves can reach the spot; and, especially, that the proposed change, tending greatly to limit the reading of each district to the paper of that district, would immensely aggravate the injustice, which to the present amount is unavoidable. But the 'copyright' proposed by the Committee, although in justice a corollary from the rest of their project, would, if it could be carried out at all, inflict evils at once monstrous and ludicrous. How could one newspaper prove against another a property in some piece of news which *might* have been obtained elsewhere, or is expressed

in different words? Or, if this could be done, how could it be borne that a piece of intelligence should be made practically the exclusive property of the paper that happened first to get hold of it? Why, this plan would necessitate a man either to be content with such a share of the world's news as could be obtained at first-hand by some *one* of our 700 newspapers, or else to 'take 'in' all the newspapers in the country! It would make news—almost any but district news, or those coming within the special ken of each one newspaper—a luxury of tremendous price, and would cancel half the benefits bestowed upon us by the invention of printing. In one word, it would be absolutely intolerable; and the only comfort is that it is as absolutely impracticable. But is there, then, no means by which those who buy their news at immense cost in every quarter of the world can obtain some amount of shelter from those that borrow their news ready-made? None that is conceivable, *except* what is given in that compensating operation of the present system, pointed at by Sir Frankland Lewis, a member of the Committee, by which the real or London owners and the rural borrowers are put, in the rural district, on somewhat of the same footing. Look at any country paper, and it will be seen that a large proportion of its contents is necessarily procured from other and especially from London papers; and all the witnesses before the Committee seem to admit that without that the country papers could not exist. Thus, Mr. Cobden, whose desire appears to be that local papers should give only local news, asks one of his own witnesses (Q. 2299): 'Do you find generally, now, that working 'people in a locality like Norwich take more interest in the 'news of the immediate district than they do in news from a 'distance?'—A. '*Not* more interest.' At present, the London papers which have borne the cost of obtaining the news from a distance, can present themselves at Norwich and all other localities as cheap as the papers of those localities: under the proposed change, even supposing that Mr. Cobden's hopes of a penny press were not to any extent realised, the borrower would, each in his own locality, have a premium of a penny per copy, or an advantage of 20 or 25 per cent., over the owner. This is pretty clearly, though unintentionally, illustrated by one of the Association's witnesses—a Manchester periodical-dealer, who said (A. 2599)—'It is too bad for the Manchester and 'other local papers, which have to compete with London, that 'the London papers should be carried down to Manchester 'free of any charge, and sold in Manchester to compete with 'the Manchester papers.' Yes, but that portion of the matter of the Manchester papers with which alone the London papers

can be held competing has been procured and paid for by the London papers, and has been thence taken *free* by the Manchester ones. To which may be added the facts that, if the London papers are carried down to Manchester free of charge, the Manchester papers are in like manner carried up to London, and that neither party comes forward to say that there is felt to be hardship or injustice in the matter. The complaint, then, substantially is, that the borrower is not enabled to sell for 4*d.* what the owner cannot sell for less than 5*d.* But look at the Committee's remedy—that the borrower shall be enabled to sell for 4*d.* (always, of course, only on the very spot of publication), but under the tremendous condition that he shall not be allowed to borrow anything until such time as it shall have lost all savour and value.

We now come to the most plausible, but not the least hollow part of the agitators' case. They proclaim that, but for the uniform penny stamp, we should have in this country newspapers sold at twopence, one penny, or even one halfpenny, as in the United States. On consideration and comparison, it will be found, we think, that there are at least these two facts standing immovably in the way of such a conclusion:—1st, that the removal of the uniform stamp, and the necessary substitution of a charge for each postal service, though it might render papers nominally cheaper on the spot of publication, would render them *dearer everywhere else;* 2nd, that even on the spot of publication the cheapening would not amount to more than one penny (a reduction from 5*d.* to 4*d.*), save by diminution in quantity and deterioration in quality. And we shall, as challenged, investigate these two points by the light afforded by the American system.

That the change proposed by the Committee would really cheapen papers only on the spot of publication follows from what we have already seen—that there is no possible means of carrying them more cheaply than at present; and that fact a comparison with the American system only makes more apparent. There have been so many changes within these four or five years in the postal charges and arrangements in the States regarding the carriage of newspapers, and there are so many complications and Transatlantic technicalities in the tables of rates as they stand, that it is not quite easy to state them accurately; but we are safe enough as to the main facts. In 1850 the rates were, for a paper of 1900 inches of surface, *in*clusive of margin,—(which may be taken as equivalent to 3 oz. in weight, and to the then British limits of 1530 inches, *ex*clusive of margin)—1 cent for *each* transmission if not more than

100 miles, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cent over such distance, $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents to Oregon or California, 4 cents to Great Britain, and so on. 'A system somewhat different was introduced in the end of 1850, and sketched to the Committee by the American witness; and another still has now succeeded, which we find thus stated in an American Post Office document, bearing date the end of last year: — Each newspaper, not exceeding 3 oz. in weight, to any part of the United States, 1 cent; for every additional ounce, or fraction of an ounce, 1 cent; sent to Great Britain, 2 cents; sent to other foreign countries, variously 4 and 8 cents. What the reader must here mark is, not merely that the weight carried by the American Post Office for these various charges is 50 per cent. less than that now carried by the British Post Office for the uniform penny, but, much more, that the American charges, varying according to distance, are for *one* transmission, while the British charges are for any number of times and all distances. And there seems still another difference as against the American system, of which we have heard as yet very little in this country: 'The papers,' said the American witness before quoted, after stating the rates and modes of carriage, 'are *deli-* '*vered* only to the gentlemen who have boxes; to the subscribers 'at their houses *they are not distributed without an extra charge.*' So that the American Post Office not only carries less weight than the British, and carries only once, but it merely *carries*, and does not *deliver*. Add to this, that while the British charge for any number of transmissions is 20 per cent. on the price of the article, the American charge for one transmission is often 100 per cent., and not seldom 400 per cent., on the price. As, then, even the United States, to which we are on this question referred for the height of perfection and the lowest depth of cheapness, exhibits a *dearer*, as well as an incomparably less convenient system of transmission than we enjoy ourselves, it is clearer than ever that an adoption of the American system cannot (*ceteris paribus*) cheapen papers that are *carried*, but would, on the contrary, make papers dearer everywhere but on the spot of publication. For instance, the Committee are constrained, as we have seen, to instance the operation of the British system in enabling persons in a series of readers to get the *5d.* 'Times' on the morning of the second day for one penny,—a practice they admit to exist to 'an enormous extent.' Under the American or Cobden plan, the 'Times' would, it is true, begin at *4d.* instead of *5d.*, but, instead of decreasing, would increase in cost at each transmission to a new reader, till, at the stage at which its cost now declines to one penny, it would have ascended to *8d.* Or state it thus,—the proposed change

would make a paper cheaper only to *first* readers, and only to that portion of first readers *residing* at the place of publication, while during the course of its after-existence — in all its uses to non-local and subsequent readers — instead of, as at present, becoming cheaper, it would go on accumulating costs.

Perhaps the most effective mode of showing that, even on the spot of publication, English papers could not be reduced by more than the price of the stamp, save by a proportionate reduction in quantity and quality, is by showing what is the actual price of the few American papers that at all approach ours in either, but especially in the latter, of these properties. And we could scarcely do this better than in the words of one of our most useful and elaborate writers on America — the late Mr. Alexander Mackay, who, though opposed, on some grounds we do not comprehend, to the uniform stamp, yet thus corrects the erroneous notions as to the disparity between English and American prices, in his work 'The Western World' (vol. iii. pp. 245—247.):—

'There is no little misconception in this country as to the cheapness of American newspapers. Independently of the stamp and excise duties, the first-class papers of this country are in reality *cheaper* than the first-class papers in America. It is true that a large proportion of American newspapers are sold at the low rate of 2 cents, and some at 1 cent a copy. But it would be unfair to institute anything like a comparison between them and the daily press of this country. Taking the first-class papers of New York, such as the "Courier and Inquirer," the "Journal of Commerce," the "Commercial Advertiser," the "New York American," &c., we find them sell at 6 cents per copy. This is about $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ of our money. It is obvious, therefore, that if they had a penny to pay by way of stamp-duty upon each number, and about a halfpenny more in the shape of excise-duty upon paper, their cost would be $5d.$, which is the price of our daily papers. So far they appear to be upon an equality. But when we take into account the enormous expense at which a paper in London is conducted, we see that a London paper, with stamp and excise duty off it, and selling at the same price as an American, would, in reality, considering the expensive appliances brought to bear upon it, be much cheaper than the Transatlantic journal. But I have not yet done with the points in the comparison favourable to the English press in point of price. Whilst the American papers, had they the same burdens to pay as the English have, would sell at $5d.$, the actual selling price of the English papers is *fourpence* — in other words, the selling price, minus the stamp and excise-duties, is twopence-halfpenny, or one penny lower than the American paper, which is produced at one-half the expense, so far as all its literary departments are concerned. It is true that, to the public, the price of a London paper is fivepence — but it is the newsvender, not the newspaper, that pockets the difference. The true state of the case,

therefore, between the two papers is this, that whilst a first-class American paper sells for threepence-halfpenny, a London paper, which is produced at infinitely greater expense, and has a smaller advertising patronage, and which is, at the same time, burdened with stamp and excise-duties to the extent of nearly a penny-halfpenny per copy, sells at fourpence.'

A *good* paper in New York—a paper at all resembling a London paper—is thus, even on the spot of publication, cheaper by not so much as the price of the stamp, and as not possessing the privilege of transmission save by a fresh charge at each carriage, is of course, in reality, a higher priced article. Indeed, the fact that papers as good as our present ones would be only the penny cheaper if not carried, and consequently dearer if they were carried, is admitted even by the secretary of the Association (A. 955):—'I do not believe that such a paper as the '"Times" would be at all cheaper than it is now, excepting [when not carried] 'by the mere reduction of a penny.'

But the fact doubtless remains that there are in the States penny (even halfpenny) papers, of large circulation, and that we have nothing resembling them in this country. It might be sufficient to meet this by pointing to the facts and admissions already cited, to the effect that, as the penny stamp makes only the difference of one penny, and not of 4*d.*, on papers equal in size and quality, the difference between 5*d.* and one penny must arise from something, whether a fiscal something or not, other than the stamp. And what that something is, is stated even by the Association's American witness, and is plain to everybody that ever looked at those penny papers. They are not newspapers, but advertising sheets. Thus the American witness says (A. 2660), 'The circulation of the "New York Sun" is 50,000; '*there is no profit upon that;* but the advertising would be about '60*l.* a day;' and again (A. 2978), 'The profit is *nothing* on 'the circulation.' And, to bring down the facts to a later date, we have before us a copy of this gentleman's own paper, issued on April 11th, 1853, where we read, 'The "New York Daily 'Tribune," having completed the twelfth year of its existence, 'signalises its entrance into its teens to-day by an enlargement 'of its borders, which will add fully one-third to its area, and 'require us henceforth *to pay more for the white paper on which 'it is printed than all we receive from its subscribers.*' Take also a word or two from English witnesses (still adhering to those adverse to our views): — (Whitty, 645), 'This St. Louis paper 'is larger than the "Times," and printed with smaller type, and 'it is *all but four columns filled with advertisements;*' (Hunt, 2328), 'The leading article does not occupy above half a

'column, and the whole real news in this American paper, 'which is the best commercial paper in New York, would go 'into less than *one page of a London paper*,'—a statement which, being made of a high-priced American paper, applies, of course, with additional force to the penny ones; (2352), 'The 'American papers are *nearly all advertisements*.' These papers then sell, for their penny or two pence, *four columns* of news, and their price becomes doubled or trebled in going through the post; the 'Times' sells, for its *5d.*, seldom less, and often far more than *twenty-four* columns of news, or six times the quantity (the qualities are not comparable), with, included in the *5d.*, the right of transmission, without limit of times or almost of distance. The notion, therefore, that *news* is cheaper, even in the penny or twopenny papers of the State, is a proved and admitted mistake. If we are shown certain sheets of paper from America sold at a penny, we can reply by showing certain sheets published in this country, mainly advertising, but containing as much news as *these* American papers, given away in tens of thousands, stamps and all, for *nothing!*

The only real *fiscal* obstacle to our having in this country so-called newspapers as great in number and low in price (and quality) as in America, has now been removed by the abolition of the advertisement duty. But it is another monstrous mistake to assume, as the agitators seem all along to have done, that from this change, or even from the removal of the stamp (which we hold and have sought to show is a profit and not a tax), American results would follow. Although advertising is now as free here as in America, and although there will certainly be a large increase, it is foolish to expect that the practice will grow to the enormous extent it has reached in the States;—there is, as affecting such a matter, a mighty difference between a country like *that*, where things are new, shifting, and growing, and one like *this*, where things are old, familiar, and stationary. And, even though the advertisements could be got in the quantities requisite to sustain numerous papers selling 'four columns' of news for *1d.* or *2d.*, there is not among the masses in this country anything like the same *market* even for so low-priced a literary and political commodity. The masses in the States are better off than ours as regards wages and consequently leisure; they are, owing partly to the nature of their institutions, greatly more interested in politics and all public events; and, more than all (let us say it with shame), while on the other side of the Atlantic the rarity is to find a native American that cannot *read* with ease and understanding, the rarity here is to find a smock-frocked or fustian-jacketed Englishman that *can*. The American

witness, in allusion to the fact of the masses in the States being all capable of reading, adds, 'the capacity that is obtained in the 'schools creates a demand for newspapers.' Turn from this to the statement made by Mr. W. E. Hickson, a member of the Association, in relating his experience in trying to read the papers to Kentish villagers (A. 3196): — 'I discovered, to my surprise, 'that I could not read twenty lines of the leading article of the '"Times" without finding that there were twenty words in it 'which none of my auditors understood. I remember one 'passage which not one of the agricultural labourers to whom 'I was reading understood at all. The editor was speaking of 'some operations of our fleet in the Channel; the word "opera-'"tions" puzzled them, the word "fleet" puzzled them; they 'did not know what a fleet was, and they had not the slightest 'idea of what the "Channel" meant.'

Marvellous to say, a man of Mr. Hickson's ability dreams that he sees a remedy for this in *smaller* newspapers — which would, however, it is obvious from his own statement, be as little understood as the 'Times,' unless they used words plainer than the plainest, and of less than one syllable. The newspaper 'revolutionists' (as they seem pleased to be termed) instead of leaping at once to America and back, with the conclusion that, under the same fiscal and postal arrangements, the newspaper circulation of different countries would be similar, might have seen something at home which would have made them think again: in Ireland, (whose system has differed from that of the other two kingdoms only in her advertisement duty being lighter by 50 per cent., and the stamp itself by 25 per cent.), the annual consumption of stamps per head of the population is less than 1; in Scotland it is more than 3!

Since, then, the question, looked at from any side, thus appears so plain, what, it will naturally be asked, are the overpowering motives, or the too rashly assumed results, which have blinded a few of our best and ablest public men, as well as a portion of the multitude who are prone to echo 'a good cry?' Their motives we shall learn presently from their own mouths; but the actual results for which they hope are very obscurely and oppositely defined. We are told what they want to destroy, but we are not told, or are told contradictorily, what they hope to build up in its place. If we listened to the chief witnesses, as distinct from the chief members of the Committee, we should learn, first, that the British is 'the best press in the world;' and then that the result of the change they seek would be (Whitty, 625) 'a total revolution in the whole press of the country' — (Cassels, 1425) 'a complete revolution in the newspaper press

'of this kingdom.' A total revolution in the best thing of the kind in the world is not a very satisfactory proposition; but there is in addition a very confusing antagonism of idea as to what the revolution is to consist of. Some of the Association think it will make papers infinitely more numerous — others that it will make them less numerous, though of greater circulation. For instance, Mr. Cole (2755) thinks that the grand benefit will consist in enabling newspapers to be set up without capital; while the leading witness on the same side, Mr. Whitty, says (617), 'to publish cheap papers would require about *four* '*times* the capital that is required to publish a paper at present;' and again (631), 'at present it does not cost much, but *then* you 'could not commence a newspaper certainly under 10,000*l*!' Now, which of these two things are we to regard as the probable and the desirable one — papers set up by anybody everywhere, or papers set up nowhere but in great fields and by nobody but large capitalists?

Till further explanation we may continue to doubt whether *either* result would not be a misfortune. The hypothesis of a few monster or monopolising papers is suggestive of many evils and inconveniences — for instance, in a country where parties are so many and so keen, it would inevitably lead to the expedient lately existing in France of supporting newspapers by party subsidies, a practice destructive of integrity and independence. But there is more need, we suspect, to look at the opposite hypothesis — the multiplication of petty papers in petty localities. And we would beg the reader to mark well both the probability of this result coming about, and the great deal that it signifies. At present, for instance, a London paper is as cheap at Inverness as at London, and so of an Inverness paper — the London papers go freely to Inverness and the Inverness to London; and thus there is a constant interchange and commingling of events and ideas, as between district and district, to the great benefit of both readers and writers. Under the proposed change, the paper of each locality will be cheaper *there* by at least the price of carriage than the paper of any other locality; and inevitably people would more and more see only the paper of their own locality, and as inevitably that paper would write *down* to that locality, its topics, its prejudices, and its scandals. This cannot be gainsaid by those who ascribe to a penny such potency for good or evil, and who point to the United States press as a model — for their American witness stated (3004) that 'the 'circulation is more *local* than in this country:' (2997) 'a 'paper is published in each district of 10,000 inhabitants;' and (2982) 'as a rule, the papers do not penetrate into counties and

'towns in which other papers are published.' Nay, we have direct evidence from the agitators not only of what is likely but of what they desire: one of the witnesses, we have already seen, hopes the effect would be very considerably to exclude even the London papers even from so great and wealthy a place as Manchester; and another of them (Whitty, 624) says that the grand effect will be that 'three persons out of four will take '*two* local papers.' Now, this looks as if the blessing were to consist not so much in giving a paper to those who had none, as in giving two to those who had one; but, letting that pass, look what is the balance of gain and loss by this change. The person who is afterwards to take two local papers, formerly took only one, which he sent to a friend in London in exchange for a London paper — a great benefit to both, not likely to be continued when the transmission cannot be made without the trouble and sacrifice of a fresh payment. It seems impossible to conceive a system better fitted than the one we have for making the British press national and great — nor one better fitted than that with which we are threatened for making it local and petty.

When — in looking for an explanation of the desire to substitute a system glaringly bad for one admittedly good — we go further *up* we fare much worse. In various shapes it comes out that Mr. Cobden and his friends are actuated by the feeling that from the press, as at present constituted, they do not receive sufficient support as a party, or proper courtesy as individuals. Time after time Mr. Cobden querulously questions the witnesses thus: —

'Is not the tone of the leading articles in the French press 'more courteous than those of England towards public men?'

'Has it not struck you that in the press of Spain (!) and 'Germany there is greater courtesy shown towards indivi-'duals?'

Such manifestations of soreness in a man so eminent are equally surprising and saddening. One who has played so roughly and so successfully at bowls surely ought not to be so very tender and irritable as to rubbers. A man of such powers might be expected to add to his other qualities, if not magnanimity enough to take in good part, and even take to heart, the advices of the honest and sensible, at least equanimity enough to despise the assaults of the unscrupulous and the silly. At all events, the punishment at which he aims seems vastly too great for the provocation. Everybody must heartily wish that newspapers of a certain class, in speaking of and to Mr. Cobden, would pay more regard to truth, and taste, and

sense, if not to his talents and achievements; but, nevertheless, we cannot but think that 'a total revolution' by Act of Parliament is too tremendous and indiscriminate a retaliation. The offenders are, so far as we have seen, only a few of their class, but 'his great revenge has stomach for them *all*.'

Nay, it would be well, or rather less ill, if even this were all. But, unfortunately for himself, and fortunately for the forewarning of the public, Mr. Cobden has, since the Committee sat, still more fully revealed his designs and motives. For instance, the following passage, from a speech he delivered to a Mechanics' Institution at Holmfirth last February, has an importance so painful as almost to entitle it to the name of the Second Holmfirth Catastrophe:—

'People would resort to newsrooms, not to read the leading 'articles—for, with all respect for the talented writers of the 'public press, I regard the leaders as of far less importance than 'the articles of news in the paper. Take a newspaper up, and 'you will find news brought from all parts of the world; nine-'teen-twentieths of the whole paper consist of news, and only 'one-twentieth part of original articles or leaders; therefore, 'with all respect to the editors of these newspapers, I believe 'these *original articles, so far as guidance and direction are con-'cerned, are the least useful and interesting parts of their papers* '—facts and intelligence being more sought after by readers. 'There are far more newspapers in America than here, *but they* '*have less political influence.*'

What, then, have we here deliberately and explicitly revealed as to the motive and aim of the change laboured for by Mr. Cobden, and recommended by the majority of the Parliamentary Committee? That the British newspaper press should cease to *discuss* public events and public men, and become a mere reporting and recording machine. And let it not be thought that this fact rests only on the avowal of Mr. Cobden; it appears in the whole spirit, and shines through the whole evidence of the agitators; nay, one of their chief and most able men, Mr. W. E. Hickson, backed, at least to some extent, by Mr. Ewart, says (3212) that *he* 'is willing even that leading 'articles should be *prohibited!*' Newspapers are to be pipes maintaining communication between orators' lips and the public ear, but to emit any sounds on their own account is impertinent and mischievous. 'Prythee, let those that play your clowns 'speak no more than is set down for them.'

And, to understand all that is meant, let us ask the same high authorities (we are here dealing only with the leaders of the movement) what they expect to come in place of those dis-

cussions which they hope to suppress. Mr. Whitty replies (679), 'Real *tales from the police office*, which are about the 'most instructive reading in the world!' (688), 'I have 'stated that I consider *police reports the most instructive and* '*most desirable reading in the world.*' Mr. W. E. Hickson (3198): 'A good account of some trial at the assizes,'—'*a* '*good account of some farmer's stackyard having been burnt* '*down!*' Thus, then, we see the whole case—we know what we have, and we are allowed a glimpse of what we are to get. We have the freest, the ablest, the most powerful press in the world; but—by reason of its not being invariably courteous to eloquent gentlemen in Parliament—its place is to be given to a press that will, as a necessity of its position, restrict itself to being minute upon murders, and facetious upon rick-burning.

It would surely be superfluous to enter on arguments showing that the British newspaper press, such as it is, free, copious, and able in *discussion*, has long been, is now, and probably will be for ever, the very life-blood of our political system; and that those propose the infliction of a national calamity,—a violence to the national tastes, habits, and interests,—who thus propose to destroy the press as an engine of discussion, and to relegate political speech and power solely to the platform and the inverted tub. If that fact admitted of doubt, or required discussion, it would not be necessary to range over a larger period than that embraced in Mr. Cobden's own not very protracted public life, to find that, without the press, the platform sometimes could not exist at all, and sometimes would exist only for evil. There was a time, not long ago,—though Mr. Cobden seems to have forgotten it,—before the platform could come into play, and when the press was the only means of keeping alive and advancing the great cause with which his name is for ever associated—when League lecturers were pumped upon in the agricultural districts, and even in manufacturing towns Mr. Cobden himself could scarcely hold a meeting without a protection, by tickets, from Chartist and Protectionist inroads;—and, for thirty years previously, this use of the press had been exemplified in the history of the whole class of questions of Reform. There is a time at present—and Mr. Cobden seems to know it too sensitively—after the platform has begun to run riot, and when the press makes a stand against crudities and quackeries. The platform is good, though not better than the press, when public attention is aroused and public favour gained, but in evil days the platform sinks away. It is in a discussional press, as in an ark, that good causes are preserved when in adversity, and from it, as from an entrench-

ment, that bad ones are assailed when they are prosperous. All this is known to every man that has kept his eyes and understanding open these thirty years. The press as it is—as contradistinguished from what Mr. Cobden would have it to be—is the chief engine through which during this generation political reforms have been wrought in a country where political reforms have been more numerous, peaceful, and beneficial than in any other; and—now that the object is avowed—there may, perhaps, be fewer persons disposed to aid any change which tends to substitute for an engine so safe and so effective either the French barricade or the American 'stump.'

ART. VIII. — *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, with his Autobiography and Journals.* Edited and compiled by TOM TAYLOR, of the Inner Temple, Esq. 3 vols. London: 1853.

THIS is a sadly suggestive, a painfully instructive, book. As a revelation of a morbid spirit, as a psychological *fact*, there has been scarce anything since the days of Rousseau to compare with it. Of course we speak without reference to the immorality which deforms the work of that celebrated writer. From any such corruption this book, right manly and English with all its faults, is wholly free. But otherwise, in melancholy interest, in picturesque and vigorous writing, in graphic touches of character, in the conscious exposition of feelings, and the quite unconscious exposition of failings, such as men usually keep earthed up and hidden deep from sight, we question whether the famous 'Confessions' would not sometimes pale in comparison. Considered merely as a contribution to the history of the Fine Arts in this country, the book has also a peculiar value. Certainly no retrospect of the progress of Art or of opinion as relates to Art during the last forty years, could be written without reference to the remarkable and unfortunate man who stands self-portrayed before us in this extraordinary piece of biography. Haydon overrated himself every way, which is, perhaps, one reason why he was underrated by others. As a *power*, both artistic and literary, he was in his own time quite misapprehended. By some regarded as a wild enthusiast, who injured his own cause by his exaggerated pretensions and self-opiniated advocacy. By almost all who had begun by admiring and aiding him shunned at last as a most unprincipled and shameless beggar. By not a few denounced as an absolute madman; and, in truth, there seems to have existed from the

first that disproportion in the structure of his mind which tends to eventual insanity. But the history of our national progress during the last half century is now receding into distance. It assumes as a picture its due gradation of light and shade; the figures take their proper place and comparative prominence; and now it has really become a question whether Haydon, with all his inordinate egotism, *did* overrate the importance of his objects, though he may have overrated his own ability to achieve them. His mistake, his misfortune, lay in the self-willed arrogance which, perpetually irritated by contradiction and stimulated by opposition, saw only Haydon 'wherever he looked, where-'ever he moved,' as the great first cause, the *primum mobile*, of the grand revolution he meditated; whereas there were many other existing causes, all tending to the same result, — elements in which and through which he might have worked instead of setting them, as he did, in opposition against himself. Still, when we review the rise and progress of that comprehensive and enlightened code of criticism to which Lessing and Goethe had given the first impulse in Germany, we see Haydon standing out among us here, not owing any thing to the great Germans, not even taking up the same ground, yet in his own way an original thinker, a powerful writer, a passionate pleader for the true objects and interests of his art, a daring exposer of the mean mistaken aims and subserviency of artists; a fearless denouncer of the short-sighted neglect and consummate ignorance of those in high places who had to decide on the ultimate uses of the Fine Arts, as a part of the culture of a people, and their protection and encouragement as a part of the duty of a government. These ideas sound trite at present; they were then new. The fashionable faith of our day was then the creed of a small set of pioneers, ill understood by others, not always understanding themselves. Haydon led this forlorn hope with an impetuosity which threw him quite beyond the reach of less ardent, less sanguine spirits. It is not his eminence as an artist, but the story of his relations with Art — his battles with the Academy, his intercourse with painters, with patrons, with poets, with men of letters and statesmen — these form the artistic and historical value of the book. The man's peculiar idiosyncracy, his undoubted talent, his really noble aspirations, and the terrible demonstration before us that, thus richly gifted, thus loftily ambitious, thus undauntedly persevering, his career was a wretched failure, ending in self-inflicted death — these form the moral interest of the book. Under both aspects it is full of matter, and might well claim,

with the concomitant and contemporary interests touched upon, more ample consideration than can be given to it here.

We observe that among the critics who have been, we must think prudishly, severe in their strictures on this remarkable book, some are shocked by the tragic depth, the pitiable weakness, the careless indiscretion of the revelations contained in it, and have thence decided that it has been prematurely given to the world. Others go so far as to pronounce that it ought not to have been published at all. From such critics we differ wholly. We account it good service to the cause of truth generally, and of Art particularly, that this strange history, with all its manifold faults and mistakes, has seen the light. We think it could hardly have appeared at a more fitting moment than now, amid the awakened interest and keen discussion in and out of Parliament bearing on the very topics which fill its pages. We do not cavil with Mr. Tom Taylor for suppressing what he has suppressed, since the whole, as it now stands, coheres into completeness in story and character, at least sufficiently so for the best uses to be derived from either. But we are especially thankful that he has not been led, by the scruples of others or his own, to suppress more. It has been said that pain has been inflicted, or may be inflicted, on many worthy and sensitive people by certain allusions to them or their friends, or their relations to the sixth degree of cousinship, and *therefore* this and similar publications involve a moral wrong of which public morality should take cognisance. We really do not see the question in this serious point of view. Those who read these volumes through—and read aright the peculiar temperament of the man—will surely not be guided in their estimate of character by any opinion of his, however honest in intent, nor rely on the accuracy of his portraiture, however vivid. No fear, we think, that our idea of the wit and the wisdom of Sydney Smith should be lowered because Haydon saw in him only the 'careless cassock,' the 'jocular parson.' Sir George Beaumont remains to us the accomplished gentleman, the generous, amiable patron and judge of Art, though brought into collision with the unruly self-love of his wayward *protégé*. Mr. William Hamilton's beneficent nature and exquisite taste shine out not the less because of the passing ungrateful sneer which Haydon, in one of his distempered moods, bestows upon his much enduring friend. If Mr. Taylor has suppressed many notices of this kind, no doubt he has been guided by deliberate reflection and good feeling; but we really think that in most cases it will be found to have been superfluous as regards the reputation or

the feelings of the supposed victims, and, if a charity at all, one only to the memory of the author.

For, with regard to the autobiographies of distinguished men, it is undeniable that no portrait drawn of a man of genius equals in truth, and therefore often in severity, that which unconsciously and involuntarily he exhibits of himself. Let him suppress what he may, let him excuse what he can, let him throw over his actions and motives whatever colouring may be derived from the most ingenious logic, aided by the most captivating graces of style, he will yet reveal such unmistakeable features of the inner self that he shall be more justly judged out of his own words than by any portrait which the ablest, most acute, most impartial of observers could have drawn of him. There are abysses of passion and of pain which no observer can fathom; impelling motives of which no observer can estimate the force; associated influences of which no observer can trace the link. The man himself uses the best gifts with which God has graced him to hold up the mirror truly to himself, as if driven by some power, some pressure from within, which is not conscience, rather an instinct, a fatality, arising out of the very structure of his being. We have alluded to Rousseau. Who could have painted that compound of mud and fire as he has painted himself? Who could have placed before us the meanness, profligacy, vanity, falsehood, the utter degradation of that most miserable and most gifted of the sons of men with such a wondrous truth? Who that knew Moore, the lively, ever welcome, genial singer of Ireland, would have ventured — in the slang phrase — to 'show him up' as he has 'shown up' himself? His bitterest enemy, we think, would not have had the heart, certainly not the power, to do it. Such men, under such influences, become like the unwilling prophet of old, unconscious utterers of the truths they see not, and 'wiser than 'they know.'

But it will be said that such revelations, even when spontaneous and authorised, are dishonouring to our common nature, inasmuch as they lower at once our standard of virtue and our estimate of genius, or rather our estimate of the men on whom genius has been bestowed; and that it is a killing blow to our faith in good if we must needs behold in the 'greatest — wisest,' also the 'meanest of mankind.' It may be answered, in the first place, that nothing *can* dishonour our common nature which enlightens us as to its true conditions; nothing *can* lower our moral standard which enlarges our moral sympathies. And secondly, that it is a too common mistake to defer to the

opinions and feelings of gifted men on all subjects because they have shown themselves great in some,—to set them up as gods indeed, because they have given forth one or two divine oracles. Better is it that we should learn discrimination in our hero-worship: better that we hold fast to the principles that truth in the long run is worth the price, *whatever* it may be, that we are called on to pay for it. Do we despond over our beautiful idols cast down to earth before the coming of the purer, the diviner light? Let us remember that the inestimable gain to the future is worth the present loss to ourselves. It is through such data as these before us,—painful often, and often humiliating, —that we shall at length be enabled to solve some of those momentous problems in ethics and education, on the solution of which the moral well being of mankind as a race must ultimately depend. What is understood as yet of the training of genius and exceptional character? How are we to recognise their presence and their power before it be too late, before we are called upon to answer the fearful question as to how far excelling and commanding genius shall be at once indulged and outlawed? Would it not be well that men of rare endowments should know, and lay to heart, that henceforth they shall be amenable to the rising moral sense of mankind? that henceforth they shall not skulk behind their glory to conceal their shame, nor plead their great gifts in extenuation of judgment? that those who in life have not feared the 'everlasting face to face 'with God,' must stand, after life, face to face with humanity, and answer, like the dead Egyptian kings, its appeal against them? 'Cruel,' will it be said? Yes, as all that is immutable, all that is inevitable, all that is inexorable in God's moral law seems *cruel* where we have to make the application in particular cases, be it in that of a Bacon, a Rousseau, a Byron, or in that of a poor, distracted, self-immolated Haydon.

There is another lesson conveyed in this book and others of its kind, and one of not less solemn import. They enlarge our experience of the conditions on which men of an anomalous temperament, or devoted to some one soul-absorbing pursuit, may hope to preserve unimpaired mental and moral health. In common with many who knew Haydon in the later years of his life, we had the impression that his mind was disordered. No one, we think, can read this autobiography without a conviction that the seeds of disease were early to be traced in an organisation from the first distempered and disproportioned, and that the latent evil was developed by sudden vicissitudes of fortune, by the wear and tear of an unquiet life, and an

habitual neglect of all the conditions of physical health. It is clear that he had a mournful consciousness of the dangerous tendencies of his own mind. In more than one place we find dark communings with himself as to the causes, and the right or wrong of suicide, as if his fate had been foreshadowed, as if in the midst of triumphant anticipation a spectre of despair were looming in the distance. Frequently he alludes to his want of early training as one cause of his arrogance and obstinacy; 'Why did I not yield?' he says, on the occasion of his quarrel with Sir George Beaumont, 'because my mind 'wanted the discipline of early training. I trace all the mis-'fortunes of my life to this early and irremediable want; my 'will had not been curbed, or my will was too stubborn to 'submit to curbing.'—'Perhaps,' he adds, 'mine is a character 'in which all the parts would have harmonised if my will had 'been broken early.' Such self-justification we reject while a man is living, while he can give us blow after blow on the heart, and then plead as an excuse for obstinacy in wrong his want of early training. But when he is dead, and can no longer injure or wound, we are willing to admit—not without a sigh of compassion and forgiveness—the validity of the plea.

It does not suit, however, with all men to stand up before the bar of posterity either self-excused or self-condemned. How many, rather than plead at all, would call on the darkness to shroud them and the hills to cover them! The publication of recent memoirs, and the comments to which they have given rise, have dismayed some people remarkable for nice scruples, if not for high principles. There has ensued, it is said, of late a vast burning of papers, letters, private journals, and such memoranda. Be it so. Burn by all means. But of utterances out of the heart and life of man addressed to man, there will always be enough, and more than enough,. The same strong human sympathies which crave to know, prompt also to reveal. Vanity *will* not refrain; passion *will* not be silent; conviction *will* speak; anguish, which has bled in silence, *will* utter at last the long-suppressed cry, if not for justice—if not for pity—yet for relief:—'As the beast crieth, expansive not appealing;' and the echoes of humanity will catch it up, and respond to it, as they do now to this wild reproachful voice, startling us from the tomb.

The narrative before us is divided into two parts; we have, first, Haydon's autobiography from his birth to his thirty-sixth year. It appears to have been compiled partly from recollec-

tion, partly from his voluminous journals, kept with great regularity from an early age. He prefaces this narrative by a short introduction, in which he gives his reasons for writing it — reasons sufficiently indicative of the morbid feelings under which it was written: —

'Every man who has suffered for a principle and would lose his life for its success—who in his early days has been oppressed without ever giving the slightest ground for oppression, and persecuted to ruin because his oppression was unmerited — who has incurred the hatred of his enemies exactly in proportion as they became convinced they were wrong—every man who, like me, has eaten the bitter crust of poverty and endured the penalties of vice and wretchedness when he merited the rewards of virtue and industry—should write his own life.' (Introduction, p. i.)

The date of this autobiography is not given, but from internal evidence it appears to have been written at different times, some part of it so late as 1843, when he was fifty-seven. It is obvious that Haydon, as his editor expresses it, 'believed 'himself a hero, and thought that all the world would believe 'it when these records came to light.' In this belief they do not differ from other memoir writers who imagine that the aspect under which they choose to regard their own conduct is that which will be accepted by posterity. They are mistaken, however. Where a man excuses and defends himself, we readily pardon the self-love — it is natural: where he makes avowal of error, or worse, we receive it as spoken in confidence — reproach is disarmed: but in neither case is the ultimate judgment of posterity either blinded or averted.

The second and third volumes continue the personal history, chiefly by extracts from his journals, with occasional letters; Haydon being everywhere, and as far as possible, the sole exponent of his own character and feelings. The passages taken from the journals are connected, where necessary, by short portions of narrative, supplied by the editor, and written with much calm good sense, and in a just and gentle spirit towards his subject; but with little of sympathy, and still less of approval. It is clear that Mr. Tom Taylor has not deemed it a part of his duty to point out absurdities, to reconcile discrepancies, or to excuse delinquencies. It is to be regretted that some things which are known to be false, or at least so tinctured by Haydon's mood when most moody, as to be unworthy of credit, should have gone forth to the world without some protest, some explanation on the part of the editor. This, if not due to individuals, was due to the cause of truth and justice generally. Then we do not understand why some names are sheltered under ini-

tials, and others given at full length. Still less why the same names are in one place given at length, and in another suppressed. Why Edwin Landseer may not 'ride up Bond Street 'on a blood horse' without being disguised under a couple of dashes; why a distinguished critic and *littérateur*, of whom nothing is recorded that is not only honourable to his character, but *personally* complimentary, should be exhibited under a thin alphabetical disguise pervious to the dimmest capacity, we profess ourselves unable to divine. The want of any heading to the chapters, any table of contents, any help whatever to reference, where the matter is so multifarious and desultory, is a great inconvenience. There are other mistakes and oversights, which will probably be corrected in a future edition. On the whole, however, a very difficult task has been executed, we think, with meritorious good faith and good feeling. All editorial responsibility has been lightened by the fact that Haydon was in the habit of keeping daily memoranda. Here also he has given his reasons for doing so: —

'I acquired,' he says, 'in early life a great love of the journals of others, and Johnson's recommendation to keep them honestly I always bore in mind. I have kept one now for thirty-four years. It is the history, in fact, of my mind; and in all my lectures I had only to refer to them for such and such opinions—to look when such and such thoughts had occurred, and I found my journals an absolute capital to draw upon. I hope that my journals, if ever they are thought worthy of publication, may give as much pleasure to others as other journals have given delight to me.'

This passage and some others show that Haydon contemplated the publication of his papers, and on them rested his hopes of posthumous justice. We conceive, however, that had he been a really *great* artist in his profession, he would not have made his appeal to posterity in words. It was said of him, that 'if he had been more intent on painting good pictures and less 'intent on persuading the world that he painted good pictures, 'he had been a wiser man.' But it is fair to say that no one could have been more intent on learning and doing, as well as talking and writing — no one could labour more earnestly and diligently in his calling. His memoranda will at least have this good effect: they will give to the ignorant and the unthinking some idea of the struggles, the sorrows, the vicissitudes, the crosses, and the cares which wait on those who work with hand and brain: the artist class — for whom fame is not only identical with *love*, but alas! also with *bread*. Such better knowledge will lead to sympathy; and such sympathy will not be

lessened by the pity which is here excited by failure, nor by the condemnation which waits on error. Some of these minute details, carrying us through the history of a picture from the moment it was 'rubbed in' to its completion, have an almost dramatic interest. If we possessed, with regard to any great work of art of world-wide fame, the same exact memoranda that Haydon has given us of his Judgment of Solomon or the Entry into Jerusalem — if, for instance, we could read of the daily progress of the School of Athens or the Heliodorus — of the models employed — of the books studied — of the various alterations suggested or adopted — the celebrities of the time who sat for the various heads — Urbino, Castiglione, Bramante, and how they looked and talked — what a record had it been! — what an inestimable value would the wondrous beauty and renown of the work itself have lent to every trifling detail! But with regard to Haydon, it is just the reverse. The notices given here may lend an interest to the picture, even to its shortcomings and mistakes; but the picture will hardly lend value to the notes. If the painter's hand could have executed what he willed and aspired to do, whole pages had not been filled with the description of what he intended to do; or would, or could, or might have done — and did *not* do. As it has been well observed, 'failures detract little from the reputation of 'those who have really done great things;' but it was the misfortune of Haydon that he never did anything great enough to make us forget his failures. Often, in describing what he means to do, he places a far finer picture before the mind's eye than his hand could realise. The sublime shapes which throng his fancy in the hour of meditation, when he sits down to his easel refuse to wait upon his summons. It is not that he could not give to those spirits a form; he could not give to forms a spirit to lift them to the height of his own conception. They sank down and remained of the earth, earthy. The *materialism* of his pictures is their worst fault.

But we must pause in these general criticisms on Haydon's personality, as man and artist, to enter upon the subject matter of the book. So much of its peculiar charm and interest and significance depend on the author's own peculiar style of narrative, with all its passionate redundancies, its vigorous colloquial English, its repetitions and contradictions, that, as a matter of justice, we must refer the reader to the original work if he would have a true picture of the man. Our object for the present is to give such a rapid and condensed view of Haydon's career as an artist as shall illustrate the history of Art during the last forty years, and explain the circumstances

which lifted him during his life into considerable reputation and notoriety. The publication of these memoirs is likely, both at home and abroad, to add to his reputation and enhance notoriety into celebrity; not indeed the celebrity he coveted, which he pertinaciously and grandiloquently claimed and anticipated, but a celebrity shadowed by pain, by pity, and by a not unmerited reprobation.

Benjamin Robert Haydon — Historical Painter, as he loved to designate himself — was born at Plymouth in the year 1786. His father, descended from an old but decayed Devonshire family, carried on the business of a bookseller in his native town. Young Haydon showed almost in infancy a turn for drawing and imitation, in which he was assisted by one of his father's apprentices, and by an Italian bookbinder who was employed in the shop, and who 'set the boy on fire with talk 'of Italy, Raphael, and the Vatican.' He owed much also to Dr. Bidlake, the master of the grammar school, who, not satisfied, it seems, with teaching his boys a little Latin and less Greek, imparted some smattering of such pursuits as he himself delighted in — music, drawing, and natural history — took them out sketching, and seems altogether to have been a most rare and eccentric schoolmaster for those days. When the time came for young Haydon to assist his father in his business, he threw the whole family into consternation by refusing to serve behind the counter, and declared his resolve to go up to London and become a painter. In vain his father represented the imprudence of giving up a profitable business for an uncertain profession. As vainly did his too indulgent mother plead that she rested on him, her only son, her hopes for the future; and Haydon acknowledges that hers had not been up to that time by any means a happy, or even a tranquil, existence. 'He *would* be a painter!' Had Haydon really accomplished his boyish dream, had he become what he conceived himself destined to be — a Raphael, a Michael Angelo, a Titian combined in one, 'the glory of England and of modern 'Art,' such early resolution had been recorded as the prophetic self-assertion of conscious greatness, whereas, in contrast with the result, it strikes us rather as the conceit and obstinacy of a headstrong boy. He began his career at least characteristically by purchasing, against his father's will, a copy of 'Albinus' (an expensive anatomical work with superb plates), and sending it home to his father to be paid for; and having obtained all he wanted, and extracted from his parents a reluctant consent, he set off for London, at the age of eighteen, 'his head full of Sir

'Joshua, drawing, dissection, and High Art.' We must do Haydon the justice to record that on his arrival in London, a raw youth, without 'guide, philosopher, or friend,' he did not fall into dissipation or idleness; he set to work with that mixture of impetuosity and dogged determination which was in his nature. For three months he shut himself up, seeing nothing but his books, his casts, and his drawings. He was once, he says, so long without speaking to a human creature, that 'his gums became painfully sore from the clenched tightness of his teeth.' Some one who found him stretched on the floor of his room, and poring over his 'Albinus,' went away with the idea that he was 'quite mad.' He had resolved to be a great painter, to unite in himself all the excellences which had separately distinguished the greatest painters of old—'form, 'light and shadow, colour, expression,'—and in the end surpass them all!

After months of intense study, he recollected that he had a letter of introduction to Prince Hoare, who in turn introduced him to Northcote and Opie. He describes with much life and humour his reception by both. The captious, sardonic, misanthropic insolence of Northcote—'laughing like an imp.' The manly, but somewhat saturnine, good sense and good nature of Opie, and the hatred of the two men for each other. He received good advice from both, neutralised perhaps by the fact that the counsel given by the one was in direct opposition to that given by the other. The elder Smirke also gave him sensible encouragement and admonition; 'but it is curious,' he says, 'the power I had of sifting all advice, and discarding 'every thing which interfered with my own decisions.' West was at that time President of the Royal Academy. He professed High Art—the highest Art—and was the best specimen we could show in that line. As Liszt once said of Moscheles, 'Il représentait la *respectabilité* de la profession.' He was truly a respectable old man, who sat down to paint the tremendous mysteries and terrors of the 'Apocalypse' as serenely secure in his own power as if the muse of Milton and the eagle-spirit of St. John had been seated together at his elbow. Fuseli, his antipodes, with too much of every thing which West wanted, was keeper of the Academy. No one could accuse *him* of respectability. He had learning and genius, but a reputation in regard to temper, morals, and manners, which inspired Haydon with terror, as of 'a sort of gifted wild beast.' But Fuseli, with all his asperities and eccentricities, was of use to the young student, and, in his way, even kind to him. The gentle and elegant minded Stothard was living and working in

the retirement he loved, chiefly occupied in making designs for books. Lawrence and Hoppner were the fashionable portrait painters. Jackson,—at this time a young man of six or seven and twenty, rising in reputation; Wilkie, Etty, Hilton, Mulready, were students; Landseer, Leslie, Eastlake, were in their boyhood. Barry was living, but in a state of seclusion, which, combined with his morbid temper and eccentric habits, gave some colour to the report that he was deranged. Over his successes and his failures, his turbulent arrogance, his magnificent views, his battles with antiquaries, academicians, and patrons of art, the scene was now closing fast. He died shortly afterwards, and Haydon and Wilkie went together to see the unhappy painter lie in state at the Adelphi; but they went as to a *spectacle*, and Haydon, in the flush of youth, health, and ambition, never dreamed that his own career would so nearly resemble that of the dead man sleeping under his pall, to conclude with even a deeper reverse and a darker tragedy.

While absent from London, called home by his father's dangerous illness, Jackson wrote to him, 'There is a raw, tall, 'pale Scotchman come up; an odd fellow, but there is some-'thing in him; he is called Wilkie.' This was sufficient to fix Haydon's attention when they afterwards met in the Academy. 'I watched him come in,' said Haydon; 'we sat and drew in 'silence for some time; at length Wilkie rose, looked over my 'shoulder, said nothing, and sat down. I went and looked over 'his shoulder, and sat down again. We had seen enough to 'satisfy us of each other's skill, and when the class broke up we 'went and dined together.' Such was the beginning of this strange intimacy between two men so dissimilar; an intimacy based as it should seem in contrasts, rather than in sympathies, often clouded, yet never severed, faithful if not constant. Haydon makes merry with Wilkie's oddities, fiercely resents his occasional neglects and chilling caution, and acknowledges, characteristically, that 'Wilkie's reputation often disturbed his 'peace,' but loved him notwithstanding, appreciated his talents, and heartily enjoyed his triumphs. The two friends became almost inseparable, studied together, breakfasted, dined, went to the theatres, ranged the London streets together; and Haydon records, with excusable satisfaction, that at this period they were neither of them tempted into vice, and that in after life they dwelt on this recollection with mutual respect and pleasure. 'No 'doubt,' says Haydon, 'an Etonian, or a Winchester, or a Rugby 'boy will laugh at this, but with us it was a fact. At twenty 'I had an object which sustained me far above the temptations 'of a London life.' Both the young men had a deep sense of

religion: that of Wilkie was the severe Presbyterianism of his country; that of Haydon somewhat peculiar, tinctured, we suspect, by his mother's High Church enthusiasm and his own excitable temperament. He says, 'at this time I never rose 'without prayer, and never retired without it, and occasionally 'in the day time, in the fervour of conception, I inwardly 'asked a blessing on my designs.' These prayers and religious outpourings, without which he never begun or ended a picture, are plentifully scattered through the pages of his journals. How is it that we are so edified when we read of the old monkish painters imploring, on bended knees, a blessing on their work, and that we read these prayers of Haydon with a sort of shrinking? Is it that they want humility?—that they are more like adjurations than supplications?—passionate appeals for what he needed or desired, hurled upwards, as it were, with a strange vehemence, as if he would have taken Heaven's mercy by storm? While reading them we are irresistibly reminded of the exclamation of Rosalba*, when she looked, with soft eyes wide open, after Sir Godfrey Kneller, who had been, as usual, swaggering and boasting in her *atélier*—'This man can have no religion, 'for he has no modesty!' Yet we cannot doubt that Haydon's religion was, in its kind, perfectly sincere; that the Almighty was to him—as to Dr. Johnson and other men of undoubted piety—an almost material impersonation of power, in whom he implicitly believed, and 'that this belief influenced his inward 'life, his relations with his family, and, so far as his necessities 'did not interfere, with the world.' If Dr. Johnson, in the prayers and ejaculations which fill the pages of his Diary, may invoke the Almighty against his bilious melancholy, beseech help in 'early rising,' and return thanks for 'all the comforts 'he had received in the friendship of Anna Williams,' why should it give offence that Haydon should pray for success in his cartoon, and return thanks for being enabled, through Divine help, to give the right expression to a head? It may seem absurd to compare the poor painter and the lofty moralist. Yet in both was not the piety equally unspiritual and equally tinctured by the individual temperament? We return to our narrative.

Jackson, who was intimate with Haydon and Wilkie, was at this time especially patronised by Lord Mulgrave, and, with a generous unselfish feeling, introduced both to his noble friend; Haydon also obtained the notice of Sir George Beaumont, and interested Lady Beaumont by his liveliness, frankness, and

* The celebrated crayon painter.

genuine enthusiasm. He was asked to dinner, and describes very humorously his trepidation on this his first entrance into fashionable life — how he dressed, and redressed, and brushed up his hair, and looked in the glass, and studied the cut of his coat, and acted over his *début*, and 'wished that his mother 'could see him!' But once in Lady Beaumont's drawing-room, his self-esteem placed him quite at ease — perhaps rather too much so. Another and more serious matter for trepidation was the sending his first picture to the Exhibition. It was a 'Riposo,' painted before he was one-and-twenty. Like other young beginners, he thought every eye would be on his picture, and was full of those 'cursed torturing anxieties' which a youth of a less excitable character might be excused for feeling. His friend Northcote would have hung him up close to the ceiling. His friend Fuseli interfered in his behalf: 'Why,' said he, 'you are sending him to heaven before his time! take him 'down! dat is shameful!' So he was taken down, and for this time reprieved. The picture, one of great promise, was afterwards purchased by Mr. Thomas Hope. Haydon records, with affectionate exultation, the success of Wilkie's 'Blind Fiddler,' in the same exhibition (1807) — as the centre of attraction, and 'deserving to be so.'

The letters which Sir George Beaumont addressed to him and to Wilkie about this time are excellent for the profound appreciation of the difficulties and triumphs of Art, and a true sympathy with the artist; they are, besides, written with much elegance. His advice, however, must be taken 'with a differ-'ence.' For instance, his reasons for choosing subjects from history rather than from the poets, are excellent as addressed to such a man as Haydon, but would only have misled or encumbered such a man as Stothard, whose genius was so essentially lyrical that he impressed this character on every thing he painted, who seemed born to illustrate fiction and poetry, and whose historical and religious pictures bear the same relation to High Art that one of Metastasio's operas bear to tragedy. But these speculations would carry us far out of our way; we resume our story.

There are some sketches of Haydon's student life at this time over which we would gladly linger; for instance, the description of the circle of young men who used to assemble of an evening at Wilkie's lodgings in Rathbone Place. Wilkie himself, Scotch and careful — 'reserved, yet argumentative — un-'lettered, but kindled by a steady flame of genius.' Haydon energetic, ambitious, full of grand ideas, and romantic hopes, eloquent and overbearing. Du Fresne, an accomplished French-

man, gay and careless, a scholar, a musician, an artist. William Allen — since Sir William — full of Scotch humour and lively anecdote; with others of less note; all young — ardent — poor. And the only woman among them, a certain 'Lizzy,' who lodged on the second floor, and made tea for them. 'The 'position,' says Haydon, 'of this generous-hearted girl, though 'somewhat anomalous, was perfectly innocent.' She listened to all; sympathised with all; but kept all at a distance. Ultimately she married the Frenchman, and disappeared, heaven knows whither.

The news of his mother's illness interrupted for a time his artistic pursuits. The account of the death of this good mother, the sketch of her early life, and of her deaf and dumb lover, is one of the best and most pathetic passages in the book. We cannot give it at length, and should only mar it by compression. Haydon laid his mother in the grave with honest filial tears, returned to London, and 'prepared to renew the battle of 'life.'

He began his picture of Siccius Dentatus, the old Roman hero, who, when attacked by the satellites of the Decemvirs, set his back against a rock, and sold his life dearly. Haydon does not tell us how or when he was led to choose this subject, full of fierce action, but destitute of repose, of grace, or any variety of sentiment. The choice was certainly characteristic. While preparing his picture, he spared no pains; made elaborate studies of heads, limbs, armour, and meditated deeply on the theory of his art. He was puzzled by the differences between nature and the antique, and knew not how to harmonise them. The Academy could not help him. His models showed him one thing — his teachers another. So he blundered impatient along the barren beaten path, bewildered with theories of beauty and form, vainly in search of some guiding principle to steer by. 'If I 'copied nature,' he says, 'my work was mean; if I left her, 'mannered.' While he was thus astray, the Elgin Marbles arrived in England; and he went casually, with his friend Wilkie, to visit them.

We are now so accustomed to look up to these majestic relics sitting god-like on their pedestals, or floating like a sublime vision, group after group, along the walls, in all their acknowledged grandeur, and to test the lofty pretensions of Greek art by their unquestioned excellence, that we can hardly imagine a time when they were lying in Lord Elgin's yard in Park Lane, to be profaned by foolish critics, misnamed by blundering antiquaries, and undervalued by gaping academicians; while others, provoked by such fatuity, fell into the opposite extreme, and

raved about them rather as intoxicated by their beauty than as truly understanding their value and significance as works of art. Lord Liverpool and his official advisers, confounded by the 'din,' and wondering at the public excitement about a parcel of mutilated fragments, afraid to decide, afraid of being taken in, showed the uncertainty of judgment which marked many of their more important public acts.

That Haydon had thought deeply, inquired earnestly, and felt truly in regard to the principles of his art, was proved by the fervent enthusiasm with which he at once hailed these divine relics. He was as clear-sighted as he was unhesitating in the judgment he pronounced. Here was demonstrated the possible harmony between the essential truth of nature, and the highest ideal in art. No longer *in alto mare senza governo*, even while he drank in the beauty of these wonderful monuments, he was sufficiently prepared by his early studies to perceive and interpret the principles on which they were executed.

'*Now*,' he says, exulting, '*now* was I mad for buying Albinus without a penny to pay for it! now was I mad for lying on the floor hours together copying its figures! I felt the future, I foretold that these marbles would prove themselves the finest things on earth, that they would overturn the false *beau idéal* where Nature is nothing, and would establish the true *beau idéal*, of which Nature alone is the basis. I do not say this now, when all the world acknowledges it; but I said it then, *when no one would believe me*.' (Vol. i. p. 85.)

And in another place, after years of study and contemplation, he breaks out into a mingled invocation and thanksgiving: —

'Every day and every hour they grow more exquisite to me; I thank God for being in existence on their arrival. May they take deep root in my nature! may their spirit be interwoven in my soul! may their essence be mingled in my blood and circulate through my being! may I never think of Form, select from Nature, draw a line or paint a touch without instinctive reference to these exquisite productions!'

He tells us that, after seeing these marbles for the first time, he returned home, looked at his figure of Dentatus with absolute disgust, seized his brush, dashed it all out in a fury, then threw himself on his bed, and dreamed of the Ilyssus. During the next few months he studied constantly at Lord Elgin's, drawing sometimes fifteen hours a day. We find him, while his 'Dentatus' was in progress, alternately obliterating his work in fits of angry self-condemnation; and then, with like inconsistence, exulting in his own capability 'to paint like Titian — 'draw like Michael Angelo.' But we sigh while we read. For in spite of the Elgin Marbles — in spite of his admirable theories

of excellence — in spite of labour never spared, and perseverance never daunted — his picture of Dentatus, with many fine points and energetic drawing, is violent, mannered, in some parts even caricatured. It has a sort of forced abortive greatness, which is very disagreeable, as if the tumult in the artist's mind, and the effort it cost him, made themselves felt while we look at it.

Lord Mulgrave now 'took him up,' as the phrase is. He dined at the Admiralty three times a week, and fancied himself a great, a very great man. When the 'Dentatus' was finished, Lord Mulgrave purchased it. It was, however, ill placed in the Academy Exhibition, which Haydon, of course, attributed to the ill-will of his 'enemies;' was severely criticised; and Lord Mulgrave's pride was hurt. He began to mistrust his own judgment — he even treated the artist with coolness. Haydon's depression was equal to his exultation — his conviction of his own merit could not sustain him. He fell into a melancholy, fancied himself under a curse, became sullen — retiring — silent. His friends feared for his brain. He left London for a time, assisted by Lord Mulgrave, and accompanied by his friend Wilkie.

On his return with restored health and spirits, he began his picture of 'Macbeth' for Sir George Beaumont; and he records, with the usual alternations of self-complacency and self-torment, the progress of his picture. We shall not follow him. Sir George was not satisfied either with the size or the treatment of the subject, and the result was a painful disagreement between the painter and the patron, of which it is unnecessary to say more than that Haydon was clearly in fault.

While painting the 'Macbeth,' he found himself, as usual, without money. His father could no longer help him; but he anticipated for his picture the Institution prize of three hundred guineas, and borrowed for his immediate wants; 'and here,' he says, '*began debt and obligation out of which I never have been 'and never shall be extricated as long as I live.*' The italics are his own, and the sentence, which refers to 1807, was written, as it appears, about 1843. The first step in debt is too often like the first step in falsehood; it involves the necessity of proceeding in the same course, and debt follows debt, as surely as lie follows lie.

The 'Macbeth' was sent to the British Institution, but obtained no prize: we have a perfect recollection of the unfavourable impression it made on the public. The attitude of Macbeth, in the act of staggering back when about to enter the chamber of Duncan, struck the eye as awkward and un-

graceful even to painfulness. In the end Sir George disliked the picture, and refused to pay for it.

Exasperated by his debts and disappointments, Haydon now plunged into contention and controversy. He began a series of attacks against the Royal Academy on the score of incapacity, illiberality, petty intrigues, indifference to the higher branches of art, ignorance of the value of the Elgin Marbles, and ungenerous treatment of young artists, particularly Wilkie. His acquantance with John and Leigh Hunt opened to him the columns of the 'Examiner'; and if something of bitterness and vindictiveness mingled with his accusations, they were not wholly undeserved. The sensible, cautious Wilkie endeavoured to stop this rash outpouring of zeal. 'Hunt,' said he, 'gets 'his living by such things, you will lose all chance of it. It 'is very fine to be a reformer, but be one with your pencil, and 'not with your pen.' Haydon never could have been a reformer with his pencil. Of this neither himself nor Wilkie was aware. The idea of being a Luther or a John Knox in art had for the moment superseded the ambition of being the English Michael Angelo or Raphael. He was unmanageable by reasoning or persuasion. If his assaults were vigorous, his adversaries were strong; they had power and custom on their side; on his were right reason, fearless audacity, inflexible will. He was warned that if he persisted he would be crushed in all his hopes at the age of twenty-six. He made up his mind for the conflict, and ordered a larger canvas for a larger work.

This was the 'Judgment of Solomon:' the idea of the composition had occurred to him when he was not more than nineteen. The very day on which he threw his sketch upon the large canvas he describes himself as in want of a dinner. He owed his landlord 200*l.*; he was in debt to many others,—friends who had assisted him, poor tradesmen who could ill afford to lose. He seems to have inspired them all with his sanguine hopes, or talked them over with that irresistible logic in which he excelled. His good-natured landlord told him 'not to fret, 'but to work.' The master of an eating-house he had long frequented, begged of him to be under no apprehensions for a dinner. The description of the scene with this excellent man and good Christian is really one of the most touching things in the book. Thus relieved from immediate want,—assured at least of food and shelter,—Haydon set to with energy, and worked till his health broke down. Then after an interval of rest, during which he was generously assisted by the Hunts, he set to work again; and thus toiling, fighting, hoping, exulting, struggling, he got through this year (1812). His landlord's

kindness continued, though he had now received no rent for several years.

'Of people of fashion,' he says, 'I saw not one, nor did I condescend to appeal to them for aid. They had first brought me into high life when I had done nothing to deserve the elevation, and then deserted me when I had done something to merit notice. I worked away, always happy, trusting in God, believing myself expressly inspired by Him for a great purpose, which I never lost sight of!'

While working on his picture with enthusiasm, and firing away against the Academy, his excitable mind was absolutely distracted by the tumult of public affairs. It was the crisis of the war in Spain; and as victory follows victory, he raves about British heroes, and curses the French in a fever of ferocious patriotism.

Another year passed. In spite of various interruptions, and the 'croakings' of Hazlitt, who was constitutionally melancholy and contradictory, his picture made progress, and began to look imposing. 'But his necessities were dreadful.' He parted with his watch, his books, his clothes. He was unable at last to pay his models. He composed his draperies on an old battered lay-figure, over which he threw a table cloth or a blanket. Continual labour, irregular meals, living in foul air for eighteen hours out of twenty-four, brought on illness and blindness as a natural consequence. Hilton, who had just received 500*l.* from the British Gallery for his picture of 'Mary anointing the Feet of 'our Saviour,' generously assisted him. So did West, whose pension had lately been suspended without any reason given. At last, under 'the influence of an enthusiasm stimulated by 'despair almost to delirium,'—we quote his own words—his picture was completed, sent to the exhibition room of the Water Colour Society in Spring Gardens, and a few days afterwards was sold for six hundred guineas. When he walked in and saw the word 'sold' upon it, he nearly fainted. 'These ele-'vations,' he says himself, 'to the heights of glory from the 'lowest depths of misery, are dreadful cuts into the consti-'tution!' and no doubt they *did* tell fearfully on such a troubled excitable brain. The sum he received did not half pay his debts; but it re-established his credit. His old friends crowded round him to congratulate, and he exults in no measured terms. But it is impossible not to sympathise with him, the more so, because of all his pictures the 'Judgment of Solomon' is certainly the best in composition and in colour; with less confusion in the arrangement, and less of exaggeration and effort in the individual forms, than is usual with him. The vindictive sneer on the face of the wicked mother is too vulgar, too like that

of a common female cheat; the draperies are heavy, ungraceful, and in texture like wet wool—but altogether it is a fine picture. It reminds one of Tintoretto in the energy of the action, and the vigorous harmony of the colour. It is hardly a church picture, but would be well placed in a court of justice, or a chamber of appeals.

The short peace of 1814 had opened Paris to English visitors, and Haydon and Wilkie set off together on a well-earned holiday. But before they started, Haydon had bought another canvas, larger than ever, and dashed in the sketch of the 'Entry into Jerusalem,' the idea of which had been long in his mind.

One should read together the different accounts which Wilkie and Haydon have left us of their Paris journey. Nothing can better exhibit the contrast between the two men; nothing can be more animated and graphic than that of Haydon, nor more dry and matter-of-fact than that of Wilkie. The Englishmen were new to Paris manners, the Parisians as yet unfamiliarised with English peculiarities. The congregation of the various nations of Europe, in every variety of military costume, rendered the scene fascinating to the eye, intoxicating to the fancy, of an artist.

'At that time (in 1814) every step in Paris excited mighty associations. Every church, every palace, every street, and every corner was remarkable for some slaughter, or struggle, or some wonder connected with revolution and blood. Yet every where a sense of despotism pressed on your mind — there was in every thing a look of gilded slavery and bloody splendour—a tripping grace in the women, a ragged blackguardism in the men, and a polished fierceness in the soldiers, which distinguished Paris as the capital of a people who combine more inconsistent virtues and vices than any other people on the earth. At this moment, too, there was with all this an air of mortified vanity and suppressed exasperation which was natural. By the side of the Russian, Austrian, Prussian, and English officers, the remnant of Napoleon's army had a look of blasted glory, of withered pride and lurking revenge, which gave one a shudder of the sublime; and it was clear to any one of the commonest sagacity that they must seize the first opportunity of trying to regain their lost position. In the middle of the day the Rue St. Honoré was the most wonderful sight! Don Cossack chiefs loosely clothed, and moving as their horses moved, every bend of their bodies visible at every motion. The half-clothed savage Cossack horseman, his belt stuck full of pistols, and watches, and hatchets, crouched up on a little ragged-maned, dirty-looking, ill-bred, half-white shaggy pony; the Russian imperial guardsman, pinched in at the waist like a wasp, striding along like a giant with an air of victory, which made every Frenchman curse within his teeth as he passed him; the English officer

with his boyish face and broad shoulders; the heavy Austrian; the natty Prussian; and now and then a Bashkir Tartar in the ancient Phrygian cap, with bow and arrows and chain armour, gazing about from his horse in the midst of black-eyed grisettes; Jews, Turks, and Christians from all countries in Europe and Asia:—it was a pageant that kept one staring, musing, and bewildered from morning till night.' (Vol. i. p. 237.)

This, we think, is very effective *painting*.

The treasures of art, of which Italy had been despoiled, were at that time collected in the Louvre, as it is to be hoped they never will be again. We can imagine the first visit paid by the two friends,—Haydon springing up the marble steps three at a time, and rushing at once to the 'Transfiguration,' and the 'Pietro Martire'; Wilkie ascending the staircase with his usual deliberation, and walking up quietly to the 'Jan Steens' and the 'Ostades.' Haydon tells us, that when he stood before those great masterpieces of Raphael and Titian, on which his fancy had dwelt for years, his first feeling was disappointment; they looked, he says, so much smaller than he had anticipated: but after a while 'they grew up to the fancy, or the fancy 'grew up to them.' Sir Joshua Reynolds confesses to the same disappointment when he first saw the Sistine Chapel. We omit the other criticisms on Art because they are neither very new nor very profound, though as far as they go very animated and just. Wilkie, it appears, had gone to Paris especially to open a negotiation for the sale of his prints; and the fascination and novelty of the French capital never made him forget for a moment this, his principal object, which Haydon laughs to scorn. Wilkie's simplicity, his modesty, his affectionate disposition, his sound sense, his slow cautious manners, and his care of 'the siller,' were in fine contrast with Haydon's extravagance, impetuosity, and self-sufficiency; but the friends really loved each other, and when Wilkie is obliged to set off for England alone, Haydon is full of lamentation, and feels 'quite 'melancholy.'

On his return home, Haydon found that the freedom of his native town had been voted to him in his absence, and that the directors of the British Institution had awarded him one hundred guineas as a mark of their approbation of his 'Solomon.' He exults as usual. It was indeed 'Solomon in all his glory.' 'Considering,' he says, 'the excellence of the picture, there was 'nothing surprising in the enthusiasm of the artists, the public, 'the nobility!' 'And yet,' he adds, 'what did all this do for 'me? Nothing, literally; not a single commission, large or 'small, followed!' The picture which the British Institution

had rewarded with a prize of one hundred guineas, was afterwards forgotten by all, thrown back upon his hands, seized for rent, stowed away in a dark hole to rot, for no one would pay even the warehouse room. After the death of the artist it was purchased by Sir Edwin Landseer; and when exhibited in the British Gallery this year, it excited a good deal of interest and admiration.

His next picture, 'Christ's Entry into Jerusalem,' occupied him for nearly six years, amid difficulties and distresses of every kind. Still he paints away with the same exulting faith in himself, the same trust in God; harassed by embarrassments of the meanest kind; borrowing of every one who would lend, in debt to every one who would trust,—'two hundred to pay 'next week, not a sixpence towards it'—but it matters not. He is lifted above all sublunary ills by visions of future greatness. 'Let me,' he exclaims, 'let me but be successful in re-'alising my conceptions in my day's labour, and what shall 'subdue me but extinction?'

This year, 1815, Haydon was diverted from his studies and his troubles by his acquaintance with Wordsworth, who sat for one of the heads in his picture — that of the 'Meditative Philo-'sopher.' Yet more exciting, absolutely distracting, was the crisis of public affairs,—Napoleon's return from Elba, and the battle of Waterloo. He describes his own and the public enthusiasm with his usual lively graphic energy. He was 'as a man 'intoxicated.' All his friends, however, did not share in this jubilation. 'As for Hazlitt,' he says, 'it is not to be believed 'how the destruction of Napoleon affected him; he was for a 'time prostrated in mind and body, walked about unwashed, 'unshaven, as if in a kind of stupor.' There was another and a greater man than Hazlitt whom the fall of Napoleon also struck down as with a blow: that was Byron. Haydon, in his estimate of the characters of Wellington and Napoleon, showed more discrimination; yet how little did he then anticipate that he would be called upon to represent both these great men! the victor contemplating the field of his triumph, the vanquished meditating in his sea-girt prison. In the height of the national enthusiasm, Parliament voted half a million for a Waterloo monument, in which painting, sculpture, and architecture were to have been combined. The committee applied to the Royal Academy for advice,—the Academicians returned no answer whatever; because, forsooth, the Government had returned no answer when they had sent in a statement relative to the advancement of Art! Thus between disgust and bewilderment on the part of our statesmen, and the most childish pique on the part of our artists, or the

body of men who represented their interests, the whole project fell to the ground, to Haydon's infinite rage and mortification.

Haydon's idea for a monument commemorating the close of a war, which had begun amid the terrors of revolution and had ended in the restoration of order, was a series of compositions in painting and sculpture which should illustrate 'the best govern-'ment for calling forth the energies of man, for regulating with-'out cramping the spirit of liberty.' He does not give us in detail the invention and arrangement of his subjects; it is, however, clear, that in his design he anticipated what has since been done by Bendemann in the throne room at Dresden, in the fresco illustrating the progress of human culture; and by Kaulbach, in the great hall of the museum at Berlin, in his six grand compositions illustrating the great epochs of history. But who was there, at that time, capable of entertaining or even of comprehending such an idea? who were the artists among us capable of carrying it out? Haydon's grand project had to contend at once with the prejudices arising out of interest, and the prejudices arising out of ignorance. The artists were opposed to what they could not execute, the statesmen to what they could not understand.

Sir George Beaumont wrote to him at this time, earnestly advising him to desist from all pen and paper controversy with his opponents. 'If any severe remarks are made on you or 'your works, *paint* them down. You can. But if you retort 'in words, action will produce reaction, and your whole remain-'ing life will be one scene of pernicious contention.' Haydon answered by assuring his sensible friend that he would abide by his advice, 'having long been convinced that to paint his way 'to his grand object was the only wise plan.' But in a few months we find him, to use his own expression, 'at it again!' attacking the Academicians with weapons which apparently lay readier to his hand then brush or pencil, 'with fury, ridicule, 'sarcasm; with reason, argument, eloquence;' and he describes these attacks as generating against him a degree of public and private animosity, which in the end ruined his own prospects.

It cannot be denied that the Royal Academy, as *then* constituted, did really deserve a good share of the contempt, wrath, and ridicule which Haydon poured out upon it. We remember hearing Sir Martin Shee eulogised as an excellent president, because he considered *only* the interests and the dignity of the Academy, as if the Academy had been incorporated *only* for their own interest. At that time the Academy, — that is to say, the greater number of the Academicians, — taking a strangely narrow view of their responsibilities as a body of

men, had placed themselves in opposition to the British Institution. The Directors of the Institution had opened an exhibition, the first of a series which has since become so popular, composed of a selection from the best ancient pictures in the private galleries of our nobility and gentry. The Academy met this attempt to improve the taste of the people by a pamphlet, which Haydon calls that 'infamous *Catalogue Raisonnée:*' if a copy could be met with now, it would be designated, we imagine, as merely contemptible. The object was to prove that an exhibition of the ancient masters could be undertaken with no other view than to put down National Art, and to ruin English artists. The Titians and Rembrandts were derided under the title of the *black masters*. Those who admired or purchased such things were turned into clumsy ridicule. The purpose was base, and the taste, the style, and the grammar were worthy of the purpose. There were neither authors nor publishers' name appended to this precious production; but if it did not emanate from one of the Academy, as was generally supposed, it was at least hailed with delight by some of the leading Academicians. Northcote 'ordered a long candle, and 'went to bed to read it, in an ecstacy.' We can remember well other Academicians of greater name rubbing their hands, and chuckling over it with a most undisguised relish of its contents. Probably there is not an Academician now living who would not trample it under his feet. Hazlitt exposed with a just and manly scorn the vulgar idea that the modern artists were to be benefited by discrediting, by extinguishing, if that were possible, all that their great predecessors had accomplished of highest and best. 'What!' he exclaims, 'have they no 'conscious affinity with true genius, no claim to the reversion 'of true fame, no right of succession to this lasting inheritance 'and final reward of great exertions, which they would therefore 'destroy to prevent others from enjoying it? Does all their 'ambition begin and end in their "patriotic sympathy" with the 'sale of modern works of art, and have they no fellow feeling 'with the hopes and final destiny of human genius? What poet 'ever complained of the respect paid to Homer as derogatory to 'himself?' Haydon, who all his life had been advocating the public patronage of modern art, had sufficient sense and generosity to see and to say, that all real progress must be founded in a just appreciation of the great men who have gone before; and that the best means to extend the patronage of Art is, to elevate the public mind to the comprehension and estimation of what is most excellent in Art. The present state of Art in England is not yet perhaps a subject of much congratulation;

but at least it proves the truth of Burke's saying, 'that what-'ever attracts public attention to the fine arts, must in the end 'be for the benefit of artists.' Our artists of forty years ago were not so well aware of this fact as they are now.

The part which Haydon took in the affair of the *Catalogue Raisonnée* did him honour. He was still farther uplifted by the arrival of Canova. The Italian sculptor, then at the height of his fame, gave in the strongest terms his testimony to the value of the Elgin Marbles. The Dilettante Society and Payne Knight were for the time discomfited, and Haydon pours out his soul in self-glorification and in admiration of Canova. Some things he has preserved of the conversation and opinions of the sculptor are interesting and characteristic. Speaking of Fuseli, Canova said, 'Vi sono nelle arti due cose, il fuoco e la fiamma. 'Fuseli non ebbe che la fiamma: Raffaele, il fuoco.' (On repeating this to Wordsworth, he remarked, 'Canova forgot the 'third, and that is, *il fumo*, of which Fuseli had plenty!')

Haydon once asked Canova how he liked West: '*Comme ça!*' 'Du moins il compose bien?' 'Non, monsieur, il met des figures 'en groupes.' 'There was,' adds Haydon, 'jealousy at the name 'of Flaxman: when we talked of his designs there was an ex-'pression I did not like.' But if Haydon intends here to impute to Canova any mean jealousy, he shows ignorance of the character of the Italian. It was not the jealousy of a small mind, but rather an intuitive consciousness of the only superiority he admitted. Every one knows Canova's reply when he was requested to undertake a work for one of our English universities: 'I am sorry the English possess a Flaxman and do not 'know it.'

Another triumph, which Haydon fully appreciated, was the beautiful sonnet which Wordsworth addressed to him, which need not be given here. The readers of Wordsworth know it well as among his finest; most artists have, or ought to have it by heart.* Haydon exults again with pardonable delight, he actually revels in his triumph:—

'Now, reader, was not this glorious? and you, young student, when you are pressed down by want in the midst of a great work, remember what followed Haydon's perseverance — the freedom of his native town—the visit of Canova—and the sonnet of Wordsworth;—and if that do not cheer you up and make you go on, you are past all hope! I felt as it were lifted up in the great eye of the world — I then relapsed into melancholy sensitiveness! my heart yearned in

* The one beginning 'High is our calling, friend!' in which he associates the poet and the painter.

gratitude to God as my protector, my divine inspirer. The great Spirit, who had led me through the wilderness, who had fired my soul when a boy unconscious of my future fate.' (Vol. i. p. 301.)

And then to shadow such glory, and tame down such exultation, came the usual miseries: no money, distracting debts, bills often renewed, again due, and nothing to meet them; 'want 'staring him in the face.' As if all this were not enough he fell passionately in love. The object of his attachment was a beautiful and amiable woman, a young widow with two infant children; nothing could be more rash, more imprudent; but, as he says most characteristically, all resistance to the new passion 'was relinquished with a glorious defiance of restraint.' The lovers were engaged, and his Mary consented to wait for better times.

During the Session of 1817, Parliament had voted a large sum of money for building additional churches. Haydon represented, that if while the churches were building, they were so arranged as to admit of an altar-piece for every church; and if Government allotted, for this purpose, a small per-centage out of the money voted, it would be a great encouragement to high art, and 'a certain prospect of reward to those who had devoted 'themselves to it;' himself included of course. There was, however, some reason in his proposition. He addressed a letter on the subject to Sir Charles Long, (Lord Farnborough,) who laid it before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Vansittart replied oracularly, 'Let us build churches first and think of 'decorating them afterwards.' 'That is to say,' as Haydon well remarks, 'let us build churches without a thought about 'pictures, and then when churches are built without any refer-'ence to pictures, let us think of hanging up pictures in churches 'where there are no lights to see them.' Is not this the principle on which our most thinking people have decorated the new House of Lords?

In the beginning of 1820, Haydon at length completed his large picture of the 'Entry into Jerusalem;'—after six years of hard work, during which he had been generously assisted by Jeremiah Harman, Watson Taylor, Coutts, Thomas Hope, and others. He would not starve, and to beg he was *not* ashamed. Without a shilling in his pocket he hired the Egyptian Hall at a rent of 200*l.*, in which to exhibit his picture, and on the result of this exhibition depended his salvation or his ruin; there was no other alternative, no middle course for him. It succeeded. The public enthusiasm was this time really excited; the room was every day crowded; money came pouring in. But he complains, with a curious *naïveté* as well as obliquity of moral vision, that

this success raised 'a *base appetite*' in some of his creditors to have a share in his receipts, and that at the moment he was reaping the fruits of his labour, he was overwhelmed with lawyers' letters.

The picture was, in many respects, fine and striking. Some parts of the composition excellent. The figure, for instance, of the poor penitent girl shrinking from sight, contrasted with the buoyant faith of a woman who is spreading her garment in the way, we remember as particularly good. Several of the heads being recognised as portraits of distinguished persons, added to the interest the pictures inspired; Wordsworth figured as the meditative philosopher, and Voltaire as the sceptic. Keats, Hazlitt, and others, were introduced as spectators; after the manner of the old Florentine painters, who made their grandest religious scenes a vehicle for portraiture. There were doubts about the head of Christ: Mrs. Siddons, Walter Scott, and Wordsworth approved; but notwithstanding this intoxicating praise, Haydon himself had the candour to feel and to confess that *there*, where the chief interest and excellence ought to have been concentrated, he had failed, and that the head of Christ was weak and commonplace. The exhibition was open for two months, and the receipts amounted to 1,760*l.* The picture was then carried down to Scotland, and exhibited with a like success in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Haydon relates that once on going into the exhibition-room at Glasgow, with his hat on, an old Scotchman came up to him, and said with an air of solemn rebuke, 'I 'think you should tak your hat off in sic an awfu' presence!' But with all this enthusiasm, no one thought of securing the picture for any place of worship, or for the advantage and instruction of the people: ultimately it was sold to pay a debt, and shipped off to America.

His predilection for large works was not damped however. He ordered a canvas nineteen feet long by sixteen high, and dashed in his first conception of the 'Raising of Lazarus.' 'But 'how was I to get through it? "*Go on*," said the inward voice 'I had heard from my youth, "*work and trust!*" and work and 'trust I did.' Thus ended the year 1820, a year of brief intoxicating prosperity, and thus ends the autobiography. The narrative is now taken up by the editor, who however leaves Haydon, wherever it is possible, to speak for himself; and we proceed with this sad eventful history.

The year 1821 beheld the sanguine artist rising in reputation. We can remember hearing of him in connexion with distinguished names. In his painting room might be found Walter Scott and Wordsworth, Charles Lamb, Barry Cornwall, Miss

Mitford (who addressed to him a charming sonnet), Mrs. Siddons, Mr. Rogers, besides his old friends who had not quite forsaken him,—Wilkie, Lord Mulgrave, and Sir George Beaumont. He was himself, when not depressed and distracted by pecuniary distresses, 'a capital converser,'—'excellent company,' as was said of him by one who knew him well—full of spirit and energy, with a fine head and animated countenance, open attractive manners, a little too self-confident perhaps, but even those who felt inclined to say doubtingly 'You *talk* this well, 'sir!' were borne down by his unhesitating 'By heaven! I'll *do* 'it too.' In his own opinion he only wanted money to be a happy man, and plenty of work to be a great man. But commissions did not come, and debts accumulated, and after waiting four years, —a long time for one of Haydon's impatient temperament,—he married his beautiful widow, and took her children, not only to his home, but to his heart. Though the step was imprudent, yet he might have done worse. True, marriage by increasing his responsibilities took away what was left to him of independent action. It enhanced the pressure of every difficulty. It doubled the bitterness of every pain. Yet there is something in the strength of the deepest and holiest of human affections which elevates and purifies life. Haydon as a husband and a father was not a wiser man, but he was in many respects a better and a happier man. He blesses God that marriage softened his heart without weakening his energies. His wife's sweetness tamed down his fierce restless nature, and she became to him truly what he fondly called her, 'a heroine in adversity and an 'angel of peace.' She aided him in other ways besides thus softening his temper, sitting patiently to him for his female figures, sometimes for five hours together. Dark clouds came over him, moments of heart-sinking; but then again he prays with an assured mind; and from his strife with the world, money-lenders, lawyers and creditors, he returns to his wife and to his painting room, to intoxicating visions of glory, and to 'all 'the concealed comforts locked up in woman's love.'

From this time the entries in his journal indicate by many sweet spontaneous touches the presence of an angel of peace within his heart and within his home; but, alas! they are filled also with daily pictures of accumulating embarrassment, distress, and want. We shall not pursue, along the darkening pages, the history of these abject miseries;—debts, lawyers' letters, executions, insult, wretchedness, money begged or borrowed from reluctant friends, often not a shilling in the house for food. His wife's poor trinkets, his children's clothes pawned; his drawings, his books, often the very implements of his art, hastily sold

or sacrificed. On one occasion, when his wife was confined, there was no bread in the house, because the baker would no longer give credit, — and no water, because the rates were unpaid. Many, perhaps too many, in the struggle of an uncertain profession have suffered the like extremities; but who, like Haydon, has chronicled them from day to day, till they become so heart-sickening, so exasperating in their monotony, that the reader almost loses patience, loses sympathy? Far from wondering at the final catastrophe, he only wonders it was so long delayed, and feels that an existence which Haydon endured for twenty-five years must have put an end to any other man in a twelvemonth. It is a horrible picture. The gloom, the trouble darkened and deepened, till the immediate pressure seems to have left him no conscience, no feeling for others. His own, his children's wants, break down what is left to him of honest pride. Fiercely he protests against his fate: passionately he appeals against it to God and man. Yet we read without surprise, with a painful conviction that some degree of self-control in the first instance might easily have averted this extremity of misery and degradation. It seems cruel that after years of toil 'he had 'nothing left on earth he could call his own, but his brains.' But in money matters no experience made him wise, and no distress made him prudent; for him adversity had not its appointed uses, sweet or bitter. He had a rapid vigorous pencil; he could always sell his small groups and sketches; he had been advised to make money in this way, and by painting a few portraits, while proceeding with his great unprofitable pictures; but he would not condescend to this till it was too late. It could not be said that he was self-deluded; he saw the way clearly before him. He thus argues the point with himself: —

'Too proud to do small modest things that I might obtain fair means of existence as I proceeded with my great work, I thought it no degradation to borrow, to risk the insult of a refusal, and to be bated down like the meanest dealer. Then I was liberal in my art, I spared no expense for casts and prints, and did great things for the art by means of them; this is true; yet, to be strictly correct, you should do nothing, however necessary, which your income does not warrant you in doing. But ought I, after such efforts as I had made, to have been left in this position by the Directors of the British Institution or the Government? Under any other Government in Europe, after what I had done, I should not have been allowed to remain one moment in necessity.'

This was *his* view of the case. Of his own social obligations, so far as money was concerned, he seems scarcely to have thought at all, till embarrassments closed like a net around him;

on the contrary, of the obligations of society towards himself he appears to have entertained a very definite, though somewhat peculiar notion: 'He believed that he was the apostle and 'martyr of High Art, and as such had a sort of right to support 'from those who would not find him the employment he was 'always craving.' (Vol. iii. p. 321.)

Nothing so wrenches the heart as to find scattered through the later memoranda solemn warnings to others against debt, against doing evil in the prospect of some uncertain future good; advice to his sons never to incur a pecuniary obligation for any self-gratification; and we find afterwards one of them — noble boy!—living on bread and water at his college, rather than do so, while Haydon himself was reduced to the meanest subterfuges to keep himself out of prison. He boasts, in several places, of the scholars he had formed—since distinguished men —boasts that he had trained them in Art without the remuneration of a single farthing. But these gentlemen might tell, if they would, what a price they had paid for his instructions. The manner in which he wronged his pupils, not only taking, on various pretences, the money out of their pockets, but prevailing on them to sign bills, which he left them to meet or go to prison, is among the most unpardonable traits revealed in his biography. As the father of a family, he confesses to the wickedness and indelicacy of such conduct. 'But,' he adds, 'I was in such a state of desperation that I wonder at nothing.'

Yet, even in the midst of these dark humiliations, there are strange gleams of light—records of the generous kindness he received from others. On one occasion a sheriff's officer, sent to arrest him, was so struck and agitated by the picture of 'La-'zarus,' that he allowed him to go free till a certain hour at which Haydon gave his word to appear. The editor remarks that the 'The compunction of the bailiff before the great canvas 'of "Lazarus" was as striking an incident in 'its way as that 'of the bravos arrested in their murderous intent by the organ-'playing of Stradella;'—we believe it was the exquisite voice of Stradella, singing his own music, which so touched the hearts of the assassins. But however this may be, a nearer parallel may be found in the well-known story of Parmigiano. During the sack of Rome he was working in his room, intent on one of his great pictures, when two of Bourbon's soldiers rushed in to murder and pillage; they were arrested by the sight of the picture, stood before it for a few minutes, and then walked quietly and silently away. But we must here dismiss the chapter of Haydon's mistakes and delinquencies in pecuniary

matters: if unjustifiable, yet pitiable; and the retribution, though it may be deserved, is sad and terrible.

When his picture of 'Lazarus' was finished he exhibited it in the Egyptian Hall; but it did not even pay the expenses. The head of Lazarus — staring ghastly with awakening life — is finely conceived; the head and figure of Christ a failure — and worse — positively mean and bad. Wherever refined or purely intellectual feeling was required, Haydon has seldom succeeded. As in the expression of power he is almost always exaggerated, so in the expression of refinement he is almost always weak or vapid.

In 1823 we find him in the King's Bench. But even here the wonderful ardour and vivacity of the man was not subdued. Dr. Johnson would have styled him 'an *incompressible* fel-' low.' He drew up a petition to the House of Commons, which was presented by Mr. Brougham. It commenced thus:—

'It is now seven years since the Committee for the purchase of the Elgin Marbles, in discussing the subject of their deliberation, submitted to the attentive consideration of the House how highly the cultivation of the Fine Arts had contributed to the reputation, character, and dignity of every Government by which they had been encouraged, and how intimately they were connected with the advancement of everything valuable in science, literature, or art.

'There are two ways in which your petitioner presumes to think that a successful excitement to the genius of the country towards historical painting could be given, viz., the purchase and presentation of pictures to adorn the altars of churches, or the sides of public halls, and the employment of artists of distinguished reputation to produce them.'

Then, after a recommendation of himself, he humbly prays—

'That the House will appoint such a Committee as investigated the subject of the Elgin marbles to inquire into the state of encouragement of historical painting, and to ascertain the best method of preventing, by moderate and judicious patronage, those who devote their lives to such honourable pursuits, so essential (as your Committee has affirmed) to science, literature, and art, from ending their days in prison and in disgrace.'

He dates this petition from the King's Bench Prison.

'Sir Charles Long (to whom Haydon had made earnest application for his support in Parliament — applications met with the most diplomatic chilliness, to judge by Sir Charles's notes,) insisting on some practical suggestion, Haydon laid before Mr. Brougham his plan for ornamenting the great room at the Admiralty (which, no doubt, occurred to him as an old guest of Lord Mulgrave's there), with representations of naval actions, and busts and portraits of naval commanders. This is worth noting as a first step to the result which is

getting towards realisation in the New Houses of Parliament.' (Vol. ii. p. 54.)

Having subsequently passed through the Insolvent Court, Haydon found himself free to begin life anew, cleared, as far as law could clear him, from all his pecuniary responsibilities. He was no sooner out of prison than he recommenced his appeals to the Government, advocating the decoration of the Admiralty, the House of Lords, and other public buildings. He wrote letter after letter, such as no doubt 'bored' the officials 'to 'extinction.'

'One would say, after reading the correspondence on both sides, that never was anything so hopeless as these appeals. But silence, snub, simple acknowledgment, formal phrase of courtesy meaning nothing, curt refusal, every variety of turn by which red-tapeism would trip up and disable an obtrusive enthusiast, was lost upon Haydon, who, nothing daunted, kept pouring in page after page of passionate pleading on Sir Charles Long, on Mr. Vansittart, on Mr. Robinson, on the Duke of Wellington, on Lord Grey, on Sir Robert Peel, on Lord Melbourne, or Sir Robert Peel again, and seemed to be making no way whatever with any of them. But our new Houses of Parliament are to have their frescoes, and their oil pictures; and Haydon lived to take a part (though an unsuccessful one) in the first competition intended to test the capability of our artists for such work.'

While advocating and enforcing his favourite object with unconquerable pertinacity, it was necessary to live. He began to paint portraits, which he had always despised, and now took up the 'trade,' as he termed it, with deep disgust. He deals gibes on his sitters (*aside*, observe), and scratches caricatures of their stupid heads and vapid faces. But he lived to discover his mistake in depreciating a department of Art which had employed the powers of Raphael, which had made the glory of Titian, and to acknowledge that there can be no great historical painting which is not founded in the study of individual nature.

In 1826, he addressed a letter to Mr. Canning, inclosing a petition similar in substance to the last, which he intended him to present to the House of Commons. Mr. Canning declined. It did not belong to his official department. He again attacked Sir Charles Long, and thus records the result:—

'On the subject of my petition, Sir Charles behaved very candidly, and told me he took a very different view of the subject to that which I did. He said he had been long in the House of Commons, and that there was nothing less known there than Art. That when the Waterloo Monument was proposed, many different plans were sent in. That Lord Londonderry said the thing had better be given up. That all money voted by the House of Commons would be subject to

supervision, and that the Directors, as independent gentlemen, had determined, if the House voted the money, to refuse it, because they would not be subject to the investigation of Mr. Hume.

'When Sir Charles said this his face had an expression quite extraordinary. It gave me more notion of Hume's power, and the dread place-hunters have of him, than anything else on earth could have given me.' (Vol. ii. p. 110.)

Haydon persisted. Sir Charles put on his glasses and looked over some papers, and so the painter bowed himself out.

After this rebuff he determined to try Mr. Ridley Colborne (now Lord Colborne), from whom at least he met with some sympathy. Mr. Colborne presented his petition, which was in the usual spirit. We extract one or two passages. He begins by setting forth:—

'That in all countries where the Arts have flourished, the native artists were the principal objects of national patronage, and their productions the leading features in the public collections. The petitioner humbly wishes to impress the importance of this principle of patronage on the attention of the House, in consequence of the projected intention of a National Gallery; for no gallery can strictly be called National, nor will any gallery be ever of that advantage to native Art, if it be built only to receive foreign productions as examples of instruction, without provision being made for the purchase and reception of native works. The petitioner humbly hopes the House will not think this subject beneath their attention, or inconsistent with their duties at this particular period; and, when the National Gallery comes under their discussion, that they will deign to give it that notice which, in their wisdom, they may deem due, for the greatest statesmen the world has ever seen have always considered the Arts an engine not unworthy to be used in advancing the commercial and political greatness of a people.'

On the topics suggested by these observations we will not now dwell, but return to poor Haydon, of whom his biographer observes with much truth:—

'It cannot, I think, be denied to Haydon, that his perpetual pressing of a nobler estimate of the relations of artists and people has done something to create the feeling which has at length expressed itself, however imperfectly, in the plans for decorating our new Houses of Parliament.' (Vol. ii. p. 114.)

As the cloud of sorrow, perplexity, and want gathered and darkened round his home, Haydon began to tire of his warfare with the Academy, to undertand the injury it had done him in his profession, and to be more and more conscious of his inability to cope with the antagonism of an influential body of men. Preparatory to a canvass for admission into a society he had professed to treat with abhorrence and contempt, he paid a

series of amicable visits to the leading members. Of these, and of his own motives in seeking reconciliation, he gives a full account in his Journal. He has headed this account with the significant superscription—'The disgrace of my life.' To those who read it, it will appear a disgrace thus to give the lie to all his previous convictions, and from motives plainly self-interested. To himself it seemed disgraceful, because it was unsuccessful; had it succeeded, we can hardly doubt that he would have regarded and represented it with very real self-delusion as an act of magnanimity. He called on Lawrence, Shee, Flaxman, Chantrey, Calcott, Beechey, Westall, Bailey, Thompson, Ward, Howard, Stothard, Bone, Cooper. He was received by some with stiff formality; by others, with ill-concealed disdain; by a few, with real kindness. His remarks are evidently coloured by his ill humour with himself. His allusions to Flaxman (whom in his soul he admired and venerated) are especially coarse and offensive. He does justice, however, to the hearty good nature of Chantrey and the 'angelic mind' and serene simplicity of Stothard. In contrasting himself with Wilkie at this time, he says with a singular candour and self-knowledge:—

'Wilkie's system was Wellington's; principle and prudence the groundwork of risk. Mine, that of Napoleon; audacity with a defiance of principle when principle was in the way. I got into prison. Napoleon died at St. Helena. Wellington is living and honoured; and Wilkie has had a public dinner given to him at Rome, the seat of Art and genius, while I am as poor and necessitous as ever. Let no man use evil as a means of success in any scheme however grand. Evil, that good may come, is the prerogative of Deity alone, and should never be ventured on by mortals.' (Vol. ii. p. 146.)

He really loved Wilkie, but could not help giving way to a little fun, and perhaps a little envy, when he visited his old friend after the return of the latter from Italy. Wilkie's health had broken down, he had become an emaciated old bachelor:—

'There sat I,' says Haydon, 'rosy, plump, and full of difficulties, harass and trouble, with a large family and a dear wife. He has no household anxieties, no domestic harass, no large family to bring up. But he has no sweet affections, no tender sympathies. Would I exchange my situation for David Wilkie's? No, no! not if I had ten times the trouble, the anxiety, the harass, the torture!'

In the year 1828, Haydon prepared to publish a pamphlet on the public encouragement of Art in England. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington, begging permission to dedicate the pamphlet to him. The Duke declines with formal politeness. Haydon writes again, recapitulating the points of his letter. The same day the Duke replies:—

'The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Haydon, and will readily peruse and attend to his work; but he is much concerned again to repeat, that he must decline to give permission that any work should be dedicated to him.'

As soon as the pamphlet was published it was sent to the Duke, who as usual acknowledges the receipt of it with his own hand. Haydon then writes to ask the Duke, 'with all the 'respect due to his illustrious character' whether if his plan for the encouragement of historical painting were brought forward in Parliament, his Grace would be favourably disposed towards it? The Duke replies with characteristic politeness and caution:—

'The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Haydon, and has had the honour of receiving his letters. The Duke begs leave to reserve his opinion upon the encouragement proposed to be given to historical painting, until he will see the practical plan for such encouragement.'

Haydon immediately writes the details of his practical plan. He proposes that 4000*l.* be granted every two years for six years, for the employment of historical painters; that if at the end of this period the works produced justify the liberality of the grant, it shall be continued for ten years more; that the employment should be in the hands of a committee of the House of Commons, and that they should begin with four great subjects, viz., one military, for Chelsea Hospital; one naval, for the Admiralty; one sacred, for an altarpiece; and one civil, for a hall of justice. He hopes, in conclusion, that his Grace will be pleased to add to the other glories of his ministry, the glory of establishing a system of national aid to the Arts in this country.

If the Duke had been a wit instead of a Wellington he would probably have whispered '*Vous êtes orfèvre, monsieur Josse!*' The reply, though in a very different style, is in effect equally brief and conclusive:—

'The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Haydon, and has had the honour of receiving his letter. The Duke must again beg leave to decline to give an answer until the plan shall be brought regularly before him. The Duke must however, in the first instance, object to the grant of any public money for the object.'

Even this *soufflet* from 'his own immortal hand,' did not induce absolute despair. Haydon applied for advice to Mr. Agar Ellis, and asked him if he had any chance by laying the plan again before the impenetrable Duke through the medium of his secretaries?

'The answer was, not in the least; that the Directors of the British

Gallery had applied to Government the year before, for 3000*l.* in addition to 3000*l.* which they had offered of their own money for a piece of ground to extend the National Gallery; the Duke would not listen to it; and when he granted a small sum in aid to the British Museum, he told the Trustees that they must go without next year.'

In spite of these continual rebuffs, on a subject so near his heart, Haydon is full of admiration for the impracticable Duke. He says, 'All my predictions about Wellington will come true. 'He will rescue the country, double its power, and leave it 'with revenue flourishing, feared, respected, and wondered at.' But the cause of High Art was, nevertheless, for the present hopeless.

The end of this year (1828) found Haydon again a prisoner in the King's Bench. Here he accidentally witnessed from his window, a ridiculous masquerade procession of the reckless inmates; and on asking what it meant, was told it was a procession of burgesses, headed by the Lord High Sheriff and Lord Mayor of the King's Bench Prison, going in state to open the poll for the election of two members to protect their rights in the House of Commons. 'Here,' he says, 'were baronets and 'bankers, authors, merchants, soldiers, painters, poets, dandies of 'rank in silk and velvet, dandies of no rank in rags and tatters, 'folly, insanity, poverty, affliction, all mingled in boisterous 'merriment, with a spiked wall twenty feet high above their 'heads.'

The painter, astonished out of the sense of his own sorrow by this Alsatian scene, half mad, half miserable, thought he had never beheld such characters, such expressions, and such heads on human shoulders, assembled in one group before. He resolved to paint it; this was the origin of the 'Mock Election,' one of his best works. When released from prison, chiefly through the generous intervention of Lord Ellesmere and Mr. Lockhart, he began upon his picture and worked at it with enthusiasm; he made frequent visits to the King's Bench, putting in the heads from life. Some of the details of character as given in his Journal are wonderfully graphic and spirited, particularly the story of a ruined officer, who sat for the broken-down man of fashion, in the foreground of the picture. (Vol. ii. pp. 246. 302.)

While working on the 'Mock Election' Haydon lived, as usual, upon credit and such money as he could raise by small chance subjects. The picture was purchased by George IV., for five hundred guineas, at a moment when the unhappy painter was again on the verge of ruin and despair. Such

sudden vicissitudes, to use his own expression, 'make terrible 'cuts into the constitution.' In a precarious profession the turns of fortune have some of the bad effects of gambling. They upset all the calculations of prudence, they turn wisdom into foolishness, and life into a lottery. Poor Haydon!

He afterwards painted a companion to the 'Mock Election' in a similar spirit; he entitled it 'Chairing the Member,' but the King did not like it, declined the purchase, and it afterwards fell into private hands.

Nothing daunted by all the former repulses, Haydon now drew up another petition to the House of Common, which was presented by Mr. Agar Ellis. It began in the usual style. 'It 'is now *fourteen* years since your Honourable House, in 'the report on the Elgin Marbles,' &c. &c., and was in substance the same as the former petition. The result was also the same. Mr. Ellis remarked, in presenting the petition, that anxious as he felt for the encouragement of Art, he could not recommend a grant of money for the purpose. 'Anxious as he 'felt!' exclaims Haydon, in scorn and ire —

'This is divine! This is something like Pitt's anxiety when Lord Elgin applied for the public aid to make casts and drawings at Athens. Pitt said, *anxious as he felt to advance the Arts*, he could not authorise such a use of the public money; and directly after that spent 300,000*l.* in catamarans to blow up the flotilla at Boulogne. O our public men! our public men! A couple of tutors of painting and sculpture at Oxford and Cambridge would send them into Parliament with juster notions of what was due to the arts and the country.'

In 1829 he painted the picture of 'Punch,' — a satire on human life — full of power and humorous expression in the heads, and with bits of charming colour and fine painting; but unpleasing at first view from the want of a concentrated interest, and from being too crowded as a composition. Some of the separate heads, as that of the laughing boy, the apple woman (it is said that Mrs. Haydon sat for this beautiful face), the simple, sturdy farmer, and keen, astute Bow-street officer, are almost equal to anything we can remember in Modern Art. This picture is in the possession of Dr. Darling.

The year 1830 found him again a prisoner in the King's Bench. Some one said to him, 'When you are in this place 'you must get rid of all the finer feelings.' 'Pardon me,' replied Haydon, 'you must struggle hard to keep them; it is 'your only chance of salvation.' This was well felt and well said.

He once more passed through the Insolvent Court, and was once more legally free.

In the same year he wrote again to the Duke of Wellington, who was again in power. He called the Duke's attention to the report of M. Guizot, recommending the new King, Louis Philippe, to employ historical painters to commemorate the events of the July revolution. The letter was sent at nine in the morning; before two comes the Duke's reply, prompt and practical.

'Sir,—I have received your letter. It is certainly true that the British public give but little encouragement to the art of historical painting. The reason is obvious. There are no funds at the disposal of the Crown or its Ministers that are not voted by Parliament upon estimates, and applied strictly to the purposes for which such funds are voted.

'No Minister would go to Parliament with a proposition for a vote for a picture to be painted; and, therefore, there can be no such encouragement here as there is in other countries for this art. I am much concerned that I cannot point out the mode in which this want of encouragement can be remedied.

'I have the honour to be,

'WELLINGTON.'

He wrote again, and yet again, with the same result.

Haydon now turned, with harassed mind, to his painting. Sir Robert Peel, who had seen and admired the small sketch of 'Napoleon musing at St. Helena,' gave him a commission to paint it the size of life, and paid part of the price in advance. He is full of gratitude and admiration for Sir Robert Peel, not without reason; and Sir Robert was pleased with his picture, not without reason. It is a fine, quiet, suggestive work. Wordsworth's sonnet on this picture is well known.

The Reform Bill now came on; and Haydon's discursive mind was so engrossed by politics, that his painting room was comparatively neglected. However, he was moved by the very fever which possessed him, to paint a picture which had reference to that exciting crisis. It represented a group of country politicians waiting the arrival of the 'Times' newspaper, which well expressed the public impatience, and had great success.

A still greater success, a still greater honour, awaited our painter. After the passing of the Reform Bill, the event was celebrated by a banquet in Guildhall, and he was commissioned by Lord Grey to paint this city festival, with the portraits of the principal reformers. Every facility was given to him to make memoranda from the actual scene. In the progress of this picture he was compelled to study portraiture with more attention than he had ever given to it. All the Ministers, and the principal supporters of the Government on this question,

sat to him, by Lord Grey's express wish, during this year and the next.

Lord Nugent sat first; he was on the eve of embarking for the Ionian Islands : then the Duke of Sussex, Lord Grey, Lord Althorp, Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Lord Goderich, Lord Auckland, Lord Brougham, Lord Holland, Lord Essex, Lord Stanley, Lord Ebrington. Then the distinguished commoners, Burdett, Graham, Jeffrey, Plunket, Coke of Norfolk, O'Connell, and a long *et cetera.* No wonder that Haydon, at all times like a sky-rocket ready charged, should have been lifted to a height of glorification which in his wildest fits of ambition he had hardly contemplated. He describes his sitters as one by one they successively came before him, and his touches of manner and character as given in words are infinitely more vivid and life-like than any his pencil achieved. Nor did he fail to take advantage of the opportunities now afforded him to press his favourite object—the public patronage of Art. Bound down in his painting-room, and obliged to listen,—fixed as if in an enchanted chair,—he had the leading powers of the State at his mercy. It was a fine opportunity for exercising that 'intre-'pidity of talk,' for which Haydon was more remarkable than for taste and modesty. And did he not make some of them wish themselves a hundred miles off?—we rather think he *did!*

But when he pressed upon each and all the public encouragement of Art for public purposes he met with no response. Lord Melbourne gaily laughed the question aside. Lord Grey as gravely postponed it. Lord John Russell 'did not say much.' Lord Goderich 'shrugged his shoulders, and shook his head.' Lord Lansdowne, 'instead of allowing Haydon to talk, ques-'tioned *him.*' Lord Althorp 'thought an annual vote to a 'national gallery would be injurious, because it implied the 'necessity of buying when there might be nothing to buy.' In the mean time the observant painter was marking them down in a style they little expected. As portraits in words, we think the best are those of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne. On one occasion he called on Lord Grey late in the afternoon, and found him sitting quietly by the fire reading papers.

'Lord Grey was looking the essence of mildness. He seemed disposed for a chat. In my eagerness to tell him all he wanted to know, I sprung up off my chair, and began to explain, bending my fist to enforce my argument. Lord Grey looked at me with a mild peacefulness of expression, as if regarding a bit of gunpowder he had admitted to disturb his thoughts. Now I should have sat still, and chatted quietly, for that is what he wanted—to be relieved by gentle

talk. But he began to talk to me about the picture, and touched a sensitive spring. I blazed away, made arrangements for his sitting next week, and took my leave. I came in like a shot, talked like a congreve-rocket, and was off like an arrow, leaving Lord Grey for five minutes not quite sure if it was all a dream. How delightfully he looked by the fire! What a fine subject he would make in his official occupation!'

Here is another of those pictures in words which only a painter could have given. He went down to the House of Lords to study the heads of his sitters when animated by expression. It was the debate on the Irish Church question:—

'The Duke spoke well, and without hesitation. There was a manly honour about his air; and when he read a quotation, to see him deliberately take out his glasses and put them on was extremely interesting. He enforces what he says with a bend of his head, striking his hand forcibly, and, as if convinced, on the papers. He finished, and, to my utter astonishment, up started Lord Melbourne like an artillery rocket. He began in a fury. His language flowed out like fire. He made such palpable hits that he floored the Duke of Wellington as if he had shot him. But the moment the stimulus was over his habitual apathy got a-head. He stammered, hemmed, and hawed. But it was the most pictorial exhibition of the night. He waved his white hand with the natural grace of Talma; expanded his broad chest, looked right at his adversary like a handsome lion, and grappled him with the grace of Paris.' (Vol. ii. p. 344.)

Lord Melbourne was his favourite sitter. 'He seemed,' says Haydon, 'to have a notion that I was a disappointed 'enthusiast, whom he found it amusing to listen to, however 'absurd it might be to adopt my plans.' This was, perhaps, near the truth, but Haydon was fascinated notwithstanding: '*I am always*,' he says, '*brilliant with him*. I feel at my ease. 'He is a shrewd man, and is not satisfied with random reasons. 'I was talking about Art, and he brought me to an anchor for a 'minute by asking me a question that required reflection to 'refute, and set me thinking when he was gone.'

In 1833 Lord Melbourne was in power, and some of the scenes which took place between the ardent painter and the *nonchalant* Premier are recorded with much liveliness.

'24th.—Called on Lord Melbourne; was very glad to see him and he me. We had a regular set-to about Art. I went on purpose. I said, for twenty-five years I have been at all the Lords of the Treasury without effect. The First Lord who has courage to establish a system for the public encouragement of High Art will be remembered with gratitude by the English people. He said, "What d'ye want?" "2000*l.* a year." "Ah," said Lord Melbourne, shaking his head and looking with his arch eyes, "God help the Minister that meddles

with Art." "Why, my Lord?" "He will get the whole Academy on his back." "I have had them on mine, who am not a minister and a nobleman, and here I am. You say the Government is poor: you voted 10,000*l.* for the Poles, and 20,000*l.* for the Euphrates." "I was against 10,000*l.* for the Poles. These things only bring over more refugees," said Lord Melbourne. "What about the Euphrates?" "Why, my Lord, to try if it be navigable, and all the world knows it is not." Then Lord Melbourne turned round, full of fun, and said, "Drawing is of no use, it is an obstruction to genius. Correggio could not draw, Reynolds could not draw." "Ah, my Lord, I see where you have been lately." Then he rubbed his hands, and laughed again. "Now, Lord Melbourne," said I, "at the bottom of that love of fun, you know you have a mine of solid sense. You know the beautiful letter you wrote me. Do let us have a regular conversation. The art will go out." "Who is there to paint pictures?" said he. "Myself, Hilton, and Etty." "Etty! why he paints old ——," said Lord Melbourne. "Well, come on Sunday at eleven." "I am going out of town and will put my ideas clearly on paper." "Well, Sunday week. Will that do?" "Yes, my Lord. Now, my dear Lord, do be serious about it." "I will," said he, looking archly grave, with his handsome face, and fine naked neck, for he was just out of his bed, in his dressing-gown. 'Gad, it is something to get him to say he will really listen: he has more sagacity than any of them.'

'19th.—Called on Lord Melbourne, and after a little while was admitted. He looked round with his arch face, and said, "What now?" as much as to say, "What the devil are you come about—Art I suppose." "Now, my Lord," said I, "I am going to be discreet for the rest of my life, and take you for an example." I got up, and was eagerly talking away, when he said, "Sit down." Down I sat, and continued, "Do you admit the necessity of State support?" "I do not," said he; "there is private patronage enough to do all that is requisite." "That I deny," I replied, at which he rubbed his hands and said, "Ha, ha." He then went to the glass, and began to comb his hair. I went on: "My Lord, that's a false view; private patronage has raised the school in all the departments where it could do service, but High Art cannot be advanced by private patronage." "But it is not the policy of this country to interfere," said he. "Why?" "Because it is not necessary," said he. "You say so, but I'll prove the contrary." "Well, let us hear," said Lord Melbourne: "where has Art ever flourished? In Greece, Egypt, Italy. How? by individual patronage." "No, my Lord, by the support of the State alone. Has it flourished in any country without it? No. How can your Lordship expect it in this." He did not reply. "Ergo," said I, "if it has flourished in every country where state patronage accompanied it, and if it has never flourished here, where there has been no state patronage, what is the inference? High Art does not end with itself. It presumes great knowledge, which influences manufactures, as in France. Why is she superior in manufactures at Lyons? Because by state support she educates

youth to design. It came out in committee, and Peel and Hume both acknowledged our general ignorance in design was the reason of our inferiority."

'"Now, my Lord, Lord Grey said there was no intention of taking down the tapestry. *It's down.* A new House must be built. Painting, sculpture, and architecture must be combined. Here's an opportunity that never can occur again. Burke said it would ultimately rest on a Minister. Have you no ambition to be that man?" He mused, but did not reply. "For God's sake, Lord Melbourne, do not let this slip — for the sake of Art—for your own sake—only say you won't forget Art. I'll undertake it for support during the time I am engaged, because it has been the great object of my life. I have qualified myself for it, and be assured, if High Art sinks, as it is sinking, all art will go with it." No reply. "Depend on my discretion. Not a word shall pass from me; only assure me it is not hopeless." Lord Melbourne glanced up with his fine eye, and looked into me, and said, "It is not."'

'9th.—Sent down in the morning to know if Lord Melbourne could see me. He sent me back word he would receive me at one. At one I called, and saw him. The following dialogue ensued: "Well, my Lord, have you seen my petition to you?" "I have." "Have you read it?" "Yes." "Well, what do you say to it?" He affected to be occupied, and to read a letter. I said, "What answer does your Lordship give? What argument or refutation have you?" "Why, we do not mean to have pictures. We mean to have a building with all the simplicity of the ancients." (?) "Well," my Lord, what public building of the ancients will you point out without pictures? I fear, Lord Melbourne, since I first saw you, you are corrupted. You meet Academicians at Holland House. I am sure you do." He looked archly at me, and rubbed his hands. "I do. I meet Calcott. He is a good fellow." "Good enough: but an Academician." "Ha, ha," said Lord Melbourne. "Now, my Lord, do be serious." "Well, I am: Calcott says he disapproves of the system of patrons taking up young men to the injury of the old ones; giving them two or three commissions, and letting them die in a workhouse." "But if young men are never taken up, how are they to become known? But to return. Look at Guizot. He ordered four great pictures to commemorate the barricades for the government. Why will not the Government do that here? What is the reason, Lord Melbourne, that no English Minister is aware of the importance of Art to the manufactures and wealth of the country? I will tell you, my Lord,—you want tutors at the Universities"—I was going on talking eagerly with my hand up. At that moment the door opened, and in stalked Lord Brougham.' (Vol. ii. 336.)

This is very lively, very well done, and we have no doubt true as to word and fact. But Haydon was no profound judge of character, though of the manifestations of character in voice, figure, feature, he had a keen and quick perception. The

reverse is sometimes the case. We could mention those who have a most delicate appreciation of all the shades and depths of feeling and character, the external manifestations of which they are slow, almost dull in discerning. Lord Melbourne's was not a character for such a man as Haydon to fathom. He had indeed a perception of the sagacity under the indolent carelessness. Lord Melbourne smiled at zeal, and laughed outright at sentiment. It is as if his moral faith had early in life been killed through his affections, and that afterwards he played with ambition as with a toy. The *laisser-aller* principle, which he too generally applied to subjects of which he knew much, he was content to apply to Art, of which he knew nothing.

We find this incidental mention of Lord Cavendish (now Earl of Burlington):—

'Lord Cavendish sat and was ready to let me make any use of his face—three-parts of it, or half of it—and put him any where. Now when I contrast this with some of the City Committee, who march up to the picture, and say "put me there"—close to Lord Grey, it is really exquisite.'

It is so, and most happily characteristic. Of a sturdy provincial electioneering lawyer, who came up to sit, he says, 'He 'had the head of vulgar eagle!' These are masterly touches of the external signs of character.

On the whole, this opportunity, which Haydon had seized and made the most of, was apparently lost. On the subject of Art he found all his sitters, if not deaf, unimpressible; perhaps he did not know how to address these potential lords; perhaps the little interest which his picture inspired, when finished, was one reason why he could not make himself or his object more interesting. His own version is different. He says,—

'Public men shrink from discussion. They are so occupied with the fate of Nations, and their political relations, that truth, even on other points, seems unworthy investigation. Metaphysical inquiry they detest. Matters of taste they skim. Religion they consider only as an engine of State; and I do not think much extension of knowledge on general principles is to be acquired by intercourse with them. They are interesting from their rank and occupation; but a habit of having such mighty interests hanging on their decisions generates a contempt for abstract deduction and an indisposition to enter into matters of literature, art, and morals.' (Vol. ii. 327.)

The old Houses of Parliament having been burned in October 1834, Haydon in 1835 addressed a petition to the Building Committee of the 'Lords and Commons,' which was presented by Lord Morpeth (now Lord Carlisle). He begins with the usual reminder:—

'It is now *nineteen* years since the Committee on the Elgin Marbles'—and then represents 'that the obligation to rebuild the two Houses of Parliament will at last give to the Legislature the most favourable opportunity of developing the acknowledged talent now in England by State employment. That if spaces were assigned in the old House of Lords for designs in tapestry to commemorate a great national triumph (the defeat of the Spanish Armada), no just reason can be given why equal spaces should not be left in the new House for the commemoration by painting of other national subjects equally important.'

The immediate reception of this petition we do not know. Haydon's pertinacity may possibly have had some share in producing Mr. Ewart's Committee of Inquiry into 'the best means 'of extending a knowledge of the fine arts and of the principles 'of design among the people, and also to inquire into the con-'stitution of the Royal Academy.' Haydon himself believed it, and his triumph was natural. In the self-same moment, while his wife was in her confinement, he had to send the tea-urn off the table to raise ten shillings for bread.

He does not tell us how the idea of delivering popular lectures on the Principles of Art first entered his mind, but it was a happy thought for him and for the public. He became celebrated as a lecturer; and lecturing became an important item in his means of subsistence. His language was vigorous and fluent, his delivery animated. He had that earnestness and self-assurance which fixes attention and begets confidence. He began by lecturing at the Mechanics' Institute in London; afterwards at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Hull, Birmingham, and other large towns: everywhere he excited interest—often great enthusiasm. He was the first publicly to enforce the necessity of uniting the artist with the mechanic. There can be no doubt that, in extending this truth, he prepared the way for the Drawing Schools and Schools of Design, the Exhibitions at Marlborough House and Gore House, and other institutions for improving the taste and education of the people.

Amid all this activity and energy, we have sorrowful evidence that Haydon's necessities and sudden changes of fortune, and wrongs, imaginary and real, were beginning to tell fearfully upon his constitution, his brain, his power of hand, and even his temper. He doted on his children; yet in one place he writes impatiently: 'The voices of my children penetrate to my 'brain!' How he adored his art we have seen; yet in one of his miserable moments he almost imprecates a curse upon it:—

'Thank God with all my soul and all my nature, my children have witnessed the harassing agonies under which I have ever painted; and the very name of Painting — the very name of High Art —the very thought of a picture—gives them a hideous and disgusting taste in their mouths. Thank God, not one of my boys, nor my girl, can draw a straight line, even with a ruler, much less without one. And I pray God, on my knees, with my forehead bent to the earth, and my lips to the dust, that He will in His mercy, afflict them with every other passion, appetite, or misery, with wretchedness, disease, insanity, or gabbling idiotism, rather than a longing for painting — that scorned miserable art — that greater imposture than the human species it imitates!'

Every day he painted worse and worse — more hurriedly and heavily. He made small drawings, and hawked them about. Of his picture of 'Napoleon musing,' he painted not less than twenty-six small duplicates. He painted some portraits almost cursing his sitters. 'Did all,' as he says, 'that in early youth 'he had despised others for doing.' He begged, he borrowed: in the midst of his complaints of injustice no man ever received more kindness — more generous help. There is an outrageous letter to his excellent and forbearing landlord, Mr. Newton, which shows either absolute derangement, or that Haydon, as his biographer mildly expresses it, 'entertained very peculiar 'notions of the relations of debtor and creditor,' and views quite different from those which usually prevail with regard to money obligations. He expresses in one place a conviction that his worldly troubles were sent direct from the Almighty, not only as trials to himself, but that by rousing attention they should interest the nation and excite a sympathy through the artist for his darling object.

In 1836 he was again in the King's Bench, again went through the Insolvent Court, and was discharged without opposition—once more legally free.

In 1839 he received a commission from the Corporation of Liverpool to paint the Duke of Wellington musing on the field of Waterloo. The pressure of public business prevented the Duke from sitting for this picture immediately; but in October the following year he invited Haydon down to Walmer Castle; and Haydon, proud and delighted, set to work, having already prepared his composition and studies with conscientious care. The journal of his few days at Walmer Castle is interesting, but too long for insertion. On this picture, also, Wordsworth wrote a fine sonnet. Haydon afterwards painted a picture of Wordsworth musing on Helvellyn, and sent the sketch to Miss Barrett (now Mrs. Browning); and she also crowned his work

with a very beautiful sonnet. It cannot be said that Haydon was not glorified in his lifetime.

In 1840 he was called down to lecture at Oxford; and gratefully he thanks God 'for allowing him the distinction of being 'the first to break down the barrier which had hitherto kept Art 'out of the pale of our Universities.'

In 1841 he had a commission to paint a large picture of the Anti-Slavery Convention, including portraits of the venerable Clarkson, of O'Connell, and a great number of distinguished persons, English and American. It was of course a formal picture crowded with heads — no composition, no action. In portraits he did not excel; and our recollection of this picture in its progress, and afterwards is not pleasing — it did not please himself. He says, 'The delight I had in turning to one of my 'historical pictures, after I had got rid of that dreadful collection 'of faces is not to be described!' The human face divine was always a trouble to Haydon when he could not do what he liked with it. It was remarked, that in both his pictures of Napoleon and Wellington he had turned away the face.

In his Journal at this time there is an account of a visit to Clarkson, which is extremely interesting, full of sensible remarks on others, mixed up, however, with almost frantic exaggeration as regards himself and his own claims and merits.

We must hurry on. It is sad to trace along these pages the gathering gloom — the breaking up of the very foundations of life and reason, the resistance of the will, the sinking of the spirit. When the Fine Arts Committee sat and examined witnesses Haydon was not even called. He felt it deeply. He set about making experiments in fresco, and followed them up with sanguine resolutions, though requiring a kind of practice and manipulation quite new to him. He records, with strong expressions of gratitude, the considerate kindness of Sir Charles Eastlake in helping him, with all his experience and knowledge. He rejoices that in advancing the cause of High Art, Sir Charles will 'follow in his footsteps with more temper 'and prudence.' While thus half hoping, half despairing, the death of his old friend Wilkie seems to have shaken him to the depths of his soul, disturbing him with wild painful thoughts and regretful memories. From this time there is scarcely a day without some allusion to 'poor dear Wilkie — poor fellow!'

When, in 1843, the prizes were announced for the best cartoons of historical subjects, Haydon had to compete against younger men, formed in the German and Paris schools of drawing. He was unsuccessful. The blow struck home; he seems to have staggered under it, through his whole being. It is evident

that, when he went down to Westminster Hall to look at the Cartoons, the unwilling conviction was forced upon him that he was excelled. The suspicion that he was past doing great things came over him — a deep dejection followed. There are still flashes of hope — constant expression of trust in God — appeals to him against injustice — prayers for resignation to bear it; but he was a broken-hearted man. He had demanded, with a half-humorous, yet wild and passionate energy, to be allowed to do something, to have some little share in a triumph which, he believed, he had brought about. For thirty years he had been advocating the decoration of the House of Lords by native artists: he now asked, that 'when the Houses were ready, cartoons done, colours mixed, and all at their posts, he should be 'allowed — *employed or not employed* — to take the *first* brush to 'dip into the *first* colours, and put the *first* touch on the *first* 'intonaco. Otherwise he threatens to haunt them all — commissioners, architect, secretary — all!' He says, in another place, that he would have ground the colours for them rather than have been left out. But he *was* left out. Except in the hearts of one or two pitying friends, judgment and feeling were both against him.

Some of the entries into his Journal in these later years, when it became too evident that the harassed brain was giving way, have a sort of wild poetic spirit, which is extremely striking. We must extract one or two passages out of many. He thus laments over the necessities which had lowered his feeling for his own divine Art: —

'Art with me is becoming a beastly vulgarity. The solitary grandeur of historical painting is gone. There was something grand, something poetical, something touching, something inspiring, something heroic, something mysterious, something awful, in pacing your quiet painting-room after midnight, with a great work lifted up on a gigantic easel, glimmering by the trembling light of a solitary candle, "when the whole world seemed adverse to desert." There was something truly poetical in devoting yourself to what the vulgar dared not touch — holding converse with the Great Spirit — your heart swelling, your imagination burning, your being rising.'

Here is another lamentation to which we feelingly respond: —

'Nov. 6. 1844.—Went to the National Gallery, and found the Rubens of Moses and the Brazen Serpent utterly ruined during the vacation; the whole of the tone and superb glazing rubbed off. It is one of his Italian pictures, painted at Genoa. What would Sir George and Sir Joshua say? They may talk as they please of the sufferings of humanity, but there is nothing so excites my sympathy as the helpless sufferings of a fine old picture of a great genius.

Unable to speak or remonstrate, touching all hearts by its dumb beauty, appealing to all sympathies by its silent splendour, laid on its back, in spite of its lustrous and pathetic looks taken out of its frame, stripped of its splendid encasement, fixed to its rack to be scraped, skinned, burnt, and then varnished in mockery of its tortures, its lost purity, its beautiful harmony; and then hung up again for living envy to chuckle over, whilst the shade of the mighty dead is allowed to visit and rest about his former glory, as a pang for sins not yet atoned for!'

One of the last things he did (April and May, 1846) was to open an exhibition containing two large pictures designed as decorations for the House of Lords, according to the plan he had sent Lord Melbourne: Democracy, illustrated by the banishment of Aristides; and Despotism, by Nero, burning Rome, together with a great number of drawings and sketches. This exhibition failed completely and left him again overwhelmed with debt. We cannot dwell on the evident pressure of the brain which followed. If ever despair reigned in the human soul, it did in Haydon's. He describes himself sitting for hours before his canvas, palette in hand, doing nothing, 'staring on it 'like an idiot:' or 'flying at his work like an inspired devil.' He wrote to Sir Robert Peel and others of his patrons: Sir Robert was prompt and kindly in his reply, sending him 50*l*. It came too late: anything, everything was too late. This was on the 16th of June. On the morning of the 22nd he was found dead in his painting-room at the foot of his easel. He had perished by his own hand.

Here we stop. There is no more to be said. Our impressions of Haydon's character as a man, of his merits and demerits as a painter, of the state in which he found, and the state in which he left the prospects of Art, of all that he achieved, of all in which he failed — may be gathered from the preceding pages. We now leave the reader to form his own conclusions; or if provoked to exasperation, or moved by a too painful pity, he find it difficult to hold the balance fairly, we refer him to the last pages of the biography, in which Mr. Taylor has ably and impartially summed up the pleadings for and against this remarkable and gifted man. He does not, perhaps, attach sufficient importance to the manifest presence of disease in accounting for so much that must otherwise remain unaccountable; but on the whole we concur in his estimate of the character. We confess to have ended this review in a gentler spirit than we began it. Haydon's faults were not undeservedly visited in this world; they brought down upon him their necessary inevitable consequences. But we are inclined to think that he has not

received justice for the higher qualities of his character—for the wonderful vigour and energy of his mind—the warmth, the truth, the tenacity of his affections; and we believe that this autobiography, from the general interest it has excited, will reverse, in some measure, the hard judgment that has been passed upon him.

Art. IX.—1. *Thoughts on the Subject of Bribery and Corruption at Elections.* By the Hon. G. F. S. Elliot. London: 1853.

2. *A short and sure Way of preventing Bribery at Elections.* By Rigby Wason, Esq. Ayr: 1853.

3. *Is Bribery without a Remedy?* A Letter to Lord John Russell, &c. &c. By Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, Bart. London: 1853.

4. *Suggestions for a Conservative and Popular Reform in the Commons House of Parliament.* By Augustus G. Stapleton. London: 1853.

5. *Parliamentary Reform; the Educational Franchise.* London: 1853.

6. *Reports and Minutes of Evidence taken before Election Committees,—Rye, Chatham, Plymouth, Berwick, and others.*

7. *Remarks on Treating, and other Matters relating to the Election of Members of Parliament.* By P. A. Pickering. London: 1852.

In two previous Papers on Representative Reform (Jan. and Oct. 1852), we endeavoured to prepare the way for practical action on this great question by a discussion of the main principles which lie at its foundation, and by an elimination of some popular fallacies which have extensively prevailed regarding it. We attempted to show that the subject was neither so simple nor so narrow as it had been represented; that some of its most important bearings and most difficult departments had been hitherto singularly overlooked; and that even those branches of it which had been the object of the longest and most earnest consideration, had never been adequately expounded. We endeavoured also to arrive at a few indisputable conclusions, and to lay down a few ascertained positions, which might serve as a basis—a starting-point—for our legislators and statesmen, whenever they should seriously address themselves to the perilous and solemn task of adjusting or reconstructing the Representative element of our Parlia-

mentary Constitution. We pointed out that the changes worked by the Reform Bill of 1832, however noiseless, had been vast, significant, and seminal; that the House of Commons had become far more imbued with popular opinions, far more sensitive to popular feeling, far more amenable to popular control; that its constitution was less exclusively *party*, and its discipline less peculiarly military, than before; that it showed a strong and natural tendency to usurp many of the ministerial functions, and thereby to incur much of the ministerial responsibility. We called attention, also, to the momentous fact that, in proportion as it was becoming more and more democratic in its constitution, it was becoming more and more supreme in its jurisdiction; that while it more fully represented the people, it also more entirely monopolised the functions of the three branches of the Legislature; that in fact —looking at our old Constitution as a mixed one— we had for some time been *burning the candle at both ends*. We discussed fully both the claims and the consequences of universal or 'complete' suffrage: and proved that, while the supposed *right* of every citizen to the electoral franchise could be made good by no consistent or tenable reasoning, the concession of that right, so far from being an indefeasible guarantee of liberty, might be made the surest instrument of despotism. We showed that the idea which lies at the root of our Electoral System in Great Britain is, and has always been — not the representation of numbers, nor yet that of property, — but that of *classes*; that the adoption of either of the former as a basis would lead to results little foreseen by our Liberals, and from which the most liberal would shrink back aghast; that while the great blot, drawback, and want of the actual Parliamentary suffrage is the inadequate admission within its pale of the labouring classes, the removal of this injustice and defect must be managed with judgment and with caution; that, while the aim and the operation of the measure of 1832 was to place the representation in the hands of the middle classes, any such general and decided lowering of the voting qualification, as was commonly asked for, would take the representation out of the hands of those classes, and would be, in truth, not an advancing but a retrogressive step; and that a 5*l.* franchise would not, as was imagined, be the continuance, confirmation, and extension of the 10*l.* franchise, but its reversal, negation, and discomfiture. While not coldly admitting, but anxiously urging, that an extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to our working classes was both necessary, desirable, and just, we pointed out — what recent disclosures have so signally confirmed — that the thing specially

needed was not a *lowering*, but an elevation and *purification*, of the franchise; and we hinted that, not only might the two objects be combined, but that the one might be made the means and the security of the other,—inasmuch as among those now virtually or actually excluded, are to be found sounder, healthier, and higher electoral elements than many now within the pale. Finally,—taking our stand on the conclusions at which we seemed to have logically arrived, and on the principles which we conceived we had irrefragably established,—we ventured to suggest two or three broad and simple practical measures by the adoption of which, or, at least, by a movement in the direction of which, the great ultimate object which all sincere reformers have in view, might, in our judgment, be most effectually secured; by which the really worthy, competent, and educated of all ranks should be blended in one comprehensive and respectable constituency, and those only should be left destitute of the electoral franchise, who neither value it sufficiently to make any effort for its attainment, nor manifest any of the qualifications, from which we can infer that, if they possessed it, they would exercise it in a right spirit, or for their own interests, or for their country's good.

At the period when those papers appeared, the interest once so generally felt in the subject of Parliamentary Reform was languid or asleep; other topics had elbowed it for a time out of the public mind: and measures of a more urgent and practical character absorbed the attention both of the Legislature and the Nation;—nor should we have dreamed of entering so largely into the question, had not a pledge been volunteered by the Administration of Lord John Russell, to bring forward a comprehensive proposal on the first feasible occasion. Now, however, the position of the question is altogether changed: the circumstances of the last general election have again lifted it into prominence and paramount importance; dormant interest is once more aroused; the blots and defects of the existing system have been forced upon our notice with an importunity which will take no denial: and the presentation of seventy-six petitions, the unseating of thirty-six Members for bribery or other undue practices, and the disclosures of the general and widespread corruption practised at elections—long known to the initiated, but never before so laid bare to the public at large—have startled both the Government and the People into a fresh access of vigilance and zeal, and concentrated the general attention upon one branch of the wide question. The extension of the franchise is no longer held forth as the cardinal point, the head and front, of a new Reform Bill:—the suppression of

bribery and other corrupt influences is now felt to be the problem most imperatively calling for solution. No measure which does not fairly and manfully grapple with this giant evil, will be worthy of the reputation of the Administration which stands pledged to bring it forward, or will have the smallest chance of meeting acceptance with the country.

The New Reform Bill, which is promised for an early period of next Session, and which Ministers must diligently employ their autumn leisure in concocting, will have to deal with three several points — the *extension*, the *re-distribution*, and the *purification* of the Franchise; — it must decide who shall possess the suffrage; under what divisions, and in what localities that suffrage shall be exercised; and how that exercise shall be guarded and secured. Of these three problems the last is the one which at present excites the principal interest, and to which we propose chiefly to address ourselves; — and it will not improbably appear, on close consideration, that the readiest, surest, and perhaps only possible solution of it is to be found in our mode of dealing with the other two.

And, first, let us clear our way, and diminish our work by one preliminary observation: — We are not — thank God we have never yet been — please God we never shall be — in the position in which our French neighbours find themselves every four or five years, — that namely, of having to construct a constitution wholly afresh; to write upon white paper; to create as it were a world out of nothing. *Carte blanche* is a condition happily unknown to our politicians. In the immediate case before us our limitations both as philosophers and as statesmen are fixed: we have to amend, to engraft, to modify, to curtail — not to reconstruct. We may therefore dismiss wholly from consideration all those projects and suggestions which would deserve the most sedulous and impartial examination were we called upon to deal *ab initio* with an infant state, or to frame a substitute for some utterly annihilated and unrevivable régime, — all schemes, however ingenious, plausible, profound or just, which presuppose a demolition of the existing framework of our polity. Universal suffrage, annual parliaments, the franchise of women, and the like, we put aside at once, as changes which, since no Legislature will listen to them, it would be idle for us to discuss and silly to pronounce upon. The same may be said with respect to 'Electoral Districts' — a favourite idea with many, and one which we discussed fully on a previous occasion; because, though we by no means wish to decide that the plan may not adduce many strong arguments in its favour, and that some such division (if based not on population, but on area, or on area and

population combined,) might not be found of great indirect benefit in eliminating corrupt and sinister influences — it yet involves far too wide a departure from our traditional ideas and time-honoured arrangements to be seriously and patiently entertained. Our sole aim in the following remarks will be to offer such small practical assistance as it may be in our power to render to our statesmen in the knotty task which lies before them. We shall confine ourselves to the really feasible: what it would be impossible to carry, we shall hold it useless to suggest.

In the creation of a House of Commons at the present day, theory and practice are somewhat discrepant. In theory, our sovereign issues a writ to certain counties and boroughs, desiring them to select from among their residents one, two or more individuals qualified to represent their wants and to advise with the monarch and the peers on the government of the realm. In practice, certain parties or sections, having their own grievances to redress or their own opinions to make good, look out for representatives who will serve their purpose, and endeavour to secure the election of these representatives by various licit or illicit means: — or certain politicians, having their own personal objects to serve or their own laudable ambition to gratify by a seat in Parliament, labour to induce different constituencies to return them by persuasives and pressure of various sorts — sometimes less honourable than the object they are designed to subserve. The influences and allurements brought to bear upon the electors in order to affect their choice are of various kinds, — some legitimate, some immoral, some not altogether undue in their nature but exercised to an undue degree, some of a nature which it is not easy to class peremptorily under any of these categories. Sometimes votes are purchased by hard cash, — sometimes they are obtained by the promise of a private or a Government appointment; sometimes the elector is cajoled out of his suffrage by 'soft sawder' — sometimes by oratorical flummery — sometimes by dishonourable beer; often votes are obtained by fraud — oftener by force; the tenant is pressed by the well-founded fear of losing his farm — the workman is coerced by the threat of being dismissed from his employment — the shopman by the dread of losing his custom — the debtor by the prospect of being called upon to pay an inconvenient debt; the courteous voter is influenced by the wish to oblige a neighbour — the poor man by the wish to show respect and gratitude to a kind and considerate landlord — the ignorant man, if he is humble, by deference to the arguments of those he knows to be honest and well-informed — if he is vain and sus-

picious, by the representations of the inflammatory spouter; — property, custom, money, hope, gratitude, wisdom, virtue, the high arts of the statesman, the low arts of the demagogue — all play their part in the great struggle, all exercise their influence over the choice of the hapless elector. To obtain a perfectly spontaneous and unbiassed choice, *all* these extrinsic influences ought to be suppressed; but this is at once felt to be impossible, even were it desirable: voters will always be open to cajolery, to deception, to interest, to persuasion, to personal affection; the notion of meeting these influences has therefore never been seriously entertained; — but simple bribery or barefaced intimidation, — being so scandalous, so disgraceful and so apparently preventable, — have had legislative thunderbolts hurled at them for generations — and hitherto in vain. It appears that electoral corruption commenced in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and that, beginning with a standing order of the House of Commons in 1677, no less than *ten* distinct Acts (enumerated by Sir E. Wilmot) have been passed to punish and prevent it, besides a variety of enactments enumerated by Mr. Elliot regulating the mode of judging of elections petitioned against for bribery: — with what effect we may learn from the fact that, between 1833 and 1853, no less than 323 elections had been petitioned against; that of these petitions 82 resulted in unseating the members for corrupt practices; and that at the last general election petitions were presented from 76 places: and that 36 members were unseated in consequence*: — and finally, that it has been stated publicly by the most experienced electioneering agents, and is commonly believed, that were the law strictly carried out, and the circumstances of every election scrupulously inquired into, scarcely a single member could retain his seat. When to these facts we add that several writs have been suspended, and two places disfranchised for notorious and inveterate corruption, we have said enough to justify the conclusion that there must have been some strange misconception or misdirection in all our previous efforts to enforce purity of election, and that in order to discover a remedy, we must go rather more deeply than we have hitherto done into the analysis of the disorder. Instead, therefore, of professing a pious but unavailing horror at the charge of bribery, instead of veiling our faces before it as a thing scarcely to be recognised or named, or hurling against it solemn but waste and futile enactments, let us look it fairly and coolly in the face, as an evil and a wrong beyond question, but still an evil naturally incidental to and long inwoven into the essence of our

* Parl. Paper, 431. (May 2. 1853.)

representative system—an evil to be removed if removal is possible, and, if not, to be mitigated and minimised as we best may; —a wrong of which the real gravamen is, not that it vitiates the constitution of the House of Commons, or sends a class of men who ought not to be there and would not be there under a purer system, but that it makes the process of choosing those men an awfully demoralising one to the electors. As Mr. Carlyle somewhere exhorts his readers: 'O beloved brother 'blockheads of mankind, let us cease shrieking and begin con-'sidering!'

A few reflections will suffice to make clear to us both the condition of affairs in which bribery originates, and the reason why all penal enactments have hitherto proved ineffectual to check it. Why have our laws, our menaces, our fines been so unavailing and inoperative? Certainly not from any lack either of number, of ingenuity, or of severity. A candidate convicted of bribery is incapacitated from sitting in the existing Parliament, and the career on which he had entered is temporarily or altogether closed to him. A member in whose behalf, without any cognisance or participation on his part, bribery has been committed, even of the most trivial sort and in a single instance, is not only unseated but incurs an expense—that is a fine—varying from 1000*l.* to 3000*l.* Any person found guilty of either receiving or offering a bribe, is punishable by a fine of 500*l.* with imprisonment in default of payment—half the penalty to be the reward of the informer. Yet still the sin flourishes unchecked,—public, notorious, and almost avowed: —'a pestilence that walketh at noon-day.' Why is this—but because the public voice refuses to ratify the statute law; because the broad sense and common feeling of the nation cannot be brought—or has not yet been brought—to stigmatise electoral corruption as an infamous or ignominious crime; because, in the society in which members of Parliament 'live and move, 'and have their being,' the standard of morality regards it as a venial offence; because, in a word, the great tribunal to which we are all amenable—the only one whose condemnation we really fear and whose sentences we always carry into effect—while theoretically frowning on the sin, practically and habitually absolves the sinner?

And why does it do so? 'It is very true,' we hear it objected, 'that this scandalous offence is regarded with the scan-'dalous leniency you describe; but the reason is that the law 'has never yet affixed to it the degrading punishment which it 'so well deserves. Once visit bribery with a penalty which no '*gentleman* will dare to encounter—once subject the perpetrator

'of it to an indelible disgrace—declare him for ever incapable 'of serving his sovereign or appearing in public life — once im- 'mure him in the common gaol and clothe him in the prison 'dress—and you will have *created* the moral standard—you will 'have formed the public opinion which you need.'—We entirely concede the force of this representation. It is unhappily undeniable that the moral sense of most men — Englishmen as much as any — is a capricious and unreasonable thing. Their code of conscience is in a manner made for them by the world. Their principles of virtue and honour are often strangely conventional. Sins that public opinion does not visit with heavy reprobation, and on which the law does not inflict severe penalties, become in their eyes either venial sins or no sins at all. Perjuries, jobs, and corruptions which outrage every Christian precept and every patriotic duty, are practised by men otherwise respectable and honourable with only the faintest and dimmest conception of wrong-doing, till really disagreeable or ignominious punishment—richly deserved in the eye of morality and long perhaps formally assigned by law—is actually inflicted; —when the torpid conscience is awakened and an entire change of estimate takes place. We see and judge ourselves according to the mirror which reflects us; and if that mirror showed us clad in dust-coloured flannel, with a disfiguring vizor over our face, and weaving in a cell at Pentonville, doubtless our self-condemnation would be tremendously severe. But it is difficult to look upon anything as *very* wrong which is habitually done, and seldom or leniently punished. The instant, however, that a crime or misdemeanour, long connived at and tacitly allowed, is steadily, severely, and unsparingly dealt with by the administration of justice, its true character is recognised and sealed, and it takes rank henceforth among *unpermissible* offences.—But all this is little to the purpose; for this simple and obvious reason — that the very same state of public feeling which has hitherto caused bribery to be so leniently dealt with, will effectually prevent the infliction of any such savage punishment as those suggested: the same social opinion which has rendered inoperative the laws already existing will *à fortiori* forbid the enactment of any still more sweeping and severe.

Now, public opinion, though often warped, is seldom wholly irrational. Though rarely irreproachable, it has always some sound and wholesome instinct at its foundation. Its acquittals and condemnations, though sometimes in defiance both of the Church and of the Law, are generally based upon some broad, just, simple principle of judgment. Let us see whether this may not be so in the case before us. We incline to believe

that it is; and we request a calm and unprejudiced consideration for the following remarks.

In the first place, the great fact that lies at the root of bribery, as of all other undue influences brought to bear upon parliamentary elections, is this,—that a seat in the Legislature is an object of personal ambition, of earnest desire, on the part of the candidate. It is so naturally, it is so honourably and justifiably, it is so rationally; it is so perhaps more than rationally. We do not blame or wonder at the man who aspires to the magistracy, who covets and solicits a post of dignity and trust under the Government, who endeavours to obtain an appointment in the Colonies or in the Judicature — even though these are accompanied by pecuniary remuneration, which a seat in Parliament is not. It *is* a great thing to serve a great country: long may it be so regarded. To share in the administration and the legislation for an Empire like that of Britain is — no man can deny it — an object of laudable desire, of righteous ambition, of legitimate exertion, to every man whose position and capacities fit him for public life. Very well: on this object he sets his heart; to attain this object he is willing to make great efforts, to incur mortal annoyances, to undergo much labour, to encounter many sacrifices; he binds his whole energies to the task; *he is naturally grateful to all who aid him in his purpose;* he contracts an unavoidable feeling of sympathy and regard for those who fight by his side through an arduous and exciting contest: he feels — he cannot help feeling — he would be a barbarian if he did not feel—*obliged* to those whose support has placed him where he so longed to be; he desires to reward those to whom he owes his success; — they have furthered his objects: he naturally wishes to further theirs. The law forbids him to do this, or to promise to do this: it commands him to confine his gratitude to 'words and becks and wreathed smiles;' it says to him, 'you 'shall show no hospitality to those who are toiling and sweating 'in your cause: if you give them a breakfast you shall be un-'seated; if you are detected in paying their expenses, or com-'pensating them for the day's wages they have lost, or the 'mischievous enmity they have incurred in your service, you 'shall be fined and punished.' — Well! the verdict of public opinion will not ratify this language of the law: is it wholly unreasonable in this refusal?

While the election is yet pending, the candidate discovers that some zealous adherent who — possibly out of pure regard or political convictions — is wearing out body and soul in his service, is harassed by the demand for payment of some trifling debt, or has a respectable son whom he wants to place in the

Excise Department or the Post Office; — is he so very guilty, so very unworthy of the society of gentlemen, if he privately pays the debt, or lends his supporter 5*l.* to pay it, or applies through an influential quarter for the humble appointment, — and thus does something, which is very easy, for the voter or committeeman who is doing so much, which is very toilsome and disagreeable, for him? Yet this is bribery: the law forbids it—*must* forbid it: but can we wonder that public feeling lags behind the law?

After an election in which you have been the winning candidate — after a hot contest which has terminated in placing you on a pinnacle whence you see all the kingdom of your loftiest hopes spread out before you — a poor but most energetic and effectual supporter, to whom perhaps you owe in a great measure your success, comes to you and says: 'Sir, in consequence of my exertions on your behalf, a loan which was all important to me has been suddenly called in; or my landlord has given me notice to quit; or my employer has peremptorily dismissed me, and my family is destitute: — I helped you: will you not help me?' Can you, ought you, to refuse? Yet if you aid him by a loan, relieve him by a gift, or procure or promise him a place, and if your doing so can be in any way connected by adequate evidence with what you cannot deny to have been its real cause and antecedent, *viz.* his support of you; and if you do this within the specified limitation of time; — and still more if in anticipation of such pressure you had previously given him any hopes that you would do this; — you are guilty of corruption in the eye of the law. You may manage the arrangement skilfully so as not to be found out; or you may manage it so clumsily as to bring yourself within the fangs of justice; but the offence is essentially the same. And the broad fact remains that, in all these cases, and in a dozen others that might be specified, and that will occur to the recollection of all who are experienced in such matters, the law forbids you to do that which your sense of gratitude, your feelings of humanity, your sentiments of justice, your instinct as a gentleman, all insist upon your doing. And the law, if it is not to be a mere mockery, *must* forbid all these things: it must guard every point; it must denounce every disguise under which the offence might creep in. Yet we feel all the while, irresistibly though indistinctly, that, if this be the law, the law cannot be right—if this be corruption, some forms of corruption at least cannot be so very wrong. And public opinion demurs when it is called upon to stigmatise and degrade a man for doing that which he would be held shabby, faithless and ungrateful if he did *not* do.

Secondly. There is no doubt a kind of bribery—systematic, profligate, and shameless—in condemnation of which public sentiment will re-echo all the denunciations of public law. Where electors have conscientious political convictions, but are placed by their poverty within the temptation to deny and betray them, and where they are sought out, urged, and beset by the pertinacious offer of money or money's worth to strain their consciences, and to violate their trust—where *virtue* is tampered with, and genuine honesty besieged into surrender—the law might be as severe as it pleased, and the general conscience would sanction its severity—at least against the seducers, if not against their victims. There is also, no doubt, a class of professional offenders to be crushed and branded as a public pestilence—men who have reduced electoral corruption to a system and a science—who poison wholesome and hitherto untainted constituencies—and contract for iniquity by the job. For agents of this sort, who have neither the elector's plea of poverty nor the candidates' palliation of ambition, we have no clemency in reserve. But unhappily the law cannot distinguish between offences and offenders of this deep dye, and those whiter ones of which we have before spoken. It must menace all alike; it must be comprehensive and minute; it must prohibit equally that bribery for which there is every excuse, and that for which there is none: it must include within its definitions that *understood* gratitude for electoral support at which purity itself can scarcely frown, and that open purchase of reluctant votes which the most lax profligacy would not dream of defending. Otherwise the wolf would inevitably creep into the fold under the sheep's clothing; the heinous crime would be perpetrated under the disguise of the harmless and natural transaction. But the public instinct draws a broad distinction between the two, and refuses to confound them in one common detestation. Any amount of treating or compensation for lost time has been pronounced to be corruption by recent decisions. But when a wealthy gentleman, or a zealous politician, says to his poorer neighbours, on whom a low qualification or the accident of birth may have conferred the franchise: 'Come and breakfast with me, and I will take you 'to the poll, and we will then come back and drink together to 'the success of "our man;"'—we find it impossible to recognise any moral depravity in the transaction, though fully admitting that fraud and danger *may* lurk under it. Again: the poor elector, in the county generally and often in the town, cannot in practice give his vote without the loss of a day's wages which often he can ill afford, and for his family's sake perhaps

ought not to encounter. It is unsafe no doubt, and might open the door to too much corruption, were we to admit and legalise the plea; but *the plea is, or may be, a valid and an honest one;* and it is impossible to say that the candidate or the friendly politician, who admits it and acts upon it, commits an infamous or criminal offence, or ought to be, or will ever by public sentiment be permitted to be, visited with an ignominious or degrading penalty. The truth thus again recurs upon us, that, in all attempts to prohibit bribery by positive enactment, you must forbid and punish transactions *which the common conscience of mankind will not recognise as wrong.* Public opinion, and the law which ought to be its exponent, and of which it ought to be the executor, ratifier, and guarantee, are obstinately at variance.

In the third place, it is generally recognised that there are some cases of even open and undisguised bribery—and these the most common of all—in which the offence, indefensible as it undoubtedly still is, will not by the general judgment of mankind be pronounced as heinous in reality as it is in theory. The corruptible part of each constituency is generally a section by itself. It consists, in an overwhelming proportion, of men already known, stigmatised and counted upon; of men whose votes have always been in their eyes a private property to be sold—not a public trust to be exercised; of men who have no political convictions and scarcely any personal predilections. On the day of election they cluster in particular localities waiting till towards the close of the poll, to see whether they are 'wanted,' and what is the highest price they can extort from needy and hard-pressed candidates. Such are the 'Long-shore' men of London: such are numbers of the freemen of Liverpool. Sometimes the election is decided without them: they are not required, or demand too high a price for their services. But in any case and at all times they are mere *condottieri*—mercenaries wholly indifferent to either cause—'labourers worthy of their hire'—men who would never dream of voting on any side without an adequate 'consideration,' and whose utmost preference or predilection never stretches further than perhaps accepting a few shillings less from a popular than an unpopular candidate.* Now, whatever law and principle

* We have heard of cases somewhat different from these, but coming under the same classification, of voters whose principles were fixed, and who never swerved from them, but who thought themselves cheated and ill-used if they did not receive five shillings from the candidate they supported—nay, who insisted on their regular fee, whether there was a contest or not, and who could not be brought to

may say, common sense and common justice revolt from visiting with the same degree or sort of moral reprobation, or of penal infliction, the senator who has bribed sincere and earnest political partisans to vote against their conscience, and the senator who has merely purchased voters of the class we are describing, who have no political conscience at all. There *is* a difference, and a wide difference, between the guilt of the two transactions: the same difference that exists between the man who avails himself of the ready complaisance of the woman whose person has been long on sale, and the man who undermines and destroys the virtue of the innocent and unstained girl; between him who 'causes one of those little ones to 'offend,' and him who merely profits by the proffered services of the hardened criminal; between him who seduces an honest soldier from his allegiance to his country or his standard, and him who simply bargains for the support of mercenary troops. There can be no doubt that the transaction in question is reprehensible; there can be no doubt that it is one which a high and pure-minded patriot will decline; there can be no doubt that he who dabbles in such things is practising and sanctioning what must be designated as corruption; but the sophistry which is so loquacious, so ingenious, and so readily listened to during the excitement of election contests is not slow to whisper that, whereas the sin of the man who corrupts an honest voter by a money bribe, must lie heavy on his conscience, and lies on his alone, the sin of the man who only purchases the notoriously and inveterately venal, must be shared in a liberal proportion with the constitution which invested such men with the franchise, and the parliament which, in spite of experience, warning, and remonstrance, has persisted in retaining them on the Register. If you continue to give votes to men who *will* vote only from pecuniary inducements—who have no other conception of the suffrage than as a property which bears a market value once in every four or five years—it is idle to expect that others should abstain from offering them those inducements—should refuse to give, for that which they want, that for which alone it will be bartered. Such palliative reasoning is sophistry no doubt: but it is sophistry which finds so ready an echo in every man's breast, that we cannot be surprised that the public should decline to visit

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see the impropriety of the transaction. One witness gave in evidence before the Peterborough Election Committee, that he applied in all confidence for the 'crown' habitually given to voters, though he had voted against the candidate of the noble Earl who was supposed to be the furnisher of the said 'crowns.'

with severe or degrading penalties the candidate who listens to it in moments of over-mastering temptation.

Again: there are certain recollections which naturally enough dispose all admirers of our representative system, and especially those who are cognisant of some of the routine details of its operation, to pause before they join in the present vehement denunciations of all undue electoral influences. They can scarcely disguise from themselves that some such influences—in some such mitigated shape at least as it is not easy by any clear definition to distinguish from virtual corruption—are inherent in and apparently inseparable from the system on which parliamentary government is carried on. The Ministry has, as is well known, in this country, as in every other, a vast number of places at its disposal. There are appointments in the Post Office, in the Police and Consular Departments, in the Customs and Inland Revenue, and in other branches of administration, in the gift of the various chief officers of the State. We have, also, as is well known, a Minister of high position and emolument—a Secretary of the Treasury, *a recognised public functionary*—whose special and avowed business it is to look after the distribution of the subordinate patronage of the Government, amounting to about 450 appointments annually; the majority of which are petty offices in the Revenue departments. To him applications are made: through him most business of this sort is transacted. Of course, in theory and by right, the distribution of this large patronage ought to be determined by merit and competency alone; it should be the business of this Secretary of the Treasury, not only to investigate the qualification of every candidate for every appointment, but to search out and select the fittest man who can be found. In the higher appointments some approach to this is made: in the mass of cases it is of course impossible. The greater number of the places require no special qualifications in those who are to fill them: fifty or sixty men may be wishing for them, one as fit as another. In what manner then are these numerous appointments distributed? Naturally enough, and inevitably though not avowedly, with reference to parliamentary support. For example; appointments to county post offices are offered to the county member who supports the Government; and he distributes them directly or mediately among those constituents who have supported him. A constituent wants a place in the Excise or the Police for his son: he applies to the member for whom he voted; the member goes to the Secretary of the Treasury and asks for the place; and the Secretary—distracted between numberless

applications—obliges him if he can.* Or, probably, in the course of a long canvass the member has become acquainted with the wants and wishes of his most energetic supporters, as regards the advancement of their family or their own little ambitions, and he is naturally glad of an opportunity of obliging them. If, therefore, he be of the same way of thinking with the party in power, and if he generally votes with them, he naturally claims from the Secretary of the Treasury his share in the public patronage. But does the simple public suppose that this claim is ever preferred by the *opponents* of the Government? that these applications are habitually made by electors who have voted *against* the sitting member? By no means, or rarely. If a hostile constituent came to his representative on such an errand, it would naturally be inferred that he intended to vote for him at the next election. If an opposition member applied to the Secretary of the Treasury for a place for one of his supporters, that astute gentleman would promise the place at once—accepting the application as a delicate intimation that the recusant senator was beginning to see the error of his ways. All this is perfectly well understood: it is understood that the ordinary patronage of the Government will be distributed according to the recommendations of the parliamentary supporters of that Government; and it is understood that these recommendations will be given on behalf of those electors 'who 'have voted 'right.' This is not corruption, perhaps; but it is distributing patronage not according to merit but according to interest—and tacitly proclaiming that patronage will be so distributed—conduct, which it would require a subtle logician to exclude from any intelligible definition of corruption. It is true that the Secretary must not *promise* to give places in exchange for parliamentary support; but it is *understood* that he reserves them only for supporters: it is true a candidate must not *promise* to exercise his influence with the Secretary in favour of those who vote for him; but it is *known* that he will so restrict his influence; and between a tacit understanding, a significant nod,

* Observe: we do not say, for we do not think, that Government has too many of such places at its disposal. We do not say that these places can be called jobs, or patronage, in the sense of being overpaid; on the contrary we believe that they are generally underpaid. We do not say that the country does not get full 'value received' for every one of these appointments; on the contrary, we conceive that the country is a hard task master, and a shabby paymaster. But the fact remains, that, valuable or not, these appointments are *sought*, and are distributed mainly among the political supporters of the Ministry for the time being.

and an open promise, the distinction is not so vast or marked that the one is permissible, avowable and just, and the other iniquitous, penal, and degrading. The public conscience — which looks at such things broadly and not technically — according to intrinsic character, not according to conventional rules — obstinately refuses to create a 'great gulf' between the two. Hence it was that the House of Commons refused to order the Attorney-general to prosecute Sir Frederick Smith for promising a place in the Post Office to an elector. Members felt that they could not decently consign a man to conviction and punishment for doing that incautiously which they themselves had often done virtually — for promising to do that which every one of them had done repeatedly without promising — for giving a distinct pledge when they, like men of sense and caution, had contented themselves with a tacit understanding. Observe: we do not mean to argue that it is not sinful as well as illegal to purchase a man's vote by the promise of a place; or that there is not a vital and a wide distinction between promising a place to an elector beforehand, in order to induce him to vote for you, and procuring it for him subsequently, because he has voted for you; but we do say that Englishmen will never consent to visit a man with severe condemnation or ignominious punishment for having done the one, while they acquit, honour, and obey the men who habitually do the other. In the one case I go to the Secretary of the Treasury to solicit an appointment for a man who has supported me — this being a daily, recognised, expected, and well-understood proceeding: in the other case I commit an unnecessary folly, and promise him that I will do this, if he supports me: — it *cannot* be that in the former case I am an honourable and stainless senator, and in the other a corrupt and infamous criminal. If I have bribed the man to *vote against his conscience*, by the expectation of a place, I have been very guilty, whether I made a direct promise, or merely allowed him to argue from the habitual rule to his own individual case; but if I have only gratified a conscientious supporter, I cannot be very severely condemned, even if I have been so gratuitously imprudent and illegal as to pledge myself beforehand that I would so gratify him. This, at least, will be the general judgment of the public; and therefore we say that, so long as you have a recognised and highly paid Minister, whose business it is to distribute Government Patronage according to the requests and recommendations of Government supporters; and so long as it is the recognised and uncondemnable custom for Members of Parliament to exercise these recommendations on behalf of their *friendly* constituents almost exclusively, the feeling of the

country will not bear you out in visiting heavily a species of electoral corruption which only differs from this recognised and avowed system of patronage distribution, by promising to do that in the individual case which, without a promise, it is known will be done as the habitual rule. The distinction is admitted to be a real one; but it is not broad enough for the vast consequences you would deduce from it.

In truth, the practice which really constitutes the *essence* of electoral corruption—namely, the barter, direct or circuitous, of a vote for a 'consideration'—the explicit or understood agreement between the elector and the elected that the 'good things' in the gift of the latter shall be distributed among the former—that I will gratify those who support me—is too general and constant in England to excite that degree of moral reprobation with which perhaps, if we judge these matters by a scrupulously righteous standard, it ought to be regarded. Senatorial sinners are kept in countenance by others. Take the case of the East India Directors. Their position is at least as responsible as that of Members of Parliament, and their influence for good or evil far greater. They are in name, and to a great extent in fact, the governors of a mighty Empire. They initiate, if they do not finally decide, the policy on which hang the destinies of 100,000,000 of people. Rightly viewed, their post is one which carries with it the most awfully solemn obligations. They have the appointment of all the subordinate officers who administer justice and revenue over a vast extent of territory, and each of whom has an appalling power of producing the happiness or misery of many thousands of the natives who are subject to his rule. Every man chosen for the direction should feel that he has undertaken a trust which can only be duly fulfilled by a union of the most careful diligence with the strictest conscientiousness, and that he is bound by every consideration of duty and benevolence to consult merit alone in the appointment of those to whom he delegates so wide and despotic a jurisdiction, and to confer his writerships and cadetships on the best and most promising young men he can select, unbiassed either by fear or favour. Every shareholder, too, should feel at least as strongly as Parliamentary Electors, when called upon to choose a director who is to execute so mighty an office, that no private consideration, no regard for the prospects of this son or that nephew, can be permitted to warp his decision, or to guide his vote towards any but the most competent and honourable candidate. Yet what is the fact. Directors can only obtain a seat at the Board after years of painful and ignominious canvass; it is not only notorious but avowed that, in

many cases, personal motives exclusively decide the contest; and the fittest and most experienced public servants are frequently rejected to make way for the nominees of bankers and influential merchants. But this is not all, nor the worst: in the course of their canvass for a seat in the Direction, the candidates have generally to purchase votes or influence by the (tacit) promise of appointments, so that when they arrive at the envied honour, they often find that their patronage — vast as it is — is virtually mortgaged for many years to come. There is no secret about this: it has been made the subject of bitter complaint both by the Directors and the friends of India: — still, it is done systematically; it is done publicly; it has been done long; — yet little blame is showered upon the shareholders, and no ignominy is felt to attach to the Directors. And no one, we opine, can pretend to discover any valid distinction between their case and that of Parliamentary candidates and Parliamentary electors who barter patronage and votes, — unless indeed we hold that India is the private patrimony of the East India Company, — to be maltreated and mismanaged as they will. How then can we expect that public opinion which exonerates the one should severely stigmatise the other?

Another consideration, also, inevitably withholds public sentiment from sanctioning the enactment of any very stringent laws against bribery at elections, — or at least the rigorous execution of such laws, — the consideration, namely, that these laws can only strike the *least guilty;* that they catch the smaller offenders and let the more heinous ones go free; that they punish the poor and the clumsy, but allow the rich and the ingenious to escape; — a result which is revolting to the good feeling of Englishmen and their strong sense of justice and love of fair play. The labouring man who accepts *5s.* as a compensation for the loss of his day's work, which was worth probably only two; the indigent artisan who, with a large family and scanty earnings, cannot refuse the offer of a *5l.* note — 'whose poverty, 'but not his will consents;' the venal freeman, who has never been taught any notions of public duty, who has no political opinions at all, and whose 'price' is a matter of course; the thirsty or hungry ploughman who is glad enough to eat for a day at another man's expense, — these may be easily exposed and punished. Even the subordinate *employers,* who do the direct dirty work of distributing head-money, may often be detected. But the principal agent — the professional man — he who organises the system of corruption and reduces bribery to a science — he who arranges the whole plan by which the constituency is to be depraved and its voice falsified and

annulled—the *real* and the very guilty offender—can never be tracked home and seized, if he be skilful in his subterranean craft and judicious in the selection of his tools. You may occasionally, though rarely, catch a Morgan; but a 'W. B.' or the agent who furnishes the money according to 'W. B.'s' directions, cannot in one case out of a hundred be laid hold of. And the candidate—not always indeed the chief promoter of bribery, but certainly the one who chiefly profits by it,—is studiously kept in ignorance of all illicit transactions, and in real truth is seldom made aware of their occurrence except by the presentation of his bills some months after the election. Then there are cases, of constant occurrence, though of rare publicity, in which not the poor and ignorant but the wealthy and educated are concerned,—where electoral influence is made the means of obtaining a place or of bargaining for a baronetcy,—when a 'respectable' citizen, who can command the dozen votes which turn the election, desires a consular appointment for a son whom it is convenient to expatriate, and, if his candidate is a ministerialist, is sure to obtain it,—where a certain sum is subscribed from 'friendly zeal' to the expenses of a contest, and the subscriber receives out of 'natural gratitude' an empty honour on which he had long set his heart. These are cases of bribery which the law cannot reach, because no evidence of the transaction is ever allowed to exist or to transpire: the juxtaposition of the two facts is all that is known (if even this): their connexion it is impossible to prove.—Again: take such a case as that laid opened by the second Report of the Rye Committee, where a Mr. Jeremiah Smith, friend and agent of the habitual member, had for twenty years kept a large number of the electors under the irresistible influence of chronic loans. It is impossible to say to a benevolent man, because he happens to be a professional lawyer or an ardent politician, 'You shall never accommodate a needy elector 'with a loan.' Nor can you prevent him from asking for the interest or demanding repayment of the principal at an inconvenient time, because that time happens to be the eve of an election. Nor can you prevent him from enforcing his legal claim, because his debtor is or intends to be a political opponent. Nor can you forbid him mercifully to forego or to postpone that claim, if his debtor makes friends with him by tacitly consenting to withdraw his opposition. You *cannot* prevent mutually willing parties from coming to a mutual understanding.*—Yet what

* You cannot prevent a political landlord from letting to a complaisant elector for 10*l.* a house that is worth 18*l.*

conceivable system of corruption can be so fatal, so irresistible, so oppressive, so degrading as this? Mere bribery by a *5l.* note sinks into innocence and harmlessness in comparison. A law, therefore, which severely visited the one because it could reach it, and gave impunity to the other because it could *not*, would be too inequitable to be sanctioned or enforced.

Again: the English public, in its feeling with regard to bribery, is much swayed by reflections which have been thus stated, and which, it must be admitted, are not without some weight. 'Bribery—bad as it is—is only one of several bad 'influences which infest and vitiate electoral returns; it is by 'no means certain that it is the lowest, the most fatal, or the 'most corrupting; it is in some measure an antagonist to 'others; and if it be destroyed, and *no other purifying or protecting steps be taken*, it is far from certain that we shall have 'mended matters by our interference. We shall have paralysed 'the influence of the purse which, bad as it is, is sometimes 'placed in good hands and wielded in a good cause; but we 'shall have left rampant, triumphant, and unbalanced, the 'influence of the landlord, who can coerce by a threat of ejection from his farm,—the influence of the attorney, who has a 'thousand ways (most formidable to the poor and ignorant) of 'compelling compliance with his wishes,—the influence of the 'employer, who can menace an unmanageable voter with the 'loss of work and wages,—the influence of the demagogue, who 'can corrupt a constituency wholesale by an appeal to their 'lowest passions and their meanest interests,—the influence 'of the customer, whether elector or non-elector, who bullies 'and perhaps ruins, by the weapon of "exclusive dealing,"—'and the influence of the local jobber, who bribes by a promise 'to consider, not the well-being of the empire, but the prosperity of "Sunderland" alone.

'A politician of the last generation used to say, that "the '"custom of bribery was among the greatest proofs and instances '"of our individual liberties: that the very fact of having to '"purchase a man's vote showed that you could not *take* it." 'Now, without going so far as this, and not wishing to settle 'questions of degree and precedence between rival iniquities, 'we think it can scarcely be denied that more wrong is done, 'and more damage inflicted by intimidation than by bribery; 'that a man who is bullied or coerced into voting against his 'wishes is lower in the scale of degradation than a man who 'does the same thing for an adequate "consideration;" and 'that a man who offers a poor elector a price for his support 'which is agreed upon between them, shows at least a greater

'sense of decency—imperfect and mutilated as it is—than 'a man who compels him to yield that support for nothing. 'The one bargains, the other robs. Nearly the same thing 'may be said of all the other corrupt and illicit influences: 'they are all degrading to the constituent who submits to them, 'and all sinful in the partisan who exercises them; but the 'less they bear the character of *contract*, and the more they partake the character of unjust, insolent, and cruel *pressure*, the 'more outrageous and wicked do they seem.

'It is foreseen, too, that when plain and simple bribery has 'been cured or reduced within the scantiest limits, we should 'have to be doubly on our guard against the increase of a different, and a subtler, and perhaps in effect a more noxious 'species of corruption. If corrupt and low-minded voters still 'retain the franchise, they will still seek to sell their votes, 'though they will have to look for payment in a different coin. 'If candidates are not more stern and lofty in their integrity 'than heretofore, they will be exposed to temptations of another 'sort, even more difficult to resist, more easy to conceal from 'the world, and more easy to palliate to their own consciences. 'If they may not any longer open their purses to gratify the 'inferior class of electors, they will be expected to warp their 'principles to suit them. They will be urged to purchase votes 'as before,—and to purchase them at a far higher and more 'fatal price. They will be pressed, and often, we fear, induced, 'to lower their political creed, to modify and impair their 'genuine opinions, to "file their mind" (as Shakspeare hath 'it), to profess views they do not hold, to give pledges they 'cannot redeem, in order to obtain the suffrages of men to 'whom the suffrage ought never to have been vouchsafed. 'Now, if you *have* a purchaseable and corrupt constituency, it 'is difficult to maintain that—being placed between the two 'alternatives—a greater sin is not committed, and a greater 'evil done by degrading your opinions to a low standard, and 'warping them to a bad one, than by the most lavish pecuniary bribes;—that, in a word, it is not worse to purchase 'venal votes by the sacrifice of your truth than by the offer of 'your money. In both cases guilt has been incurred, and corruption has been sanctioned and practised; but, in the former 'case the candidate comes into Parliament with damaged principles and fettered freedom, and, in the latter case only with 'an emptied purse. In the former case he has forfeited, in the 'latter he has purchased, the power of voting according to his 'own convictions.

'The truth is—and it is of no use to blink or deny a fact

'which, most assuredly, we have no wish to justify—that 'bribery has often enabled a senator of sound political prin- 'ciples and high character and capacity to be returned by a 'constituency notoriously bad, and incapable of choosing him 'on the ground of his merit or his fitness,—and to be returned 'in unfettered independence. Corruption has thus often stepped 'in to prevent the mischief which would otherwise have been 'inflicted on the legislature and the country by the choice of a 'corrupt borough. It has partially averted the bad conse- 'quences of having such bad electoral bodies. If, therefore, 'you extinguish bribery, and yet leave the bribeable consti- 'tuencies, you have effected only a questionable and imperfect 'good. If representation is still given to places filled with low 'and ignorant democratic voters, wholly undeserving of the 'franchise, and incompetent by character and education from 'exercising it for their country's good,—while at the same time 'all pecuniary influence is successfully excluded,—they will 'naturally prefer low demagogic candidates as members. Such 'places will always vote for the wrong men, unless paid to vote 'for the right ones.'

Now without wishing to indorse the above considerations as altogether sound, we cannot be surprised that they, in addition to the other indisputable facts which we have adduced, should have indisposed the more reflecting among the public to press with stringent and exclusive severity upon the crime of electoral corruption, and should have brought us to the conclusion at which we confess that, after much perplexity and with great reluctance, we have arrived;—viz. that it is hopeless to extinguish bribery by direct penal enactments; that in framing such you cannot avoid confounding acts which are scarcely blameable with others which are scandalously wicked; that you can strike only the *least* injurious, insidious, and flagrant cases of corruption; and therefore that the public feeling—without the concurrence of which law is but a dead letter—will never sanction severity in the administration of a justice so indiscriminate and yet so partial. We must look for a mitigation or a cure, therefore, not in the multiplication or in the augmented stringency of statutes against bribery and treating, but in circuitous action and indirect arrangements in legislation, calculated to eradicate causes, and lessen facilities—in movements calculated as it were to turn the enemy's flank.

For the reasons above alleged, we see no value in the plan suggested in two of the pamphlets placed at the head of this Article. Starting from the assumptions, which we readily concede, that the chief guilt of corruption lies at the door of the offerer,

not of the acceptors, of a bribe, — that if there were no money, there would be no bribery, and that the money spent in bribery comes in nine cases out of ten out of the pocket of the candidate, — the promulgators of these well-meant schemes propose that each candidate, whether successful or otherwise, should on the meeting of Parliament present to the Speaker a schedule of his election expenses, swearing or affirming on his honour such schedule to be correct and complete, and declaring moreover, that he neither has paid nor will pay, a farthing beyond the sum there set down; a sum which is required to fall within a fixed maximum, say 500*l.* It is alleged that such a plan would be perfectly effectual; inasmuch as any one making a false return, or violating his solemn declaration, would at once lose caste as a gentleman; and that, though few of the 658 senators now hesitate at all forms and disguises of electoral corruption, none of them will tell a deliberate lie, or break a public engagement entered into on his word of honour. — In the first place, we believe it would beutterly impossible to pass such enactment: in the second place, we believe that if passed it would be virtually inoperative. Neither the general feeling of the public, nor the moral sense of members, would bear it out. Candidates seldom know, or can know, how their money is spent; they are entirely occupied with canvassing and haranguing, and all the business part of the transaction is necessarily done by others. They could not therefore make out such a schedule *of their own knowledge*: they would merely indorse a statement presented to them by their agents,—which, of course, care would be taken to render strictly presentable. Then, though public opinion peremptorily forbids a gentleman to tell a lie, or to swear falsely, or to break a promise, it forbids with equal preremptoriness a gentleman to *shirk the payment of his debts.** The money would still be spent; the debts would still be incurred; and if the law compelled the candidate to declare that he had not paid, and would not pay a farthing beyond the amount he had officially presented, i. e. *that he would not pay his debts,* — we may be perfectly certain that some ingenious and indefeasible means would be found of evading and outflanking the law. Either the surplus money would be advanced by others, and would filter back to them in some mysterious and subterranean manner, or public opinion would justify the candidate in making false declarations — in taking the prescribed oath in 'a

* Another objection to this scheme is, that it could only reach the more common and open cases of corruption — mere bribery and treating in *money* and meat.

non-natural' or 'Pickwickian' sense, or with some mental reservation. In any case we are certain that the debts would be paid, because it would be *ungentlemanly* not to pay them; and the only thing we should have gained by our stringent enactment would be, that we should have made falsehood, under certain circumstances, a recognised and therefore a permitted necessity; we should have added another to the fatal list of exceptional cases, in which gentlemen may say what is not true without losing caste. For, sad as it may be, it is impossible to deny that there are such cases. What member of the University of Oxford loses caste by taking oaths which he has never kept, can never keep, and has not the slightest idea of keeping? What clergyman loses caste by declaring his entire and unreserved belief in thirty-nine articles, of which he only believes twenty-seven? Under the old system of Election Committees, what senator was scouted out of society as 'no gentleman,' for violating his oath 'to decide according to the evidence,' and deciding according to his politics instead? What juryman was dishonoured in the olden time for violating truth, in order to take a criminal from under a capital conviction? Or finally, in that profession which is supposed to be the soul of honour, what officer was ever degraded at mess for doing what every officer did—making a false declaration as to the sum which he had paid or received for his commission? In all these cases, as in the one which it is proposed to add to them, the question is, not whether the statement to be made is a lie or not—but whether it is a lie so necessary, usual, and understood, that public opinion will warrant you in telling it. As we have all along been arguing, it is in vain to enact a law of which the general conscience of society will not sanction the execution.

Another scheme for the diminution of bribery, on which some parties build sanguine hopes, is the prohibition of professional agency. We believe such a measure would be wholly inoperative. It is quite true that a great proportion of the corrupt elections are managed by means of experienced agents, who are often attornies. But how are you to prevent agency? You may, indeed, forbid avowed agents—publicly accredited agents. But you cannot prevent zealous votaries and skilful friends from acting as agents. It would be unbearable tyranny if you could. You cannot prevent candidates from employing such friends—from reposing confidence in them—from tacitly acknowledging their proceedings. You cannot distinguish between an *understood* and a recognised agent. All committee-men are agents; the chairman of the committee is generally the most active agent. Are you to prohibit committees? Who

then will do the material work—who superintend the needful arrangements of an election? For it is idle to suppose that we are arrived at that state when a theory will work of itself. And how are you to enact that no agent or committee-man shall be a professional man? Is the candidate to have no legal adviser? or is an attorney to be prohibited from taking any interest in an election? And if not, how are you to limit this interest to desire for the success of the *candidate*—cutting off all consideration for the *client?* The plain truth is, that in all these attempts to forbid what *will* be done, you are entering on a struggle with necessities, in which you cannot fail to be baffled and outmanœuvred. We recommend, therefore, that all endeavours to meet our gigantic foe directly in the face, by positive prohibitory enactments, be at once abandoned as futile and mistaken, and that success be sought in a wholly different direction. We make, however, three exceptions,—as to which we would indicate merely the principle of the measure we would introduce, leaving the form to be decided by men of practised skill.

I. Whatever laws we retain against bribery and treating, it is a matter not only of great importance, but of common decency and of absolute necessity, that these laws should be defined and certain, and that the interpretation and execution of them should be uniform. How far they are now from being so may be learned by any one from Mr. Pickering's able Pamphlet, and from some Parliamentary Papers issued during the Session just closed—especially Nos. 431. and 493. It thence appears that if the laws against treating, as interpreted and acted upon by some Committees of the House of Commons, were enforced, not ten Members out of the whole 658 could retain their seats; that one committee unseats a Member on the very same evidence, and under precisely the same circumstances, which induce another committee to declare another Member 'duly 'elected;' that such high authorities as Sir R. Peel, and Mr. C. W. Wynn, differed as to the legality of expenses incurred in conveying voters to the Poll; that the interpretation of the law by the Courts of Law is wholly at variance with that adopted by Committees of the House;—and finally, and to sum up all, not the most experienced Parliamentary Counsel can say with confidence what the law really is, nor with what degree of stringency it will be construed and enforced—especially as regards the enactments against treating. Now the evil of this uncertainty is two-fold: no Member, however pure he is, and may desire to be, can be at all secure that he will not

be unseated for corruption*;—and, therefore, no Member unseated for corruption is held to be morally culpable: he is merely one of the Galilæans on whom the undiscriminating tower of Siloam fell. We would therefore urge in the most earnest manner an immediate revision of all the Statutes against bribery and treating, in such a mode as, if possible, to secure for them one uniform, sensible, and unvarying interpretation, and *to stigmatise nothing as illegal which is not morally reprehensible*,—so that public opinion and statute law may at last march hand in hand, and draw harmoniously together. Treating *cannot* be prevented: we would therefore permit *reasonable* refreshment to voters (as was done by the Act of 1667),—leaving it to the appointed tribunal to decide, if the question be raised, what is reasonable, and what may fairly be held to be corrupt. Expenses incurred in bringing voters up to the poll cannot be prevented, at least in Counties: it is therefore important to consider whether these, if reasonable, should not be formally legalised, as Sir R. Peel advised. Compensation to poor voters for the loss of their days' wages, *if genuine and not excessive*, so long as you have poor voters, the public feeling and the conscience of a generous candidate can scarcely be brought to regard as criminal or corrupt: it becomes therefore a question whether some fitting and avowed arrangement cannot be devised to meet so natural a proceeding. It is true that in all these cases, legalising what is right may open the door to what is wrong:—but by closing the front-door, as at present, you are compelled to leave the back-door open—a far more unguardable, easier, and, therefore, wider mode of entrance. Criminal action on the part of the criminally disposed you cannot prevent: do not, in the vain endeavour, forbid *all* action lest criminality should creep in:—for by so doing you confound innocence and guilt in one common and futile prohibition, and then whitewash the latter, while you bewilder and discourage the former.

II. It is strange that, while for twenty years the suppression of bribery and the purification of our constituencies have been the avowed objects of the Legislature, and while enactment after enactment has been proposed to carry them into effect, Parliament should never have adopted a plan which, in our humble judgment, appears the simplest, the justest, the most effectual of all. We have contrived various schemes, by which

* Mr. Pickering gives us many proofs of this; and the case of Mr. Strutt at Derby, (which he does not mention) occurs to our recollection as one in point.

the discovery of corruption is facilitated; we have empowered committees to question the Members themselves; we have ordained the infliction of a severe penalty (500*l.* fine) against both the giver and the recipient of a bribe, recoverable by any one who chooses to prosecute, and can bring home the deed; we have suspended the writs for some boroughs, and have disfranchised others altogether. Our enactments have been so Draconian that no one will put them in force and that all parties connive at their evasion; and our vengeance so indiscriminate that justice revolted against its execution. But we have never set resolutely to work to separate the guilty from the innocent, and to visit them with the natural, moderate, appropriate penalty of incapacitating them from future sin. We have never followed the principle of *disarming* the individual culprit. Why not try it now? As the law and custom at present stand, as soon as the petitioner has proved a single case of bribery against the sitting Members, or their agents, the case is closed: the decision is given, and the victory is won. No one has any interest in pursuing the matter further. A hundred more electors may have been bribed, but they escape detection and exposure. Instead of this, let us pursue a different course. In every case in which, by the decision of the Election Committee, it is proved that bribery has been committed, let a commission of inquiry and of judgment (similar to that which can now be appointed by the Crown, on an address of both Houses of Parliament) issue, *as a matter of course*, charged to investigate upon the spot the whole proceedings of the election in question; let every clue and scent be closely followed up, as detectives follow up the traces of every other crime; let every man convicted of having accepted a bribe (and *à fortiori*, of having offered one), in any shape, be *disfranchised for life;* and let every one convicted of *corrupt* treating be struck off the register for one election. There would be little difficulty in procuring evidence, compared with that which now exists; for a commission on the spot can ascertain many things, which a committee sitting in London cannot; and numbers who refuse to be instrumental in inflicting such a disproportionate and cruel punishment as a fine of 500*l.*, for an offence which few have yet learned to consider as a heinous one, will readily aid in a conviction entailing only the fitting and reasonable penalty of losing the suffrage which has been abused. The men thus disfranchised will command no sympathy; for they will have met only their just reward. They will be marked men, and, to a certain extent, disgraced men, for the future,—citizens who have degraded, and, therefore,

justly forfeited, their trust; and the separation, man by man, of the tainted from the sound, will not only purify the residual constituency, but will do more than perhaps any other measure could, gradually to create a truer and wholesomer moral feeling on the subject. It is true that such a law, like every other, would strike chiefly the more open, flagrant, and clumsy cases of corruption; it would hit the poor voter who takes money oftener than the rich voter who bargains for a place or a job; but it is chiefly among the poorer electors that bribery prevails; and rich men would ere long become ashamed to do what poor men were punished for doing. Now, let us ask ourselves, if a measure of this sort had been made part and parcel of the first Reform Bill, and had been steadily and righteously executed ever since—(and both these points might have been secured, had Parliament been really bent upon success)—what would have been the state of our Constituencies by this time? Would they not have been purified to an extent which would leave little to be desired, and nothing to be done? Would not twenty years of persevering expurgation have nearly eliminated the corrupt element from among us? And might we not now have been rejoicing in our recovered purity, instead of blushing —if we do blush—at our published shame?

III. One further change is essentially required. At present it is notorious that the tremendous cost of election petitions prevents many from being prosecuted and many more from being presented,—thus securing impunity to corruption in (perhaps) the majority of cases. Instead of this, let the House of Commons, as the proper guardian of its own honour, take upon itself the whole burden of investigating all charges made against the purity of any election,—with this proviso against malignant or groundless accusations:—that in case the petition is pronounced frivolous and vexatious the petitioners shall bear, as now, the expenses of the trial. By this means the inquiry would be taken out of the hands of the complaining party: it would become a public, not a private matter—a criminal prosecution, not a civil suit. The investigation would not then be dropped, as it now is, the moment that enough has been proved to unseat the sitting member, but would be proceeded with to the uttermost in the interests of patriotism and national morality. What is now a duel between two opponents would become a deliberate and public trial. Surely this plan would be far more consonant to the dignity of Parliament than the one that now prevails. Surely there is something strangely indecorous in a matter involving a high offence against the privilege of Parliament being treated as a question of disputed property between two litigants.

It is worthy of consideration whether every petition against the return of a successful candidate should not pray the seat for the defeated one, and every decision which unseats a member, *ipso facto*, seat his antagonist. By adopting this plan, two good objects would be effected: first, the *whole case*—the election—would be investigated, not, as now, one side only;—and secondly, the strongest possible motive to purity would be held out, since the party which was scrupulously pure and legal in its conduct would be certain of ultimate victory if its opponent was not equally correct. The strongest party would have no inducement to bribe, since bribery could only imperil its final success: the weakest would have no inducement, since in abstinence would lie its only chance. For the full and beneficial operation of this change, however, it would be indispensable that the law should be clear and equitable,—so that no candidate or party really wishing to remain pure should be made *constructively* corrupt; and that the administration of the law should be uniform and certain, so that guilt should not escape detection, nor innocence be baulked of its vindication.

And this brings us to another conclusion: the vast importance, not to say absolute necessity, of remodelling or altogether changing the tribunals by which controverted elections are now decided. On this subject it is difficult to speak strongly enough, and yet one would think it should be scarcely necessary to speak at all. We earnestly recommend to the perusal of our readers the conclusive remarks of Mr. Pickering on this head,—especially p. 111—145. He observes:—

'The extreme unfitness of the tribunal upon whose decisions the privileges of electors are made to depend, and the consequent uncertainty in the law, place the very existence of those privileges in the greatest jeopardy. The law, to which, in this country at least, we have been taught to look, as offering some guarantee for the preservation of our acknowledged rights, in this respect offers none. The decision of to-day forms no precedent for the decision of to-morrow; nor can it, while the constitution of the tribunal which has pronounced the decision is such as to render impossible any respect for its judgment. From that judgment, however, there is no appeal; and those who have been compelled to suffer by it, have not even the solace of knowing that it may form some guide for the regulation of their future conduct. Questions of the most difficult and complicated character, necessarily involving nice points of law, which those who have devoted a whole life to its study and practice would hesitate, without much time and thought to decide, are left to the determination of persons who are frequently unacquainted with the very principles on which they depend. It is no disparagement to the members of many a Committee of the House of Commons to say, that their whole lives and occupations have rendered them unfit for such a duty.'

We have in a previous passage referred to some specimens of the strangely various and utterly confusing decisions of election committees, and need add no more. Two modes of meeting the requirements of the case have been suggested: either would answer the purpose. The whole jurisdiction over controverted elections might be transferred to a Common Law, or a *Special* tribunal, which would be the most satisfactory arrangement as far as the public is concerned; or the Election Committees might be presided over by a Common Law Judge, the members of the House sitting as jurymen to try the issue of fact. This proposal is well and conclusively argued by Mr. Pickering.

When these changes have been introduced; when we have enacted a law against electoral corruption which every one can understand and which public feeling will cordially ratify; when we have secured a uniform interpretation and an impartial and steady administration of that law; when we have made controverted returns public prosecutions, and not private duels; and when we have provided for the separation of the guilty from the innocent, in place of confounding both in common disfranchisement or in common impunity, we shall have done all that we think can or ought to be done to extinguish bribery by direct and positive enactment. To make war upon it further and still more effectually we must look in another direction, and have recourse to more circuitous, but at the same time more radical means. Let us see if such may not be discovered in the purgation, modification, and redistribution of the Constituencies.

What we have to do, it is clear, is, as far as may be, *first*, to purge out, or swamp, or reduce to insignificance, the corrupt element in such constituencies as are retained; *secondly*, to suppress or reconstruct such as are incurably corrupt and are from their very nature peculiarly subject to undue and sinister influences; and *thirdly*, to consider if some plan may not be devised to collect the votes of electors in such a way as to minimise these influences. Let us speak of these in turn.

I. There is no doubt in the mind of any man, we imagine, that incomparably the most openly and universally venal portion of Borough Constituencies are the old freemen, so unhappily and weakly retained by the Reform Act of 1832. They were to a great extent created for the express purpose of influencing elections in former days; their notions of public morality were formed in or have descended to them from times when the standard was even lower than at present; and they—those of them, that is, who are not also householders—are notoriously the class to whom electioneering agents look for turning the scale at

the close of the day, if it should be found worth while to give them their price. Many of them have political opinions or at least predilections, but the majority are purchaseable against their predilections, and will seldom vote even in favour of them without the usual fee. It is true that these freemen are not always a very important portion of the Constituency numerically considered*; but they are quite sufficient to give a corrupt character to the elections, and a corrupt tone to the borough they infest. It is true also that statistics do not bear us out in tracing to them the main amount of electoral iniquity†; but we know that in no case are statistics so little to be relied upon for unveiling the whole truth; and we may safely, in this instance, trust the general, well-established, and uncontroverted public belief. The disfranchisement of the freemen is perhaps, of all steps which will be urged upon Parliament, the most clearly and indisputably right and necessary, and, added to the plan already suggested for pursuing individual cases of venality, will probably sweep away the most incurably corrupt class of electors.

We can never expect wholly to extinguish the bribeable element in a miscellaneous constituency; but it is obvious that the smaller proportion the venal electors bear to the whole number, the more insignificant and harmless, and virtually non-existent, do they become. If they are few and in a large constituency, it is only where the contest is very close indeed that they can attain any importance or consideration. Fifty bribeable voters in a constituency of 500 may sometimes be omnipotent; fifty in a constituency of 5000 can rarely be of the smallest weight or value. Having then, by the above methods, reduced them to a *positively* small number, it must be our next care to reduce them to a *relatively* small number: having made them few, we must proceed to make them insignificant. This will be done by enlarging the constituency through the introduction of a class of voters who, we believe, will be found, comparatively at least, incorruptible, and who are now the great desideratum in our electoral system,—we mean the more intelligent and respectable of the working classes. We need this element greatly: we are convinced that it is a far healthier and a sounder one than several that are now included within the pale. It is a

* For example, in Liverpool the registered electors are about 18,000: of these only 1,500 have no qualification *but* their freedom.

† Of 72 boroughs against which bribery has been proved in the last twenty years, 33 had retained the old freemen, and 11 had other classes of voters than the 10*l.* householders. Ipswich, Liverpool, and Lancaster have been among the chief offenders.

great mistake to suppose that as you go lower in the scale of social rank you come to a more dependent or more venal class. We greatly question whether among all the labouring poor (except perhaps the agricultural peasants in some districts) you would find a constituent class so corrupt, so servile, so amenable to all mean and sordid influences, so devoid of real independence of character, so deaf to all higher sentiments and nobler motives, as many of those who now possess the franchise,—among the shopkeepers and lower class of 10*l.* householders. We must bear in mind, too, that, as a result of the vast development of industry and enlargement of the field of employment consequent on Free Trade and emigration, the labouring classes are yearly attaining a more independent—we might almost say, a more commanding—position. Servility—liability to bribery and bullying—will scarcely henceforth be their characteristic fault. That the mass of them will be easily misled,—that they will be imposed upon and used by bad and selfish men,—that sonorous and shallow declamation will often have more weight with them than sound argument,—that they will be often exciteable, often unjust, and often foolish,—we at once concede. But we appeal to the experience of all who have had opportunities of comparison and judgment, whether, as a rule, it is not more easy to make the intelligent of the operative classes hear reason, weigh both sides of a question, admit the force of just considerations even when they tell against their own interest, listen to and be swayed by the loftier sentiments of magnanimity and equity,—than to produce a similar effect upon some classes far above them in the social scale. In the admission to the electoral franchise of considerable numbers of the right portion of the working-classes will be found, we believe, the best corrective and antagonist of the corrupt element now existing in both our town and county constituencies: the practical difficulty lies in a judicious selection,—in the discovery of the fit criterion. We developed on a former occasion at ample length, what we still deem unanswerable reasons against any large reduction of the present rental qualification. We showed that it would be unjust in principle, perilous in its operation, and retrogressive in its tendency; we explained that it would be not an admission of the working-classes to electoral power, but a transference of that power into their hands. There is another reason against such a sweeping measure, which ought at the present moment to have especial and conclusive weight with the public mind. It would give a greater stimulus to bribery and intimidation than any other scheme which the perverse and mischievous ingenuity of man could devise. It would

let loose a torrent of corruption against which all the barriers and floodgates of legislation would prove of small avail. By depriving property of its legitimate weight in the representation you would drive it irresistibly to its illegitimate resources. By placing the upper and middle classes in a minority of votes, you would almost compel them to recover their position by acting unduly upon other voters. Property and education and rank *will have* the preponderating share in government to which they are, or think they are, entitled; and if you deny it to them by fair and ostensible means, they will obtain it by unfair and underhand means. It is idle to imagine that they will submit to be eclipsed or overpowered. It is idle to imagine that they will abstain from organising illicit action, if you throw them upon this alone. The only consideration which induces any politicians, except the shallowest and the wildest, to listen for a moment to a scheme which would give to the labouring classes the majority of votes, is the conviction that those votes would be amenable to influences which the middle and upper ranks would wield. And what would those influences be? Who supposes in his heart that they would be confined to persuasion and political argument alone? Therefore we say,—and we say it without fear of contradiction or dissent*,—that any very decided lowering of the electoral qualification—such a lowering of it especially as would enable the present non-electors to outvote the present electors,—would, of all measures for extending, sanctioning, and systematising corruption, be the most surely efficacious and the most tremendously demoralising. But it is no such indiscriminate enfranchisement of the non-electors that we are advocating. We would admit those only whose possession of the qualifications which we suggested in our former paper†, proved that they deserved the suffrage, that they were competent to exercise it independently and wisely, and that welfare of the country and the harmonious action

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* Even Mr. Cobden admitted this in a recent speech, when he said parenthetically, that any extension of the suffrage, *without the ballot*, would be an insult and a mockery.

† From a return presented on the last day of the Session, the number of *male* (individual) depositors of 30*l.* and upwards in Savings' Banks, are 135,933, and of 50*l.* and upwards, 77,621. Some of these will no doubt be 10*l.* householders, and already possessors of the franchise, but (from local inquiries which have been made) we believe not many. Some would be minors; but on the whole we incline to the belief that a 30*l.* *Savings' Bank franchise* would add upwards of 100,000, or *one-tenth*, to the existing constituency, and a 50*l.* franchise, about 60,000, or *one-sixteenth*.

of the constitution demanded that it should be conferred upon them. For it is not solely a question whether these men ought to be admitted, and may safely be admitted, to the franchise: the interests of society require that they be admitted. *We want them:* we shall be stronger for their support; we shall be wiser for their counsels; we shall be purer for their company. We need the best portion of the working classes to replace the bad portion which we are about to expel; we need a large infusion of fresh and wholesome blood from the lower ranks, to neutralise, dilute, and counterbalance that unsound and tainted element in the existing constituencies which we may not be able wholly to eliminate. Such men as the criteria we proposed would bring within the franchise, would be proud of their position: they would feel that they were admitted because they were deemed capable of a wise choice—they would exert themselves to choose wisely; they would feel that they were admitted because they were believed to be above a bribe and proof against a threat—they would spurn at the very suggestion of mean or mercenary considerations; the position they had earned so well they would be anxious to honour and adorn; they were chosen as being the *élite* of the working-classes: we are by no means sure that they would not become the *élite* of the constituency also.

II. To all that we said on a former occasion as to the theoretical propriety and justice of the *small*-borough representation we unreservedly adhere. But, unfortunately, it is too notorious that these boroughs are generally in a condition which, for the sake of electoral purity, imperatively demands their disfranchisement, partial or entire. Here again it is true that Parliamentary Statistics do not altogether bear out our conclusion. Of the 72 boroughs convicted of bribery between 1833 and 1853, only 21 can properly be called small—as having fewer than 500 electors,—while some of the more constantly and flagrantly impure places number their voters by thousands. Still it is well known to all who have been behind the scenes, that undue and demoralising influences of every sort are peculiarly rife in these small constituencies. They are universally admitted to be incurable. It could scarcely be otherwise. Where the place is small, it is proportionally *manageable;* a single great proprietor has overwhelming influence; a single active and unscrupulous attorney may get nearly all the voters under his control. In the case of a hot contest and a prolonged canvass, the most private concerns, wishes, and necessities of every elector become known to both parties, and every conceivable motive and pressure is brought to bear upon these. If

a man wishes for the addition of a field to his occupancy, the adherents of one of the candidates find it out and procure it for him; if he wishes to send a sick daughter to the sea-side, the desire is discovered and gratified; if he has a good-for-nothing son whom he wants to ship off for Australia, the business is managed for him by a zealous electioneerer; if he is timid and hen-pecked, his wife is insidiously hounded upon him; if he loves peace he is plagued out of all domestic comfort:—in short, the individual *persecution* of every elector is a matter within compass, and is skilfully and remorselessly conducted. There may not perhaps be as much money bribery as in towns where the old freemen prevail, but there is even more of various illicit and degrading influences, and less real personal freedom. In plain truth, and not to mince matters, the canvass and management of a small constituency is *dirty work*—work that makes a gentleman feel ashamed of himself and of his fellow-citizens—work that makes a man feel that he wants washing. There can be no doubt in the mind of any Reformer that in some way or other these small boroughs must be suppressed—that we must have, if possible, no more constituencies under 1000 electors.* How, then, are these small boroughs to be disposed of so as not to derange the balance of the Constitution, or to lose an element which produces certain practically valuable results in the House of Commons? They are about 60 in number, and return about 90 members. How are you to deal with them? Three modes

* Our experience in England on this head, is strongly confirmed by that of France. A letter just received from an eminent French statesman says:—

'Mais je ne saurais trop vous faire remarquer l'influence qu'a exercé chez nous, et que doit exercer partout, je pense, sur les résultats du vote universel, la manière dont on forme les collèges ou réunions électorales. Quand les électeurs sont tirés de leurs villages et réunis par masses de un, deux, ou trois milles au chef-lieu du canton, comme cela avait lieu sous l'empire de la première loi de 1848,—ou même par fractions plus petites mais encore considérables, ainsi que voulait la seconde—l'influence que pouvait exercer les prêtres et les riches propriétaires sur l'esprit des électeurs est moins grande, et celle exercée par le gouvernement est presque nulle. Au contraire, quand l'élection a lieu par village, c'est à dire par petits corps électoraux de cinquante, soixante, cent électeurs, le curé ou le riche propriétaire (là où il y a encore un riche propriétaire) peut exercer un influence plus grande, et l'influence du gouvernement redevient, surtout, tout à coup très considérable. Dans les deux élections de 1848, *le grand nombre des électeurs, et surtout leur réunion en grandes masses* dans les collèges électoraux du canton, rendit l'action du gouvernement absolument insensible.'

have been proposed. Disfranchise them (say the extreme reformers) and transfer their members to the most populous towns now unrepresented.* But a few moments' consideration will show that this proposition, though the one which first and most naturally presents itself to the mind, is wholly inadmissible. For, as we showed in a former paper, the large towns are already very much *over-represented* in proportion to their numbers, and such a transfer as is suggested would augment this disproportion to a formidable, unjust, and unendurable degree. In England the represented towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants, with an aggregate population of 6,660,000, return 206 members, while the counties, with a population (exclusive of the represented towns) of 9,770,000, return only 144 members.† At present this inequality is partially modified by the fact that the small boroughs, which approach in character to the counties, return 115 members;—but even if we add these to the county representation, we still have an urban population of under *seven millions* returning 206 members, while a rural population of above *ten millions* returns only 259, instead of 318, which it ought to do according to numerical proportion. But if the 115 members now returned by small towns were to be transferred to large ones, the balance would be utterly destroyed;—and if they be simply taken away without being transferred, the balance is still deranged, though not quite to the same extent. For example, you would leave Lancashire and Yorkshire as they are, but you would reduce Wiltshire from 18 members to 8, and Devonshire from 22 to 12. Another proposal is to combine several of these small boroughs into one constituency, or to combine them with other towns now unrepresented,—arrangements for which the

* It is curious to observe the contradictory action and arguments, to which the same party principles lead in contradictory circumstances. Among us, the democratic party contend for the transference of representation from small boroughs to large ones. In Massachusetts, the democratic party are contending for a precisely opposite change. A letter just received from a man of eminence in that State, says: 'Boston, and the larger towns in Massachusetts, have so uniformly 'given conservative votes in the legislature, that a convention, now 'making a constitution for us, has, by the union of two minorities, (the 'democratic and the abolitionist) just determined that *the smaller 'town and rural districts shall have, in proportion to their popula-'tions, about twice as many representatives as the cities.* But this is 'unjust, and it is doubtful whether the people will accept it.'

† The cities and boroughs enjoying the franchise in England and Wales return in all 337 members, while the rest of the population, nearly half as large again, returns only 159 members.

Welsh 'districts' and some of the Scotch 'burghs' afford analogy and precedent,—reducing some of them at the same time from two members to one. This was the plan proposed by Lord John's Bill of 1851. In some cases it might work well, and certainly presents the readiest solution of the difficulty. But much would depend upon the details of the arrangement. Some of the boroughs are so incurably and ingrainedly corrupt that they would form a very unfit and pestilential portion of any constituency, and would be apt to poison the whole. These ought to be left out of the new electoral system altogether. Others, not quite so venal, are still so completely under the control of personal and sinister influences, that to amalgamate them with neighbouring boroughs similarly exposed or similarly managed, would not be to create a pure, but only to enlarge a corrupt, constituency. If a selection of the best of the existing small boroughs were made, and these were, each of them, combined with two other towns now unrepresented and therefore unpolluted, and different in their circumstances and in the character of their inhabitants,—it is possible that a number of useful and unexceptionable constituencies might be formed;—nor do we see any vital objection to this scheme;—the eligibility of it, as we have already said, would depend on its details. We should however much prefer that *all* the boroughs thus formed by a combination of small towns, should be entirely *new*—now unrepresented, and therefore uncorrupted.—The third method proposed is to merge all these small boroughs into the county constituencies, by depriving them of their members and reducing the county franchise to a 10*l.* occupancy. In this way the class would still be represented, and the individuals would still retain their votes, and the electoral lists of counties would be considerably modified and greatly enriched. This plan would, we think, be far the fairest and most desirable, inasmuch as it would give us constituencies large in number and varied in character, and therefore to a great extent secure against illicit and undue influences; and in order to avoid destroying the existing balance both between north and south and between boroughs and counties, *it would only be necessary to multiply, in something like a countervailing proportion, the number of members to be returned by the counties which contained the abolished boroughs.* For example, the 7 small boroughs in Wiltshire now returning 10 members being suppressed, the county should be divided into 3 or 4 sections, each returning 3 members, instead of, as now, 2 each returning 2 members. By this means something like a fit medium would be preserved, between the present inordinate number of representatives and the great reduction which would result from the

simple suppression of the condemned boroughs:—the county would return 13 or 16 members, instead of 18 as at present, or 8 as would result in case of simple suppression; and we should have a number of members representing large and miscellaneous constituencies containing some entirely new, valuable, and independent elements, such as the occupants between 10*l.* and 50*l.* in villages and small towns now unrepresented. We should also gain the advantage (the importance of which we shall speak of presently) of multiplying the cases in which a constituency has to vote for *three* members in lieu of *two*.

III. We have now to consider whether some plan cannot be devised for collecting suffrages at Parliamentary Elections, which shall neutralise, or defeat, or reduce to a minimum, the undue influences which now so extensively prevail. Two contrivances have been suggested for this purpose—the ballot, and voting papers. Let us say a few words on the latter suggestion first. We have nothing to add to the arguments in its favour which we adduced at considerable length in our former paper. But since that paper was published, the plan has been much discussed, and we have received many communications disapproving of it, and alleging the abuses which have attended it at parochial elections as a reason against adopting it in Parliamentary contests. It appears unquestionable that great abuses *have* attended it. A late election of guardians of the poor at Leeds afforded a flagrant example. An official investigation took place, when it was proved that frauds of all kinds had been committed,—that the voting papers had been collected by unauthorised parties, and had been destroyed by them; that papers had been suppressed or altered *after* delivery to the proper collectors; and that names had been entered and signatures forged in papers which had been delivered blank to the collectors. That such frauds should have been possible reflects great discredit upon those who had the conduct of the election, and neglected the simple precautions which would have precluded them. That such precautions should not have been prescribed and enforced by the law which enacted this plan of voting, and that no fitting penalties were provided against offenders, may be discreditable to the authors of that law. But that the prevalence of frauds so easy to be guarded against is any conclusive argument against the system of which they form no necessary concomitants,—is a conclusion which we cannot admit. Lord Shaftesbury, in the session just closed, introduced into the House of Lords a bill (which was most favourably received) for adopting the plan of voting papers at Parliamentary elections, and embodying a few

obvious and simple provisions against the possibility of such frauds as are alleged to have occurred in parochial contests. That bill proposed to enact that each distributor or collector of papers should be accompanied (if required) by an agent in the interest of each candidate to see fair play; that he should be provided with a list in which he should enter or tick off each paper as delivered or received back; and that it should on delivery to him by the voter be at once dropped into a sealed bag or box, which should be opened only by the returning officer, and that the votes thus collected should be opened and counted on the appointed day in the presence of the candidates or their agents. It enacted, moreover, severe penalties against all forgers, or abstractors, or offenders of any sort, and also against any advice or canvassing by the collector or those who accompanied him. It appears to us that if these or similar arrangements were enacted and vigilantly carried out, such abuses as have occurred would be effectually prevented, or easily detected and severely punished. On this ground, therefore, we see no reason to rescind the opinion we expressed in favour of the plan.*

But some of our objectors allege further that it would be inoperative against undue influence; that it would not afford the protection it is supposed to afford to the timid voter; that many pusillanimous electors who now are absent from home or have a violent influenza or a sprained ancle on the polling day, and so escape voting against their convictions, would, under the proposed system, be compelled to vote; that they would be subject to domiciliary visits, and to intimidation of the most oppressive sort; and that bribery would be as rife as ever. To these representations we reply, — that we never recommended the plan as one that would affect intimidation, — which in truth it would leave much where it is, except that the bullying of mobs on the polling-day would be escaped; — but that it would greatly diminish bribery, inasmuch as it would entirely extinguish that bribery (the most prevalent and open of all) which takes place towards the close of the contest, when the issue is doubtful and hangs upon a few votes — since no one bribes unless success is both *uncertain* and *possible*. We recommended the plan not as one which would *extinguish* that element of a constituency which is subject to bribery and intimidation, but as one which would *reduce it to comparative insignificance* by vir-

* It is possible that the arrangements proposed in Lord Shaftesbury's Bill, may be found, when tested by practice, to be inadequate and imperfect; but, in that case, surely experience would soon suggest the needed supplements or alterations.

tually adding to the constituency a large number of sensible and independent but lazy or torpid voters, — which would diminish it a little *positively* and a great deal *relatively*. We recommended the plan, finally, as an arrangement which would both increase * and improve our constituencies — would both elevate and equalise electoral action. We see, however, all the possible difficulties which might impede the beneficial working of the plan, and we do not desire to adhere to it with unseemly pertinacity. Probably the wise arrangement would be to introduce it first into the elections for the Universities and for the 'educated' constituencies of which we shall have to speak presently, and to be guided, as to its extension, by its success in these experimental cases.

Twelve or fifteen years ago the Ballot was the favourite panacea of the more advanced liberals in Parliament, and it is even now regarded as infallible and indispensable by the Chartists and the extreme section of the radicals. But of late it has greatly lost ground in the estimation of philosophical reformers, and of the educated classes generally, as every one may assure himself by counting over those among his own friends who were formerly its zealous advocates, but who now have ceased to think it desirable, or have lost all faith in its efficacy. We do not admit the considerable number of votes which it still commands in the House of Commons as any proof to the contrary. † The ballot became the watchword of a party — a necessary tenet in the creed of radical candidates; and, like many other *articles de foi*, it has retained its position long after

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* From a Parliamentary Paper (No. 106. 1853) we find that at the last election, 69 per cent. of the registered electors polled in county contests, and 82 per cent. in borough contests, the proportion increasing *inversely* in proportion to the size of the place; — varying from about 50 per cent. in Leeds and the metropolitan boroughs, 70 per cent. in Manchester and Liverpool, to 90 and 94 per cent. in Westbury, Taunton, Evesham, and Pontefract.

It is interesting to compare these numbers with those in France under the Constitutional Monarchy. Thus, in the six general elections that took place between the second and third revolutions —

		Reg. Elec.				
In 1831	out of	166,582	125,090	voted,	or about	75 per cent.
1834	„	171,015	129,211	„	„	75 „
1837	„	198,836	151,720	„	„	77 „
1839	„	201,271	164,862	„	„	81 „
1842	„	220,040	173,694	„	„	79 „
1846	„	240,983	199,827	„	„	82 „

† On the last division, 172 voted with Mr. Berkely, and 232 against him.

all vital or active belief in it has died out; and of the private converts from it comparatively few have yet ventured on a public recantation. We could, however, name several with whom the ballot was formerly a *sine quâ non*, who would now deem it a step backward.

In most of the discussions which have hitherto taken place on this question, two points, essentially distinct, have been assumed to be inseparably connected—the desirability of secret voting, and the probability of the ballot-box securing the secresy desired. We have a few words to say on each of these questions in turn. And, first, is secret voting desirable or not?

There is great strength in the plain broad position taken by the advocates of secret voting. 'It is (they say) a mockery 'and a cruelty, to give the suffrage to men whom you will not 'protect in the exercise of it. It is absurd to give the fran- 'chise to tenants and workmen, when you allow landlords and 'employers to dictate to them how they shall exercise it. It is 'deceptive to confer a privilege under conditions which make it 'a penalty, a danger, and a snare. It is scandalous to call upon 'a citizen for the performance of a public duty, and at the same 'time to allow him to suffer for the honest and conscientious 'performance of that duty. It is idle to confer votes upon men 'under circumstances which deter them from registering those 'votes.' We concede much of this. It *is* cruel and deceptive to give the franchise to men who cannot or dare not exercise it freely, and to render the simple discharge of an elementary civic duty a matter of peril or of loss. But it is by no means equally clear that we ought to look for a remedy in the direction of systematic secresy. Secret voting is defensible only on three pleas: that it is necessary for the protection of the electors from bribery or intimidation; that it will effectually afford this protection; and that it will introduce no worse evils than it removes. Now, in the first place, we must bear in mind that the voters who need or desire this protection are every where a minority—generally a small minority—and certainly a minority which will be greatly reduced by the measures we have suggested, and by such as are sure to be adopted, for the purification, elevation, extension, and redistribution of the franchise. The disfranchisement of the old freemen will materially diminish the bribable electors; the abolition or combination of small constituencies will have a vast operation in disarming both intimidation and corruption; the removal of the corn-laws, and the consequent necessity under which the landed gentry find themselves of urging on agricultural improvement, and of seeking for skilful farmers instead of subservient ones, is daily rendering

tenants more independent of their landlords, and landlords less willing to part with good tenants, or put up with bad ones, out of political considerations; and finally, the combined effect of emigration and free trade, by altering the condition of the labour-market, by increasing the demand and lessening the supply, is rapidly emancipating labourers and operatives of every description from the thraldom of their employers, and may ere long entirely reverse the relative position of the parties. The poor and the humble are every year becoming less liable to be coerced and less willing to be unduly influenced by the rich and great. The state of things which gave rise to the demand for secret voting and to a considerable extent justified the stress which was laid upon it, is fast passing away into the domain of history; and to enact the ballot now, would be to erect an inconvenient and perhaps dangerous bulwark against a subsiding flood—to administer an untried and possibly noxious remedy, for a disease which was rapidly dying out.

In the second place, we see no reason to believe that secret voting, even if perfect secresy could be secured, would be an effectual protection to the voter who needs it, and we have never been able to meet with an advocate of the ballot, who could reassure us on this point. 'A landlord who would otherwise 'be guilty of the oppression will not change his purpose because 'you attempt to outwit him by the invention of the ballot: he 'will become, on the contrary, doubly vigilant, inquisitive, and 'severe. "I am a professed Radical," said the tenant of a 'great duke to a friend of mine, "and the duke knows it; but '"if I vote for his candidates, he lets me talk as I please, live '"with whom I please, and does not care if I dine at a Radical '"dinner every day in the week. If there was secret voting, '"nothing could persuade the duke or the duke's master, the '"steward, that I was not deceiving him, and I should lose my '"farm in a week.' If you conceal from the landlord the only 'proof he can have of his tenant's sincerity, you are taking from 'the tenant the only means he has of living quietly on his farm. 'You are increasing the jealousy and irascibility of the tyrant, 'and multiplying instead of lessening the number of his victims. 'For, not only do you not protect the tenant who wishes to 'deceive his landlord, by promising one way and voting another, 'but you expose all the other tenants, who have no intention of 'deceiving, to all the evils of mistake and misrepresentation. 'The steward hates a tenant, or a rival wants his farm: they 'begin to whisper him out of favour, and to propagate rumours 'of his disaffection to the blue or the yellow cause: as matters 'now stand, he can refer to the poll-book, and show how he has

'voted. Under the ballot this security is gone; and he is ex-'posed, in common with his deceitful neighbour, to that suspicion 'from which none can be exempt, when all vote in secret. If, 'then, ballot answered the purpose for which it was intended, 'the number of honest tenants whom it exposed to danger would 'be as great as the number of the deceitful tenants whom it 'screened.'* Many of these remarks will apply equally to the case of shopkeepers, and artisans, and *employés:* it would be in the power of any malicious person to spread a report against any one whom he designed to injure, that he voted for this or that unpopular candidate; he could not clear himself, and would become an object of doubt and suspicion to both parties. Secret voting might possibly discourage bribery by making it impossible to ascertain that 'value received,' without which no Englishman likes to part with his money; but we believe it is the opinion of the most experienced electioneering agents, that our habits of corruption would soon accommodate themselves to the new plan, and that even under secresy, bribery would soon become as rife as ever.

In the third place, it is by no means certain that the evils which secret voting would cause are not fully equal to those which it would cure. Its advocates lose sight of the important consideration—or perhaps keep it out of sight—that it would remove all the salutary as well as the noxious effects of publicity; it would neutralise the legitimate operation of public opinion, as well as the illicit operation of private pressure and intrigue; it would strike good and bad influences with equal impotence. It would leave the field open to the unchecked workings of every mean motive, and every private malice. No man with any shred or vestige of a character, now dares to vote against the candidate who represents his known political opinions because he has wounded his vanity, or crossed his pecuniary interests: under the shelter of secresy he could do this with impunity. Many would be open to bribery then who dare not dream of such a thing now; many would be guided by personal motives then—by private pique or private affection—who *must* for very shame vote according to their conscience now; many shrink from public exposure who would not shrink from the secret sin. The usual arguments in favour of ballot presuppose a very false assumption—viz. that every man always wishes to vote according to his political professions, and his avowed party principles, and that fear prevents him from doing so;—whereas it is almost as often the case that he wishes to vote according to secret motives

* Sydney Smith's Works, vol. iii. p. 154.

or predilections which will not bear avowal, and that he is withheld by publicity from doing so. Secresy would no doubt enable many timid men to vote according to their conscience: it would assuredly enable many corrupt men to vote against their conscience. It would disarm one set of sinister influences to give free scope to another set quite as mean, quite as dangerous, and probably not much less general. In America we have ample evidence that such has been the case, and we have no reason to believe that it would not be the case here. Sir Charles Lyell was assured by a Member of the Mississippi Legislature 'that the repudiation of the state debt there, would not 'have been carried in this country but for the facility afforded 'by secret voting. The same individuals who openly professed a 'more honourable line of conduct, must (he said) have taken 'advantage of the ballot-box to evade an increase of taxation, 'otherwise there could not have been so great a majority in favour 'of disowning their liabilities.' Another politician of high character and long experience in the United States, affirmed to Mr. Tremenheere 'that ballot was the parent of repudiation.' One page in the recent history of France is also worth citing as bearing upon this subject. Under the Constitutional Charter between 1840 and 1845, the votes in the Chamber of Deputies, as well as in the Electoral Colleges, were secret. In the latter year the impression had become so strong that this system, so far from securing honesty, actually promoted and facilitated sinister influences and low intrigues, that M. Duvergier de Hauranne proposed its abolition in the Chamber, and the substitution of open voting, like our own. Louis Philippe was greatly alarmed, and was vehemently hostile to the change, and insisted upon M. Guizot (then Prime Minister) opposing it. That statesman, however, took a different view of the subject, and urged that it would lead to more honest and therefore to more conservative voting. 'Je croyais,' (he said afterwards) '*qu'en* '*déjouant beaucoup d'intrigues, de trahisons cachées, et en imposant* '*aux partis politiques plus de fidélité et de consistance*, ce change-'ment tourneroit au profit du gouvernement que je dirigeais alors, 'plutôt que contre lui. Je me refusai donc aux instances du 'Roi; je laissai passer la proposition de M. Duvergier de 'Hauranne sans la combattre, en disant même tout haut que je 'l'approuvais. L'expérience me donna raison: le parti conserva-'teur dans notre Chambre des Deputés ne perdit point en nombre 'et gagna en fermeté.'—It is curious that both parties, the liberal and the conservative statesmen, should have concurred in condemning, as leading to unconscientious voting, that very system

of secresy which we are proposing to adopt, with a precisely opposite purpose and hope.

But putting aside all these considerations, and supposing that secret voting were desirable, will the ballot secure that secresy? This is what its advocates have wholly and invariably failed to show. They have almost universally evaded this point of the discussion. They have never been able to make it clear that in popular elections secresy could be secured by any machinery whatever—in this country at least. They have never fairly met the crushing logic with which Lord Brougham and Sydney Smith have addressed themselves to this vital section of the argument. In all small constituencies, as in the smaller wards or portions into which large constituencies are virtually divided, every man's political opinions—if he have any—are known to his neighbours, to his canvassers, to those interested in watching him. The more difficult it is for him to vote according to his convictions—i. e. *the more he needs the protection of the ballot*, —the more closely will he be watched and the more certainly will his real opinions be known. Under a system of secret voting, he will be assumed to have voted according to his opinions, and will be bullied and oppressed as much as ever. Now, disguise it as we may, in all cases in which secresy is needed, viz. in the case of timid, dependent, bribed, or bullied voters, the ballot is only a machine for enabling a man to *tell a lie without being found out*—to say to his oppressor or corrupter 'I voted for your candidate,' when in reality he did not. But will it enable them to tell this lie with impunity? Far from it; it will only secure him secresy on one day in the year. It will shroud him in a momentary darkness, which every other moment will betray. If the ballot is to be an effectual security to him, he must be unmarried; he must drink water; he must wear no colours, or must wear the wrong ones; he must take no part in political action or political conversation, or he must take a part systematically, laboriously, and skilfully deceptive; he must be silent, or he must be false, at the council board and over the counter, in the market and in the field, at the convivial table and in the confidential couch; he must be as skilful and unceasing a deceiver as a Russian diplomatist or an Italian conspirator. In fine, before the ballot can enable him to exercise the franchise with impunity, *he must become a man to whom no franchise can with safety be entrusted.** In no popular elections,

* 'The single lie on the hustings would not suffice; the concealed democrat who voted against his landlord (or aristocrat who voted against the mob) must talk with the wrong people, subscribe to the

except when the members are so numerous that individuals are lost in the mass, can we hear that the ballot is effectual in securing secresy to each man's vote. It does not do so in the parochial elections in Marylebone; it does not do so, and is not even advocated as doing so, in the United States; it does not do so even in France now, if the constituencies are either small or subdivided. We call attention to the following remarks recently sent to us by one of the most eminent statesmen of that country, in reply to some questions we had addressed to him, as to the practical efficacy of the ballot—of which he is a zealous votary:—"Vous n'ignorez pas, sans doute, que dans la première 'édition du *Plebiscite* du 2d Décembre 1851, Louis Napoléon 'avait ordonné que les citoyens se prononceraient sur le coup 'd'état par un vote public. Deux jours après, il a fallu revenir 'sur cette disposition, parcequ'on a vu que le peuple de Paris 'menaçait de se soulever si on touchait au scrutin secret. Depuis '*on a atteint à peu près le but qu'on se proposait, mais indirectement,* '*par le vote au village.* Vous devez bien comprendre, en effet, que 'l'efficacité ou la non-efficacité du *Ballot*, quant au secret des 'votes, depend beaucoup du déplacement des électeurs et de leur 'nombre. *Quand on vote en village, et en très petit nombre, il est* '*presque impossible de cacher à ses voisins comment on vote*; quand, 'de plus, le *scrutin* est dépouillé par le maire ou par quelques 'autres habitans des villages, il ne se peut que les écriteurs ne 'soient pas aisément reconnus. *Le Ballot n'est plus, alors, un* 'sauvegarde que dans les villes; il n'est presque plus utile à rien 'dans les campagnes.'

The examples of America and France are so constantly referred to in all discussions on the question of Ballot, that it is worth while to spend a few moments in endeavouring to ascertain what they amount to, and in what direction their lessons point. To begin with the latter.

Analogies, unless they are complete and perfect, are de-

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wrong club, huzzah at the wrong dinner, break the wrong head, lead a long life of lies between every election; and he must do this not only *eundo*, in his calm and prudential state, but *redeundo* from market, warmed with beer and expanded by alcohol; and he must not only carry on his seven years of dissimulation before the world, but in the very bosom of his family, or he must expose himself to the dangerous garrulity and indiscretion of wife, children, and servants: and mere gentle, quiet lying will not suffice; the quiet passive liar will be suspected; and he will find, if he does not wave his bonnet and strain his throat in furtherance of his bad faith, and lie loudly, that he has put in a false ball in the dark to very little purpose.' (*Sydney Smith's Works*, vol. iii. p. 154.)

ceptive and misleading; and analogies between France and England seldom run on all fours. Indeed, no two countries can well be more dissimilar in national character or in social circumstances. England has the least, France has the most, centralised government in Europe. In England it is the influence of individuals in elections that has to be watched and guarded against: in France it is that of the Administration. England is a country of great proprietors, who exercise wide sway in their respective districts, and over their poorer neighbours: In France property is enormously subdivided—nearly every elector has a small estate—few of the gentry possess large ones: hence the influence of the upper classes is almost entirely a moral and legitimate one. Again, while corruption in the higher ranks of public life has prevailed in France to an extent long unheard of in England, corruption among electors, so rife here, is almost unknown there. We are assured on the very highest authority (and we have no reason whatever for doubting the assertion) that the offer of a bribe to a French peasant for his vote, would be held as an insult, and its acceptance as a crime.* But the essential difference between

* 'Quant à la question que vous me faites sur les opinions qui regnent dans notre peuple en matière de corruption électorale, je répondrais que la corruption, et surtout la corruption d'argent, lui a paru toujours déshonorante; qu'un électeur qui se ferait payer pour donner un vote serait vu du même œil qu'un témoin qui ferait acheter sa déposition. Un candidat qui m'était opposé dans une des luttes électorales que j'ai eu à soutenir, ayant été accusé, fort à tort, d'offrir de l'argent aux électeurs, cela lui fit un tort irréparable. Ses amis même n'osaient plus voter pour lui de peur de passer pour avoir été payés. Le fait est, qu'en matière électorale, le peuple a encore, en France, les avantages et les inconvéniens de la jeunesse politique. Il est inexpérimenté, faible, quelques fois passionné—mais honnête. C'est en lui prêchant de fausses doctrines, en lui faisant croire à des progrès sociaux imaginaires, en flattant ses jalousies, ses haînes—et non en lui offrant de l'argent—qu'on l'entraîne.' (*Extract from the Letter of a Liberal Statesman.*)

'La corruption directe et positive, l'achat des suffrages à prix d'argent, a toujours été, parmi nous, un cas très rare. Elle est si fortement réprouvé par nos mœurs qu'elle eut perdu tout gouvernement et tout parti qui en eût adopté la pratique. Elle convenait mal d'ailleurs à la nature de notre corps électoral. Quoique la plupart de nos électeurs fussent dans une petite condition sociale, ils avaient presque tous cependant une certaine mesure de fortune et d'independence; et il en eût coûté trop cher pour acheter, parmi eux, beaucoup de suffrages s'ils avaient été disposés à y consentir. Quelques actes honteux de ce genre peuvent toujours se produire; ils n'ont été chez nous que des faits isolés, sans importance politique.' (*Letter from a Conservative Statesman.*)

the two countries, to which we wish now to direct attention, is the extraordinary power and omnipresence of the government in France, and the manner in which it interpenetrates every position and locality; the degree to which every man, in every action and relation of private life, is at the mercy, and subject to the interference, of some bureaucrat, whose orders emanate from head quarters;—a state of things of which we have no conception here, and which goes far to explain the tenacity with which Frenchmen demand and cling to the protection of the ballot.

Another reason which led to the introduction, and which causes the high value set upon secret voting in France, and to which we have no analogy in England, has been thus stated to us by a most competent observer, whose words we prefer to our own. "La France, depuis 1789, a été plusieurs fois dominée, 'tantôt par des pouvoirs révolutionnaires, tantôt par des pouvoirs 'despotiques, également violens tour à tour, et contre lesquels la 'lutte légale était impossible, et la résistance de fait très difficile 'et très périlleuse. Il en est résulté, chez les hommes modérés, 'chez les honnêtes gens, une disposition très craintive. Il leur 'semble qu'ils sont toujours en présence ou à la veille de 'l'anarchie ou de la tyrannie, et des réactions alternatives qu'elles 'entraînent. Il n'agissent librement, et selon leur raison et leur 'conscience, que lorsqu'ils se croyent en sureté contre ces ré-'actions et ces violences, à l'abri du vote secret. Il ne faut pas, 'vous le savez, mettre les hommes à de trop fortes épreuves. 'Le vote public eût été bien souvent, parmi nous, depuis soixante 'ans, une épreuve trop forte pour la plupart des honnêtes gens, '*car ils se seraient crus placés entre la vie et la mort.* Tant de 'gens sont montés sur l'échafaud, pendant le régime de la 'Terreur, pour un suffrage ouvertement exprimé ou pour une 'signature donnée à une pétition! Bien qu'avant Fevrier 1848, 'ces tems fussent déjà loin de nous, le souvenir en était encore 'très vif et très puissant, même dans les esprits les plus éclairés.' We can well understand the eagerness with which men, the votes of whose fathers, and whose own votes in their youth, were given at the hazard of their life, cling to the protection of the ballot, without drawing thence any very cogent argument for its introduction into a country where dangers of this sort are removed by the distance of centuries.

We draw from the same document a third cause for the establishment and maintenance of secret voting under the Constitutional Monarchy, viz.: the small number of electors, which ranged from 166,583, in 1831, to 240,983, in 1846. 'Par rapport à la population du royaume, ce nombre étoit petit,

'et il y avait dans l'arène électorale peu d'acteurs pour tant de 'spectateurs. Il en résultait pour chacun des électeurs une 'plus grande part de responsabilité; au lieu de se perdre dans 'la foule, ils étaient, chacun dans le lieu de sa résidence, dis-'tinctement en vue et attentivement surveillé par le public. 'Et en même tems beaucoup de ces électeurs étaient dans une 'condition sociale trop petite et trop faible pour porter publique-'ment et sans embarras le poids de cette responsabilité. Il y a 'en France, vous le savez, très peu de grandes existences 'individuelles: dans la propriété territoriale, dans le commerce, 'dans l'industrie, dans la magistrature, dans le barreau, la 'plupart des existences sont petites et étroites. Non seulement 'elles sont petites; elles sont, en outre, isolées; en même tems 'que les grandes existences sont tombées, les liens qui unissoient 'jadis entre elles les petites existences ont disparu; nous n'avons 'pas plus de fortes corporations que de grands seigneurs; 'point d'individus puissans par eux-mêmes et à eux seuls; 'point ou peu de liens entre les individus, quel qu'ils soient; 'une extrême indépendence des petits envers ceux qui sont 'placés au-dessus d'eux, et un extrême isolement de ces mêmes 'petits entre eux;—ainsi est faite aujourd'hui la société 'française. Le vote secret dans les élections a été la consé-'quence naturelle de ces faits:—notre système électoral ne 'nous donnait qu'un petit nombre d'électeurs; notre état social 'ne nous donnait que des électeurs faibles et isolés; notre état 'habituellement révolutionnaire ne nous donnait guère que des 'électeurs inquiets ou craintifs;—ces trois causes ont également 'concouru à établir ou à maintenir chez nous le vote secret.'

In the United States, where vote by ballot is in frequent though not universal use, it does not appear that the citizens are much better satisfied with it than our Radicals are with open voting. It appears from the statement of Mr. Tremenheere *, that the most scandalous abuses prevail in the details of its management—that no one has any confidence in the accuracy of its results—that the 'judges' or returning officers, who count and report the votes, frequently are, or are believed to be, under corrupt influence, and to falsify the returns; and that, 'in 'one notorious case, a candidate, whose known and staunch 'supporters numbered at least half the constituency, was beaten, 'according to the ballot-lists, by a majority greater than that of 'the whole constituency taken together.' It is true that these abuses do not belong to the system, and might, and probably would, be altogether avoided in this country; but they at least

* Notes on the United States and Canada, p. 117—121.

serve to show how questionable is the argument in favour of the ballot, drawn from its supposed useful operation in the United States.* Intimidation seems not to prevail at all there: it scarcely could in a country where an easy livelihood is always to be commanded by honest industry, and where difference of ranks is so little marked. But bribery *does* prevail, in spite of the ballot, and apparently in some quarters to nearly as great an extent as with us. In the year 1850, the Governor of the State of New York thus addressed the Legislature: —

'The alarming increase of bribery in our popular elections 'demands your serious attention. The preservation of our li- 'berties depends on the purity of the elective franchise, and its 'independent exercise by the citizen; and I trust you will adopt 'such measures as shall effectually protect the ballot-box from 'all corrupting influences.'

In 1851 the Governor had to repeat the same warning: —

'The increase of corrupt practices in our elections has become 'a subject of general and just complaint. It is represented that, 'in some localities, the suffrages of considerable numbers of 'voters have been openly purchased with money. We owe it 'to ourselves and to posterity, and to the free institutions which 'we have inherited, to crush this hateful evil in its infancy, 'before it attains sufficient growth to endanger our political 'system.'†

It is remarkable that the ballot, even when adopted in the United States, is not adopted as a means of secresy, or so managed as to secure secresy. In the State elections at Boston, where intimidation was said to have largely prevailed, the ballot was introduced two years ago as a corrective of this evil. M. Tremenheere thus describes the process which he witnessed: —

'I went to two of the polling-places to see the process. 'Persons were in attendance distributing printed lists of the

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* We extract the following from the private source to which we have already referred: —

'That any man, [in the United States] who chooses, *can* conceal his vote by the mechanical means presented to him, I do not doubt. Indeed I know it can be done, and is done. But there are so very few who care for concealment, and so very few who wish to influence the votes of others from personal interest, that I think it a matter of very little practical importance. Undue influence, I believe, has *sometimes* been exerted. A man, however, would be ruined in general estimation, who could be proved to have exerted it by direct intimidation of individuals.'

† We believe, however, that Rhode Island and New York are nearly the only States where bribery is at all *prevalent*.

'candidates of the three competing parties. The voter took 'which list he pleased, put it into an envelope, and handed it to 'the persons sitting in a portion of the room parted off, who 'were appointed to receive it. *I saw no attempt at concealment 'or mystery; the voting which I witnessed was as open as if no 'envelope had been used.*'*

All these facts prove beyond a doubt, not indeed that the practice of America can be adduced *against* the ballot, but certainly that it cannot be appealed to in its favour.—On the whole, after a deliberate and impartial reconsideration of the entire question, our judgment is as clear and decided as ever against the ballot. Either a vote is a personal property or a solemn trust: if the former, it is difficult to prove that a man has not a right to sell it if he pleases;—if the latter, it is still more difficult to argue that it ought not to be exercised under

* The recent fluctuations of opinion in the State of Massachusetts on the question of secret voting having been appealed to in Parliament by both its advocates and its antagonists, it may be worth while to state succinctly the facts, from an indisputable authority:—

'Two years ago, the ultra democratic party united itself for special *local* purposes with the abolition party, and so obtained a majority in the legislature of that essentially conservative State. Thinking to perpetuate their power by it, they passed a stringent secret ballot-law. But it failed of its end; that is, the results of the elections which took place under it did not correspond with the expectations of those who passed the law; and last winter, in spite of it, the old conservative party obtained their wonted ascendancy, and repealed it. Meanwhile, however, a convention has been called to revise the fundamental constitution of the State, in which, by a similar combination of democracy and abolitionism, the same party that passed the law is in the ascendant. This convention, still in session, has inserted the secret ballot among the provisions of their revised constitution, thus placing the *principle* of the secret ballot beyond the reach of future legislatures. But the amendments they are adjusting to the constitution must yet be confirmed by the vote of a majority of the people, and some of the changes proposed may endanger the whole; in which case, the question will still be left open for legislation as it was before. In that event, however, I think the very next legislature will re-enact the secret ballot law of two years ago, because, though many persons, of whom I am one, object to it as an injury to the manhood of the electors; still, in its practical working, it was found of so much less consequence than had been anticipated, that I think the opposition to it will be ineffectual, and it will become the settled policy of the State. You will understand, of course, from what I have said, that the parties who passed the secret ballot law two years ago, have just as much confidence in it now as they ever had.'

the guarantee of a vigilant publicity. The ballot would not be an effective security for secresy, and therefore would not be an effective protection to the voter. Even if secresy could be ensured, it is far from certain that it would be desirable, since it would render impotent salutary influences as well as sinister ones. Finally, the protection of secresy is becoming daily less and less necessary, as electors become more and more independent; and the impending Reform Bill will diminish this necessity still further. Vote by ballot would introduce new mischiefs at least as certainly as it would cure old ones: it is at variance with our national habits; it is at variance with our constitutional traditions; it may be pregnant with consequences which the most sagacious statesman cannot foresee, and which the most courageous statesman would not dare to encounter: — our voice is resolute against it.

Provision having been made, by the arrangements above discussed, for the purification and elevation of our existing and surviving constituencies, and for the suppression of such as are incurably and almost inevitably corrupt, we have arrived at the last branch of the problem before us — the possibility, namely, of constructing some electoral bodies of a competency above all question, and an integrity above all suspicion. We must bear in mind two or three important considerations. We must remember that the greater the *variety* we can secure in our constituencies, the more complete and perfect will be the representative character of our House of Commons; the more faithfully and successfully will it embody the thoughts, reflect the wishes, study the interests, and transact the business of the nation; the more effectually will inequalities be rectified, omissions supplied, and partial or local injustices corrected and countervailed. We must recollect, also, that the wholesale suppression of close boroughs by the Reform Bill of 1832, and the continuance of that process by the abolition of small constituencies, which must now inevitably take place, have closed the avenues by which two very desirable classes of public men formerly found their way into Parliament — young men, namely, of great promise both as to character and talent, who intend to pursue political life as a career; and thoughtful and experienced men, who are too moderate, philosophic, and free from party feeling to be acceptable to large constituencies, and too independent and inflexible to submit to the caprices or to do the jobs of small ones. All our great statesmen, and nearly all our valuable public men, entered Parliament originally as members for those pocket-boroughs which have been swept away; and most of them still prefer

such constituencies as come nearest to these extinct Edens. Lord John Russell is almost the single exception. He sits for London now — but he sat for Tavistock to begin with. Sir Robert Peel sat for Tamworth, with 400 electors; Lord Palmerston sits for Tiverton, with 450; Sir James Graham has sat for Dorchester with 420 electors, for Ripon with 370, and now sits for Carlisle with 1000; a Secretary of the Treasury sits for Westbury, with 300 electors; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer represents the exceptional constituency of Oxford University. The Secretary-at-War and the Secretary to the Admiralty alone sit for counties, and Sir William Molesworth for a large borough. Now it is quite clear that we cannot dream of restoring the old pocket-boroughs or Government seats; we cannot for a moment wish to retain the present small and corrupt boroughs; — yet neither can we, without loss and mischief, dispense with the class of representatives whom these places have been accustomed to return. We must endeavour, therefore, to discover some unexceptionable constituencies to supply the place of these abolished ones, and to do their work. We must remember, too, that while property and numbers are largely, and perhaps amply, represented, *learning*, as such, returns only four senators out of 550 in Great Britain; while education, literature, science, the higher intelligence of the nation, — surely a most important ingredient in the national life, — have no special representatives at all. If a scholar, a writer, a physician, a mathematician, happens to be a man of property also, he obtains the franchise, not in virtue of his proved intellect, but in virtue of his casual possessions: he votes for that qualification in which he resembles the mass of his fellow-citizens — not for that in which he is *ex hypothesi* distinguished from them and superior to them. But if he chances to be a lodger only, and not a householder, or if he is a poor man, or if he resides in one of the many hundred unrepresented towns, he has no vote at all. The men of all most surely fitted for the franchise are the men of all least surely endowed with it.

This is a state of things which unquestionably calls for remedy: the want we have indicated is certainly one which ought to be supplied. It has been proposed to effect these objects in the following manner *: — the purpose being, we must remember, to create a constituency of which every man shall be competent, and every man incorruptible — *which shall judge by a different standard from the usual popular electoral bodies*, be guided by

* See Pamphlet at the head of our article. Parliamentary Reform; the Educational Franchise.

different considerations, value different qualifications, seek a different sort of representatives. It is proposed to confer the franchise upon the following classes,—a franchise peculiar and independent of any which as individuals they may possess:—clergymen and regular dissenting ministers of any recognised denomination; solicitors, barristers, advocates, and Writers to the Signet; physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries; graduates of all the universities, fellows of all recognised learned bodies, and masters of inspected schools. These all to form one constituency,—90,000 in number it is calculated, and to return (say) 70 members. Not, however, to vote as one constituency; but for this purpose to be divided in certain proportions according to counties and districts: thus, Middlesex, Lancashire, and Yorkshire to return 6 each, Devonshire 2, Cumberland and Westmoreland 1 between them, and so on, according to a plan of which it is needless to discuss the details. The votes to be collected by voting-papers.

Now, we profess no adherence to the special form or details of this plan; but its principles and outline have our hearty approbation. In the first place, it is according to precedent. It has a nucleus and an analogy in the existing representation of the two ancient universities. Then, it offers us a constituency less liable than any other to be bewildered and led astray by temporary passion and disturbance, to share popular prejudices or popular predilections for or against individuals, or to fall in with the watch-word or fancy of the hour;—less likely to ostracise men of philosophic tempers and of distant vision, to discard a tried servant for a candid reservation, or an experienced statesman for a single lapse;—disposed to judge a candidate rather by his character and capacity than by his political opinions;—competent to discern, and willing to adopt, that sort of unobtrusive and unbending merit which is so little appreciated by popular bodies in general:—a constituency, in a word, which it would be needless to canvass, which it would be an honour to represent, which it would be possible to please without concealing one opinion or torturing another, and to retain without one base compliance or one unworthy art;—a constituency which would approach as near as is practicable to the ideal type of such bodies, in that it would select its members on public grounds alone, independent of all petty private personal considerations of fear or favour.

We cannot be too 'tremblingly alive' to the importance of maintaining for the House of Commons, that character of intellectual superiority which has hitherto distinguished it. The tone of the Press is higher, its ability greater, and its influence

far wider, than at any former period. A larger number of individuals judge for themselves in political matters than used to be the case, and are by education, information, and reflection qualified to do so. Under these circumstances, it would be a grievous pity, and a serious danger, were the great central arena for discussing questions of government and law to lose in any degree its wonted supremacy — were it to be discovered that sounder views, higher sentiments, more commanding powers, or more extensive knowledge, were brought to bear upon those subjects in other places than in the House of Commons — were it to be felt that Parliament did not invite and secure, or that constituencies did not choose, the mental *élite*—the *sommités* as the French call it — of the nation. Yet this danger is no fanciful chimera if, while we extend and lower the electoral basis, we do not also qualify our proceedings in that direction by the creation of some such constituencies of superior qualification as we have been here contending for. The advocates of popular rights will defeat their own object, if they oppose any measure which tends to raise the moral and intellectual authority of the popular representative body in the Legislature.

The proposed allotment of seventy members to such a new electoral body would, however, be altogether inordinate, especially as a further defect in the existing system still remains to be remedied. Thirty would be nearer the mark. But the *number* is a matter of very secondary consideration. Let us now proceed to the consideration of one more suggestion.

The last point to which we desire to call the attention of the framers of the New Reform Bill, is the desirability of making some provision for an adequate expression of the voice of minorities. On a former occasion* we explained, at some length, the evil incurred, and the injustice perpetrated, under a system which enabled the majority in each constituency — however small that majority might be — to return all the members, and thus monopolise the entire representation. We showed that, at present, these inconveniences are greatly mitigated and counterbalanced by the *variety* of our electoral bodies; some being large, some small — some agricultural, some manufacturing — some instinctively progressive and democratic, some instinctively conservative and slow. The probable consequence of any new Reform Bill — unless expressly foreseen and guarded against — will be to diminish this variety, and therefore to aggravate the evil and injustice in question, — especially if such reform should (as it almost certainly will) abolish small constituencies, and

* See No. 196. of this Journal (Jan. 1852), p. 270.

make any the least and most indirect approach to an enlargement or amalgamation of electoral districts. The larger and more homogeneous the electoral bodies are made, the more unjust and oppressive, because the more universal, will the monopoly of majorities become. The monopoly or exclusive representation of majorities is the virtual non-representation or exclusion of minorities—of minorities which by possibility may amount to *nearly* half the nation, and which probably will exceed one-third. It is evident that such a result as this can not be contemplated without anxiety and regret, and would not be endured without extreme and well-founded discontent. And a legislator, therefore, who should devise a plan by which the minority in each constituency should obtain its fair share, *without obtaining more than its fair share*, of the representation, would have deserved well of his country.

But here we have to meet an objection which is urged against us, *in limine*, by that school of politicians who look at the subject in an abstract, French, and *doctrinaire* fashion. 'We do not '(say they) recognise such things as *parties*—permanent ma-'jorities and minorities—in the State. The very essence of a 'free government is, that numbers should prevail: the will of the 'majority ought to give the law. It was so in all the free states 'of antiquity: it has been so in all modern ones, where a really 'just and defensible constitution has existed. The theory of 'liberty would be imperfect were it not so.' Now, not to refer again*, to the masterly argument of Burke, showing that the paramount power and right supposed to reside in the decision of a mere numerical majority is a matter wholly of convention and arrangement,—not to remind our antagonists how constantly by constitutional forms majorities are set aside, and it is settled that in certain cases even the will of a minority should be preponderating,—and conceding, for the sake of argument (or rather to avoid a discussion which would lead us too far), that the decision of majorities *ought*, in ultimate resort, to be taken as the decision of the whole, and therefore to have the force of law,—we wish to point out that *the decision of the majority after the discussion of a law, and the decision of the majority in the choice of representatives who are to discuss that law, are wholly distinct things;* the analogy between them is imperfect, and therefore deceptive. In the democratic States of antiquity, indeed, such as Athens, where the representative system was unknown, where the whole people met in deliberative assembly to frame their own laws and to administer their own executive government, the

* See No. 196. of this Journal (Jan. 1852), p. 258.

analogy was complete and true. Proposed measures or enactments were there discussed, recommendations were listened to, objections were heard and answered: *the minority were there fairly represented*, because they were present in *propriâ personâ;* there was, therefore, no injustice in requiring them to bow to the decision of the majority when given against them. In the same manner, it is perfectly right that in our House of Commons the minority should give way when outvoted, and cheerfully acquiesce in their defeat. But it will be obvious, on a moment's consideration, that there is a wide and indestructible difference between being not successful and being not heard — between being outvoted and being excluded — between being defeated after full deliberation in a legislative assembly and being denied a hearing and a seat in that assembly — between succumbing in the lists and being forbidden to enter them. Now, constituents at the poll are not a deliberative body: they hear no arguments; they decide no measures; they meet simply to determine by arithmetical calculation who shall be chosen to discuss and decide*; — and if minorities are altogether overpowered, suppressed, and virtually non-existent because non-apparent, — if they return no portion of the members, — their ground of complaint is, not that their candidates are outvoted in Parliament, but that they are not allowed to go there, — that their opinions are rejected, not *after*, but *before*, discussion, — that they are reduced not only to submission, but to silence. And their complaint is just. No litigant may grumble because judgment goes against him before a fair tribunal; but if his counsel is not allowed to enter the Court or to speak on his behalf, then assuredly he is the victim of a manifest injustice, and has a *casus belli* against the constitution which treats him thus.

The mode by which we propose to ensure the constituent minorities their fair share in the representation — *i. e.* to make the majorities and minorities in the House of Commons correspond as nearly as may be to majorities and minorities in the country or in the electoral bodies — is to give (as now) to each elector as many votes as there are members to be chosen, and to allow him to divide these votes as he pleases among the candidates, *or to give them all to one.* But, as at present most places return two members, it is obvious that, under the proposed arrangement, wherever the minority *exceeded one-third* of the total number of the electors, they would be able to return one

* The only parties who will be disposed to dispute our argument will be those who hold that members are merely the *delegates*, not the *representatives*, of their constituents.

member, or to obtain *one-half* the representation — which would be more than their fair share, and would place them on an equality with the majority — which would never do; while, if they *fell short of one-third*, they would be, as now, virtually unrepresented and ignored. To obviate this, it will be necessary so to arrange our electoral divisions that as many constituencies as possible should return *three* members: *one* of these a minority, if at all respectable, could always manage to secure. We believe that such an arrangement might be carried into effect in a great number of cases without any increase of the actual number of the House of Commons, since so many of the existing small constituencies will need suppression or absorption; and in a combination of the two plans would be found, to a very great and perhaps an adequate extent, a remedy for the mischievous injustice we are considering.* Where there was only one member, the minority would have no share in the representation at all. Where there were two members, the minority, if above one-third, would have too large a share; if under one-third, too small a share. Where there were three members, it would obtain its just share, and no more.

We cannot conceive any valid objection to this proposal — which we may call the cumulative vote; and it will be attended with one incidental and collateral advantage too important to be overlooked. It is this: the parties most likely to be returned by such minorities as our plan would enfranchise would be exactly the class of men most wanted in Parliament, and least able under existing arrangements to find an entrance there — those, for example, who were unpopular with the *masses* on account of some honest but unpalatable vote or opinion; those who sided altogether with neither of the extreme parties; those whose merits were too unobtrusive and too little *showy* to have been discerned by the multitude: those, in fine, who, not *generally* or universally appreciated, have few friends, but fast and zealous ones, and who therefore, though counting a minority of *voters*, might yet have a majority of *votes*.

With these suggestions we will bid adieu to the great subject of Representative Reform. We can leave it with perfect confidence in the hands of the statesmen to whom will be entrusted the construction of the measure which next Session is to inau-

* This plan is sanctioned by the authority of the Committee of Privy Council in their Report on the framing of a Constitution for the Cape of Good Hope. See Lord Grey's Colonial Policy, vol. ii. p. 363.

gurate. We know that their popular sympathies are large and hearty, while long experience will have made them cautious in their temper, and a wide range of study will have made them comprehensive in their views. We have no fear either lest they should propose any undigested scheme which will impair the vitality or undermine the foundations of those essentials of our system which have stood the test and received the sanction of six hundred years, or lest they should shrink from any measure merely because it is a large one, if it lies within the analogies and harmonises with the spirit of the Constitution. And if they are able — as we think they may be — to devise a plan which, by eliminating all the corrupt social elements which can be purged away, and embracing all the sound ones which can be discovered and included, shall impose a long if not a perpetual silence on all feverish and distracting agitations, they will have deserved well of their country, and may take rank among the real benefactors of mankind.

Note to No. 199. p. 163.

From information which has been obligingly communicated to us since the publication of our last Number, we learn that the ring (purporting to be the Earl of Essex's ring) belonging to C. W. Warner, Esq. (erroneously printed *Warren* in our Article), and that deposited some years since at Messrs. Drummond's bank, are the same. At Maddersfield, in Worcestershire, the seat of Earl Beauchamp, is a three-quarter length portrait of the Countess of Nottingham, with a ring suspended round her neck. It is, however, evident that, if the picture was painted in her lifetime, the ring suspended round her neck could not be Lord Essex's ring, inasmuch as she had, according to the story, concealed her possession of it until her deathbed.

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